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CONTENTS

OF

No. LXXVII.

ART.	Page
I.—1. ST. PETERSBURGH. A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital ; through Flanders, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany, and France. By A. B. Granville, M.D., F.R.S., &c,	
2. On the Designs of Russia. By Lieut.-Colonel De Lacy Evans.	
3. A Few Words on our Relations with Russia, including some Remarks on a recent Publication by Colonel De Lacy Evans, entitled ‘ Designs of Russia.’ By a Non-Alarmist	1
II.—1. The Chronological Index to the Statutes of the Realm, from Magna Charta to the End of the Reign of Queen Anne. Published by the Record Commission	41
III.—1. The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England.	
2. The Kuzzilbash: a Tale of Khorasan	73
IV.—1. Principles of Elementary Teaching, chiefly in reference to the Parochial Schools of Scotland ; in two Letters to T. F. Kennedy, Esq., M.P. By James Pillans, F.R.S.E., late Rector of the High School, and now Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh.	
2. Elements of Tuition. Part III. Ludus Literarius : The Classical and Grammar School ; or, an Exposition of an Experiment in Education, made at Madras in the years 1789-1796 ; with a view to its Introduction into Schools for the higher orders of Children, and with particular Suggestions for its Application to a Grammar School. By the Rev. Andrew Bell, D.D., LL.D., &c., Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham.	

*

CONTENTS.

ART.		Page
3.	A Letter to John Hughes, Esq., M.A., on the Systems of Education proposed by the Popular Parties. By the Rev. John Phillips Potter, M.A., Oriel College, Oxford.	
4.	A Letter to the Right Honourable Robert Peel, on the subject of the University of London. By Christianus.	
5.	Some Account of the System of Fagging at Winchester School; with Remarks, and a Correspondence with Dr. Williams, Head Master of that Public School, on the late Expulsions thence for Resistance to the Authority of the Præfects. By Sir Alexander Malet, Bart.	99
V.—	Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo. By the late Captain Clapperton, of the Royal Navy. To which is added, The Journal of Richard Lander, from Kano to the Sea-coast, partly by a more Eastern Route	143
VI.—1.	Observations upon the Power exercised by the Court of Chancery of depriving a Father of the Custody of his Children.	
2.	Observations on the Natural Right of a Father to the Custody of his Children, and to direct their Education. By James Ram, Esq., Barrister at Law	183
VII.—	A Review of the Negotiations between the United States of America and Great Britain, respecting the Commerce of the Two Countries, and more especially concerning the Trade of the former with the West Indies. By the Honourable Littleton W. Tazewell	215

N 355 . 16

CONTENTS

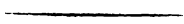
OF

No. LXXVIII.

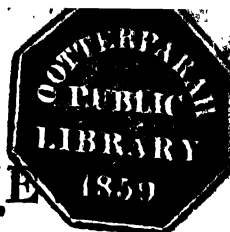
ART.	Page
I.—The Works of Samuel Parr, LL.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, Curate of Hatton, &c.; with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, and a Selection from his Correspondence. By John Johnstone, M.D., Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal College of Physicians of London, &c.	255
II.—Regulations for the Guidance of those who may propose to embark, as Settlers, for the New Colony on the Swan River	315
Note on the Swan River	520
III.—Letters from the West; containing Sketches of Scenery, Manners, and Customs; and Anecdotes connected with the First Settlements of the Western Sections of the United States. By the Hon. Judge Hall	345
IV.—The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham. By Robert Surtees, Esq.	360
V.—The Journal of a Naturalist	406
VI.—An Elementary Treatise of Mechanical Philosophy, written for the Use of the Undergraduate Students of the University of Dublin. By Bartholomew Lloyd, D.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University	432
VII.—1. The Scotch Banker.	
2. Observations on Paper Money, Banking, and Overtrading. By Sir Henry Parnell, Bart.	
3. Letters on Currency. By Daniel Hardcastle.	
4. Corn and Currency. By Sir James Graham, Bart.	
5. Considerations on the State of the Currency. By Thomas Tooke, Esq. F.R.S.	

CONTENTS.

ART.	Page
6. The Effect of the Issues of the Bank of England. By Robert Mushet.	
7. Views on the Currency. By T. Joplin.	
8. A Letter to Lord Grenville, on the Resumption of Cash Payments. By Thomas Tooke, Esq., F.R.S. - -	451
VIII.—1. On the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion, in Great Britain and other parts of the World.	
2. A Comparative View of the Social Life of England and France, from the restoration of Charles the Second to the French Revolution. By the Editor of Madame du Deffand's Letters.	
3. The Family Library, No. I., being the First volume of the Life of Napoleon Buonaparte. With Engrav- ings on Wood and Steel. • - - - -	475
NOTE on Clapperton's Journey into Africa - - - -	521
INDEX - - - - -	527



THE QUARTERLY REVIEW



- ART. I.—1. *St. Petersburg* [Petersburg]. *A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital; through Flanders, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany, and France.* By A. B. Granville, M.D.; F.R.S.; F.L.S.; M.R.I.; F.G.S.; and M.I.A.S. Physician in Ordinary to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, Physician-Accoucheur to the Westminster General Dispensary, and to the Benevolent Lying-in Institution; Principal Physician to the Royal Metropolitan Infirmary for Sick Children; Hon. Member of the Royal Academy of Medicine of Madrid; Corresp. Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, and Hon. Member of the Imperial Medico-Chirurgical Academy of the same town; Foreign Associate of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Naples; Member of the Physico-Mathematical Class of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Turin; Corresp. Member of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Berlin; and Ordinary Member of the Natural History Society of Halle; Corresp. Member of the Prussian Physical Society of Bonn; of the Philomathic and Philotechnic Societies, and the *Société Médicale d'Emulation* of Paris; of the Philosophical and Literary Society of Manchester; of the *Georgofili* of Florence; of the Medical and Scientific Societies of Marseilles, Florence, Pistoja, Val d'Arno, Padua, Venice, &c.; and Member of the Royal College of Physicians in London. London. 1828. 2 vols. 8vo.
2. *On the Designs of Russia.* By Lieut.-Colonel De Lacy Evans. London. 1828. 8vo.
3. *A Few Words on our Relations with Russia, including some Remarks on a recent Publication by Colonel De Lacy Evans, entitled 'Designs of Russia.'* By a Non-Alarmist. London. 1828. 8vo.

WE have printed Doctor Granville's short title-page with the long tail to it, to give a more extensive circulation to the existence of his polynomous honours and occupations, than could be expected from that of a work of 1320 pages. The Doctor has truly 'titles manifold'; and these, when more generally known, will, doubtless, prove a passport for his volumes to the shelves of the learned; but 'old birds are not easily caught with chaff,' and, to speak for ourselves, we are not likely to be biassed one way or

other by a string of initials stuck after a name, were they as many and as legitimate as the quarterings on the shield of the Baron Thunderdentrunk.

Doctor Granville thinks it necessary to acquaint the public that he had three reasons for travelling, and three reasons for writing a book about his travels. There is great virtue, as every body knows, in the number *three*; but we must doubt its efficacy in the present case. The first three are,—the health of the amiable Countess of Woronzow, whom he attended in the capacity of *accoucheur*—his own health;—his family affairs;—all good substantial reasons; but what had the public health, or the public affairs to do with them? As little necessity was there to publish to all the world, that,

‘When a medical man, fully engaged in practice in such a metropolis as London, whose services have, in common with those of many of his colleagues, been considered useful to the community, abruptly absents himself from his duties, and sets off, at a short notice, to post upwards of four thousand miles over the Continent—the public, whom he serves, and by whom he lives, have some right to ask what motives could have led to such a step. It is in deference to that right that the Author has thus openly entered into an explanation.’—*Preface*, p. vii.

We have a strong impression that the doctor, in this early part of his book, (for we are yet only in the preface,) betrays a smack of the common vice which too easily besets authors, and which, indeed, we had some suspicion lurked in the long title-page,—in a word, that this hero of etceteras has, unconsciously, perhaps, persuaded himself into a notion that he fills a larger space in society than his pretensions would warrant.* Doctor Granville is unquestionably a clever, shrewd man; and, though a foreigner, we should have thought he had lived long enough in London to know that the English public, so far from feeling any uneasiness at his absence, or exercising any ‘right’ to call for an ‘explanation’ of it, neither does now nor ever will care one straw where he goes, how long he remains absent, when he returns, or whether he ever returns or not, excepting, perhaps, those patients who may have confidence in his skill, which we have heard and believe to be considerable. And having settled this point, we now proceed on our journey through the Doctor’s two fat octavos, assuring him that whatever

* What else than a wish for public notoriety could have induced Doctor Granville to detail his grievances as a disappointed candidate for the obstetrical chair of the misnamed University of London, in ten or twelve interminable pages in a book on St. Petersburg, and to carry on an unanswered string of objurgations with an ‘encyclopedical-gifted individual’ as he calls Mr. Brougham, in the columns of a Sunday newspaper? How can he imagine that the public takes any interest whether Dr. Granville or Dr. Davis be appointed to deliver lectures, or any thing else, even the young Alma Mater herself, in Upper Gower-street.

little prejudice his title-page and preface may seem calculated to raise, no such feeling shall be permitted to affect, in the slightest degree, our estimation of his work.

Doctor Granville, it would seem, was nearly frightened from undertaking this journey by the perusal of the two foregoing doctors, Clarke and Lyall.

'Mercy on me!' he exclaims, 'I am to be fleeced, cheated, and laughed at; I shall lie without a bed, starve on black bread, and swarm with vermin. The villages are of mud, and the towns of logs of wood, and the two capitals moonshine. There is no chance of seeing a handsome woman; the gentlemen are all ignoramuses, and the common people brutes. The government is despotic; the police troublesome; and the dogs bite differently from English dogs.'

These scraps thus strung together made the doctor 'ponder;' but calling to his recollection that it is the fashion among some English travellers (of Dr. Granville's acquaintance) to maintain that 'St. Paul's is the finest church in the Christian world, and the Thames the largest river in Europe,' he took courage, and prepared for his journey.

We pass over the advice to his patients to make Dover their residence as a watering-place; the blessing he bestows on steam-packets; and his discovery that 'sea-sickness consists in vomiting, or something like it,'—thus clearing up the history of a malady which he assures us has puzzled 'most, nay all of the grave doctors, to find out what it arises from.' (vol. i. p. 8.) What may be more important for our readers to know, Dr. Granville says he prevented this distressing malady from visiting either the countess or himself by 'administering forty-five drops of laudanum at the beginning of the voyage;' a prescription as old as some of our grandmothers. The doctor adds, and, however strange it may appear, we by no means disbelieve it, that both the lady and the doctor, in about four-and-twenty hours after their arrival in Calais, could scarcely be considered any longer as invalids—such is the almost instantaneous efficacy of a change of air, a change of scene, and the power of the imagination.

Doctor Granville paints Ostend in colours that certainly do not belong to it. Its 'commercial houses,' 'great canal,' 'vistas of the principal streets,' 'lofty narrow tower with its beaconlight,' the 'old and new ports,' 'bomb-proof and impregnable,'—these, he says, form 'collectively' a landscape worthy of the pencil of Ruysdael! Such encomiums on this miserable place have satisfied us, that his descriptions must be received with caution, and that his knowledge of the arts is not very extensive. Who but the doctor would have selected a low, monotonous, naked town without a tree, with some little shipping shut up in a basin, for the

the pencil of an artist whose forte was in rugged mountain-scenery, rude rocks and foaming waterfalls, old hoary woods, and melancholy groves? Ostend is a poor, dull place, and, if a fit subject for any pencil, it would be that of a Vernet or a Vandewelde. We observe, indeed, other proofs in his book, that the doctor is not much of a connoisseur in painting. He says that the pictures of merit in the cathedral of Saint Bavon at Ghent are numerous, but 'those of the brothers Hubert and John Van Eyck, the inventors of oil painting, are justly considered as the most valuable productions of the Flemish school.' So say the guide-books; but his authorities have deceived the doctor in spite of all his Academies; the paintings of the Van Eycks are only considered as valuable for their antiquity; and as to their being the 'inventors of oil painting,' Sir Joshua Reynolds thought otherwise; indeed it has been proved that oil painting was practised more than a century before they were born. If Doctor Granville had looked sharp near the same part of the wall where he saw the Van Eycks, he might have discovered an old German painting with the date 1300 in the corner.

Again, at Cologne, in speaking of the picture of the crucifixion of St. Peter by Rubens, he says, that

'for strength, truth, and colouring, it may be considered as far superior to most of the productions of that artist. Yet,' he continues, 'there are some connoisseurs who affect to believe that this painting is not the work of that master, but of one of his pupils. This arises probably from the absence of those huge, fleshy, exaggerated figures which are generally observed in most of Rubens' pictures.'

It is quite true that there are ignorant 'connoisseurs' who believe what he states, and among the number that ignorant connoisseur Sir Joshua Reynolds. As to the rest, our readers, who know any thing of the arts, will be able to appreciate the extent of Doctor Granville's acquaintance with the paintings of Rubens.

The palace of the new University of Ghent founded by William I. is certainly a noble building, and does infinite credit to the liberality and right feeling of the King of the Netherlands. Doctor Granville says, 'it is by far the handsomest architectural monument consecrated to the arts and sciences now existing in Europe.' To this university there are three curators, nineteen professors, a secretary, inspector, and librarian. The number of students amounts already to more than five hundred. It contains collections of natural history, particularly of zoology and mineralogy, of comparative anatomy, and of medals; and in the library are upwards of sixty thousand volumes. There are also established an excellent botanical garden and a botanical society. The garden is extensive, tastefully laid out, and although in its infancy,

fancy, it can already boast of twelve hundred genera and five thousand six hundred species, all arranged according to the system of Linnæus.

At Ostend, and afterwards at Brussels, Dr. Granville met with the 'celebrated,' as he is pleased to call him, Capo d'Istrias; and is quite enraptured in praise of this 'distinguished individual.' He was no less struck with his personal appearance:—'the squareness and great elevation of his forehead; the extraordinary size of his ears, considerably detached from the back part of the head; and the remarkable paleness of his complexion, give him a very peculiar character.' The late Sir Thomas Maitland was not at all smitten with the peculiar merits of this broad-fronted, long-eared gentleman, when he had to deal with him in his character of Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands—but doctors will differ.

At Brussels, we are told, some enterprising booksellers are reprinting the Paris novels, romances, plays, &c., which they can afford to sell at half of the Parisian prices; that Tarlier, one of the principal publishers, had reprinted, in the first six months of 1827, not less than 318,615 volumes, of the value of 1,183,315 francs. The publishers in Paris are, as may be supposed, up in arms against those of Brussels, and are about to establish a dépôt at the latter place to undersell them. Thus do the public reap advantage from competition. The population of the Netherlands would keep pace with the multiplication of books, if, as Dr. Granville says, it had increased, since the year 1814, at the rate of one-tenth in ten years, or of doubling itself in a century. But the doctor has mistaken the Netherlands proper for the whole kingdom of William I.; the provinces of Holland reckon *hodie* about 1,900,000 souls—which we believe is a considerable diminution since the commencement of the century. The improvements that have taken place in the Netherlands, under the present government, in commerce, manufactures, agriculture, and industry, in general, are very remarkable, more especially in the vicinity of Brussels, Antwerp, Liege, and Namur; and the arts and sciences, literature, and the fine arts, go hand in hand with the extended education, prosperity, and comforts of the people. In the Netherlands, the roads, in particular, are daily improving; but it is quite true as Dr. Granville says, that, from the moment the Belgian frontier is passed, they are intolerable, whether on the paved chaussée, or on the sandy and clayey sides, as far as Cologne.

Brussels, we are told, may be said to be, next to Paris, the largest English colony on the continent; and that there are not fewer at this moment than six thousand English residents there.

This

This is not at all surprising. Cheapness of living, of education, of amusements—a mild government and agreeable society—the abundance of all the necessaries of life, of fine fruits and vegetables in particular, are temptations; though we pity those who have not the virtue to resist them. ‘A small basket,’ says Dr. Granville, ‘of the finest peaches in the world has been bought for ten cents. in the summer; I have seen some magnificent pears sold in the market for three cents. the pound. Bricad is of an excellent quality throughout Flanders, perfectly white, light, and highly flavoured; and its price is not more than half of what it bears in England.’ And he concludes the many advantages of Brussels, by stating, ‘as a fact, that the greatest number of the English residents in Brussels, or any of the provincial towns, live in comparative affluence on an annual income which would not enable them, without the strictest economy, to struggle through life at home.’ ‘This is probably not far from the truth; and Dr. Granville is too much a man of the world to hint that in such cases one ought not to think *wholly* of selfish and immediate gratifications. Who has a right to spend *systematically* an income, however narrow, resulting from English property, protected by English laws, where he escapes from his obligation to defray a fair part of the expense of maintaining those laws in authority, and that property in safety? We do not wish to press such an argument to extremity; but assuredly it is one that ought not to be wholly neglected. We fear the poet has some reason when he says that ‘expense’ is become an ‘idolatry’ among us.

‘We must run glittering like a brook
In the open sunshine, or we are unblest.’

At Aix-la-Chapelle, Dr. Granville visited, as who does not? the old dom-church built by Charlemagne, and felt much interest, he says, ‘in holding in his hand the *real* skull (credat Judæus!) of the gigantic emperor.’ However, be the skull whose it may, he found strongly marked and ample, in its upper region, what are called by phrenologists the organs of self-will and veneration. We have a higher opinion of Dr. Granville’s sagacity than to suppose him capable of being deluded by so gross a piece of quackery as craniology—for that is its proper name. Let him leave that, by all means, to the young gentlemen of Edinburgh, who pretend to believe as strongly in the infallibility of their patron Spurzheim, as a good catholic does in that of the pope; each equally contrary to common sense and human reason. While on this subject, we will tell these northern bump-hunters a little anecdote of their oracle which we know to be true.

On visiting the *studio* of a celebrated sculptor in London, his attention was drawn to a bust with a remarkable depth of skull
from

from the forehead to the occiput. 'What a noble head,' he exclaimed, 'is that! full seven inches! What superior powers of mind must he be endowed with, who possesses such a head as is here represented!' 'Why, yes,' says the bluffs artist, 'he certainly was a very extraordinary man—that is the bust of my early friend and first patron, John Horne Tooke.' 'Aye,' answers the craniologist, 'you see there is something after all in our science, notwithstanding the scoffs of many of your countrymen.' 'Certainly,' says the sculptor; 'but here is another bust, with a greater depth and a still more capacious forehead.' 'Bless me!' exclaims the craniologist, taking out his rule, 'eight inches! who can this be? this is indeed a head—in this there can be no mistake: what depth of intellect, what profundity of thought, must reside in that skull! this I am sure must belong to some extraordinary and well-known character.' 'Why, yes,' says the sculptor, 'he is pretty well known—it is the head of Lord Pomfret.'

Dr. Granville tells us there are three Farinas in Cologne who make the perfumed water which bears its name, but that only one is the genuine descendant of the inventor and proprietor of the secret; and it may be useful to the traveller to know that the legitimate distiller has his *magasin* opposite to the *Poste aux lettres*. The doctor then lets us into his secret for making Eau de Cologne, equally good with that of the best Farina, and at one-fourth of the price; which we shall give, that any of our readers may try the experiment if they please:—

'Take of the essence of bergamot, lemon-peel, lavender, and orange-flower, of each one ounce; essence of cinnamon, half an ounce; spirit of rosemary, and of the spirituous water of melisse, of each fifteen ounces; strong alcohol, seven pints and a half. Mix the whole together, and let the mixture stand for the space of a fortnight; after which, introduce it into a glass retort, the body of which is immersed into boiling water contained in a vessel placed over a lamp, while the beak is introduced into a large glass reservoir well luted. By keeping the water to the boiling point, the mixture in the retort will distil over into the receiver, which should be covered over with wet cloths. In this manner will be obtained pure Eau de Cologne.'—vol. i., p. 118.

Unqualified praise is given to the king of Prussia for having founded, in the year 1818, the university of Bonn, with a donation of the castles of Bonn and Poppelsdorf and the land belonging to them; establishing five faculties—three for jurisprudence, medicine, and general science, which includes all branches of literature,—and two for theology, one for protestant and the other for catholic students. In that of literature, there is also a protestant and a catholic professor. This is certainly most liberal on the part of his Prussian Majesty, whose declared sentiments on this occasion reflect

reflect the greatest honour on his head and his heart. 'I confidently hope,' his Majesty observes, 'that the university of Bonn will act in the spirit which dictated its foundation, in promoting true piety, sound sense, and good morals. By this my faithful subjects may know and learn with what patriotic affection I view the equal, impartial, and solid instruction of them all; and how much I consider education as the means of preventing those turbulent and fruitless efforts so injurious to the welfare of nations.'

But, alas! how often do the best intentions precede the worst consequences! Instead of education being the means of preventing those 'turbulent efforts,' which his Prussian Majesty so justly condemns, the universities of Germany are the very hives of sedition and turbulence. At this moment the university of Heidelberg is completely deserted. It appears that these ungovernable youths were holding democratic meetings; and a report having spread that the Grand Duke of Baden intended to arrest some of the leaders, the whole swarm of about eight hundred burst forth into the streets, bawling out *Burschen, heraus!* 'Turn out, turn out,' and marched off to a town a few leagues from Heidelberg, from whence they despatched terms of capitulation to their professors. Hearing, however, that some Baden dragoons were on their march towards Heidelberg, these mutineers crossed over to the left bank of the Rhine to Frankenthal; and thither certain professors were sent as deputies to negotiate with them, but without effect—the negotiators having insisted on a certain number of the ringleaders being given up for punishment. The *council of ancients* among the students had the impudence to pronounce an anathema against the university of Heidelberg for three years, during which time every German is forbidden to study there, after which they dispersed to their own homes. It is remarkable enough that, while these scenes were transacting, the congress of German naturalists and physicians were holding their seventh meeting at Berlin, and appointed Heidelberg for that of next year. We do not imagine that the king of Prussia need entertain any apprehension of the students of Bonn following so pernicious an example; though it is somewhat singular that Niebuhr, the Roman historian, should be one of the professors whose political principles, originally promulgated in that work, were supposed, as Dr. Granville says, 'to have influenced some of those scenes of turbulence that mark part of the recent history of the German universities.' However, in a second edition, the learned author has rejected and disowned those political principles.* We have no fear, certainly, of
Bonn,

* We wish we could say the same as to his absurd and shallow doctrines of another class—

Bonn, nor of Berlin; whose university contains upwards of sixteen hundred students. Should they venture to rebel, his Prussian Majesty would not hesitate to march the whole of them into the ranks; and, indeed, this would be a proper measure to pursue every now and then with regard to the German students: a set of young men who certainly pursue their studies with zeal, but who nevertheless are more brutal in conduct, more insolent in manner, more slovenly and ruffian-like in appearance, and more offensive from the fumes of tobacco and beer, onions and sourcroot, in which they are enveloped, than are to be met with in any other part of Europe. In a small town of a small state a German university is a horrible nuisance; and how the elegant court of Weimar, in particular, can tolerate the existence of one within an hour's ride of its palace, where we have seen ragamuffins fighting with broad-swords in the market-place, moves 'our special wonder.'

To the university of Bonn is attached a rich collection of subjects in natural history, and a botanical garden; and such is its success, from the celebrity of its professors, among whom is numbered the illustrious William Schlegel, that, as Dr. Granville states, 'there are at this time about one thousand and twenty students who, for twenty pounds in university and professors' fees, and forty more for living, get a first-rate education.' The climate and the situation on the banks of the Rhine are most inviting; and a beautiful avenue of chesnut trees, nearly a mile in length, joins the castle of Poppelsdorf, which contains the cabinets of natural history, with the university.

We must leave Roland the Bold and Hildegunde the Fair, and the beauteous Gertrude of Lilienstein, the Drachenfels, the Lurleyberg, and the lovely Undine, to such as can be pleased with romantic stories re-hashed by Dr. Granville, and hasten towards the grand theatre of his descriptive powers and graphical illustrations, to which about one half of his volumes is appropriated. We must not even suffer ourselves to be seduced by the Schlossenger, the Markobrunner, the Rudesheim, and

class—but these remain; and, by the by, we think his last translators, two clergymen of the church of England, since they have exercised the right of adding notes to Niebuhr's text wherever they fancied they had anything worth hearing to offer, might have as well remarked, for the benefit of their young academical readers, on some of the most offensive paragraphs which have appeared since the days of the Philosophical Dictionary. But Niebuhr is, what Mr. Wordsworth should not have called Voltaire, 'a pert, dull scoffer.' We regret this omission the more, because one of these translators appears to us to be a man of great talents. He has written two prefaces, one to his version of Schleiermacher on St. Luke, and another to some novels from the German, which are sufficient to place him in an eminent rank. Pity that such talents should be wasted on the drudgery of translation—and pity still more that the works rendered by such a hand should in any instance be pregnant with crude and dangerous speculations.

the

the many other luscious wines, whose qualities and prices are so fully detailed by Mr. Arnold Mumm, who holds the best stocked cellar in Frankfort, that city of palaces and pleasure. We cannot, however, refuse to halt for a moment to hear with what melodious strains the market people are regaled at Weimar.

'On the morning after our arrival, I was delighted and surprised at the sound of a beautiful waltz, exquisitely performed on wind instruments, apparently not far off. This attracted us to the window, when, instead of one of those wandering troops of musicians, which one expects to see at the door of an hotel, greeting, for the sake of a few sou^s, the newly arrived traveller, we observed a numerous band, perched in the stone balcony near the very top of the lofty Rathhaus, regaling with delightful performances of music taken from books regularly set before them, the assembled multitude in the market below, who listened to the different pieces with the indifference of persons evidently accustomed to such a practice. I learned, in fact, shortly after, from Meinherr Hoffman, a respectable bookseller, that this morning-concert is repeated regularly twice a week, on market-days at eleven o'clock, agreeably to a contract entered into by a society of musicians with the city authorities, who have likewise engaged them to furnish all the sacred music and performers requisite for the church service.'—vol. i. pp. 214, 215.

The good people of Weimar appear, indeed, to be most enthusiastic lovers of music, affording, as the Doctor thinks, strong proofs of melomania. Every householder of any importance subscribes an annual sum to a band of musicians; who go round in long cloaks to each house, singing fugas and canons, unaccompanied by instruments, in 'the most beautiful and correct style imaginable,'—something, we suppose, in the style of the Tyrolese minstrels. We cannot leave Weimar without giving a specimen '*comment les Allemands mangent*,—for Dr. G.'s specimen may serve for all the north of Germany.

'I determined on joining one day the first and most frequented *table d'hôte* kept in Weimar, at which, as I had previously been told, I should be sure of meeting with a select number of highly respectable people, who, having no regular household establishment, usually frequent these convenient places. Alas! things seldom prove in reality so fair as in description. I learned, on taking my place at the convivial board, that I had the honour of sitting with no fewer than three Barons, Privy Councillors, superior *employés* in the Government, and some military officers. My informant, who presided at the table, and who was master of the inn, introduced me to those who sat nearest. I first addressed one, then another, and at last a third, with the usual introductory observations of strangers willing to enter into conversation; but to no effect. Either my German was unintelligible, or my French too much for them; for I tried both languages.' (Why did the Doctor not try *Italian*?) 'The replies were monosyllabic

syllabic and discouraging, and I was compelled to fall back into my character of silent observer. As the dinner proceeded, and the conversation, with one exception, became general, a boisterous band of bugles and clarionets, enough to startle the whole Thuringian forest, was admitted into the room; and the astounding noise they made rendered the voices of our guests louder and louder still, until it became, at last, animated to the highest degree, though no Rhenish wine, but only a single tumbler of cold punch had been set before them. Brandishing of knives and forks in the air, as the interlocutors studied to enforce by gesticulation their narratives and propositions; picking of teeth with the point of the knife or a pin during the short pauses of affected attention to the adversary's reply; spitting across the room, and at some distance, on some unlucky piece of furniture; despoiling every plate of the last drop of the savoury sauce, with a morsel of bread held between the finger and thumb; these formed some of the episodes to the more general occupation of eating, enacted by these sprigs of nobility and untravelled fashionables. Their shirt-pins, bearing stones of the diameter of a rixthaler, cornelian watch-keys like the pans of scales, profusion of massive rings on every phalanx, coarse linen, hair uncombed, and nails terminated by a sable crescent, bespoke them members of that privileged class, which in many of the principal towns in Germany, I am sorry to be obliged to admit, do not always combine the Chesterfieldian manners and neatness of person with their other excellent qualities of the heart and head, but whose peculiarities never strike the uninitiated so forcibly as at table.'—vol. i. pp. 226—228.

And now for the *cuisine*, in which, however, we cannot help thinking our author indulges too much, and wastes a great deal more time than the subject demands.

'Our dinner began with *potage au riz*, of which deep basinsful with grated cheese were speedily swallowed. To this succeeded, in single and orderly succession, plain boiled beef with sour mustard and a profusion of fermented red cabbage; boiled carp, with its silvery scales in all their brilliancy upon its back; large balls of a substance resembling hasty pudding, light and savoury, swimming in a bowl of melted butter resembling castor oil, and eaten most voraciously by all present, with the addition of a sweet *compôte de pommes*. *Chevreuil piqué au lard* was next introduced; followed by some sort of fried fish. At last a boiled capon made its appearance, to which I, who had hitherto been a motionless as well as a silent spectator, commended myself for a dinner; and while thus engaged, I observed that fried parsley roots, hot and hissing from the pan, were received on the table with the approving exclamation: "Das ist ganz vortrefflich!" This comedy had now lasted upwards of an hour, and I began to repent of my experiment. At last Dutch cheese, pears, and sponge biscuits, were laid on the greasy table cloth; coffee and liqueur were presented to some and not to others, and the "*convivii turbulenti*," after having rolled up their weekly napkin, and confined it within a ring of red leather, paid their

their moderate reckoning of half a rixthaler, (eighteenpence!) and departed, one after the other, in all the swaggering complacency which a full stomach is apt to inspire.'—vol. i. pp. 228, 229.

Heaven defend us, we say, from the *table-d'hôte* at Weimar! It is but little consolation to be assured that, with all this, the '*chymification* and *chilification* go on uninterruptedly' in the human caldron; and that the whole secret of eating and drinking depends on the manner in which a stomach has been *educated*. 'Each,' the Doctor tells us, 'has had its physical education as peculiarly different from that of the rest, as that which the professor has received in the nursery or at college, and each must be dealt with accordingly.' If so, what becomes of Mr. Abernethy's universal specific, the blue pill? We suppose it is adapted to all stomachs, something like a purser's shirt, which fits all the Johnnies, great and small, in a man of war.

Every body has heard of the immense quantity of books that are exposed for sale at Leipsig fair, but we certainly were not aware that one of the objects that attract so many persons—Deutchers, and Polacks, and liegemen of the Dane,—is to 'friandize' on Leipsig larks; about half a million of which, the Doctor was informed, are consumed at the Michaelmas fair. We are grieved, moreover, to find that the Germans have a keener edge for these feathered dainties than for the edges of our Birmingham and Sheffield scissors, knives and razors, all of which once found so good a market in that country. 'It is a fact,' says Dr. Granville, 'that in the course of our whole journey from the Rhine to Berlin, I did not observe a single knife, or any other table utensil, which was not of German origin—clumsy, awkward, badly finished indeed, but still preferred because German.' This is carrying patriotism or prejudice to a great length indeed. We venture to say that a pair of English scissors may be afforded at Leipsig, for three half-pence, better than any that can be made in all Germany for three-pence; but it would be difficult to persuade the muzzy-headed smokers of this.

Berlin, with its splendid museums of pictures, natural history and Egyptian antiquities—the university, with its seventeen hundred students—the academy of arts and sciences, enriched and supported chiefly by his Prussian Majesty—affords a subject on which we could dwell with pleasure, if our limited space would allow; but we have so high an opinion of the excellent qualities of King Frederic William, that we are unwilling to pass unnoticed the testimony which Dr. Granville has given of the regard and veneration which his grateful subjects pay to him.

'No sovereign in Europe is more beloved by his subjects. Goodness of heart, uprightness of judgment, a desire to promote the utility

utility of public institutions, an anxiety to see men of talents fill the most important offices of the state, a watchful jealousy over the interests of his country, and over the honours and power of his army, so necessary for their preservation; a readiness in affording support and adding splendour to public amusements; a strict observance of the religion of his ancestors; an unassuming demeanour in public; an amiable deportment in the relations of domestic life, an unbounded attachment to his children; these are the features in the character of Frederick William, which I have been able to cull from the many eulogies bestowed on his Majesty by the several classes of people, from the highest to the lowest, with which I mixed during my short stay in Berlin, as well as in the course of my journey through Prussia. What nation would not rather be governed by such a monarch, than by some renowned conqueror, or prince endowed with brilliant talents, but without any of the qualities of the heart here enumerated?"—vol. i. pp. 342, 343.

We are now within sight of autocratic Russia. The province of Livonia presents an anomalous and somewhat staggering fact. Dr. Granville states, that 'out of a population of 644,701, about 3892 belong to the nobility; this, in Russia, is a moderate proportion; but the remarkable point is this, that of the whole number, 289,266 only are males, leaving an unexplained excess of 66,169 females. Had the Doctor investigated the subject, he probably would have found that the males had been sent to the army; as it appears, from the statistical tables of Mr. Weydemeyer, that the number of males to that of females, in all Russia, is as 44 to 40.

The approach to the capital from Strelua, on the Gulf of Finland, is stated to be an uninterrupted line of sumptuous palaces, in every variety of chaste, fanciful, and imitative architecture, with gardens and pleasure-grounds attached to the country seats of the nobility and gentry of Petersburg. A triumphal arch opens into the suburbs, and after passing two handsome bridges of granite, Doctor Granville entered the Northern Babylon, having, as he says, travelled one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five miles in thirty-five consecutive days, from the time he left London.* In the same time, he has contrived to collect materials for supplying four hundred and fourteen close printed pages, and forty-three views, plans and vignettes! An ill-natured critic might, perhaps, call the dressing up of these *book-making*; but we would submit that a judicious *precis* of authentic materials, such as printed guides, views and plans, which may be

* A friend of ours recently went to Russia by steam, and actually breakfasted in Moscow the thirteenth morning after he left London. There is now, he says, a road as good as that to Brighton over three parts of the distance between St. Petersburg and Moscow—what a change from 1812!

had at all the large towns on the continent, will necessarily be more accurate than any account which a traveller can of his own observation and industry collect, especially one who moves at the rate of fifty miles a day, which, with Dutch and German post-horses, would occupy from eight to ten hours.

We have said that Petersburg is the theatre for the display of Doctor Granville's descriptive powers and graphical illustrations. Here he had at least five weeks, and the best opportunities, for collecting materials, and comparing how far their accuracy corresponded with his own observations; and we do not hesitate to say that his 'Picture of Petersburg' contains the most copious and detailed description of the gigantic edifices of this extraordinary city which has hitherto been laid before the public, and the woodcuts are neatly executed, and convey as good an idea of what is meant to be represented as more costly engravings could do. As to the Russians generally, and the Russian manners and character of St. Petersburg, we must yield the palm to Capt. Jones, from whom our author has largely, but not judiciously, borrowed. If we should 'hint a fault' touching this part of Dr. Granville's performance, it would be that of wearisome verbosity—of too minute a detail of unimportant and uninteresting circumstances—an unnecessary display of his own movements and engagements—and a trick of viewing persons and objects 'couleur de rose.' The emperor and every individual of the imperial family are exhibited as above all praise; they are applauded to the very echo, as the brightest examples of piety, morality, benevolence, and every human virtue. Even Constantine, that man whom all former travellers, and his own countrymen here, have represented as a compound of every vice, and one that has been guilty of the most brutal and atrocious acts at which humanity shudders, is here held up as a pattern of conjugal fidelity and domestic virtue. We hope it may be so. Time, that great innovator, may have worked a change for the better; and, if there was no juggling, the first public symptom of a proper sense of decency, was the rejection of a legitimate crown, which conscious unworthiness could alone have prompted. It is, perhaps, fortunate for mankind that there is an avenger, an '*Edax rerum*,' to weaken the incitements to vicious pursuits, as it weakens the corporeal powers of committing them: an event which happens to all,—with the exceptions, perhaps, of an abandoned woman, and a thorough-paced jacobin; for in these hearts the original taint is said to stick fast, ineradicable by the caustic of time, even when hoary old age has rendered the members impotent of sin; and,

'As with age their bodies uglier grow,
So do their minds with cankers.'

Capt.

Capt. Jones tells us it is generally believed in Petersburg that he is quite a reformed character; and that the first good impression made on his mind was owing to two Polish noblemen, who went privately to him, and assured him that his despotic conduct would create a revolt; that they were prepared to meet the fate they knew they should receive at his hands, but that the good of their country actuated them to take this step; and so saying, they pulled out their pistols and shot themselves dead. The story is not very probable, though Captain Jones, a sensible man, evidently believes it to the letter.

But the Emperor Nicholas—he is all perfection; ‘towards him,’ the doctor says, ‘the eyes of all Europe are at present turned. A young and powerful sovereign—full of health and energy—beloved by his subjects, to whom he is attached in return—esteemed and looked up to, as their natural leader, by one of the finest and most numerous armies in the world—surrounded by a galaxy of generals, whose names have been entwined with the laurels of the last memorable war—Nicholas the First,’ &c. &c. is, in short, a monarch, ‘on whose personal character and political principles the entire faith and confidence of the European cabinets repose.’ We hope they may not be deceived; but of this by and bye. That the new Czar is regular in transacting both public and private business—that he is the most indefatigable and active sovereign now reigning—that he is a benevolent prince and patron of the liberal arts—that he bestows stars and ribands,—‘that public services are very cheaply rewarded by the imperial family of Russia with rings and trinkets;’ and that Dr. Granville will most assuredly be summoned one of these days to Ashburnham-house to receive a diamond ring, or a gold-enamelled snuff-box,—all this we verily believe; but when we are told that the emperor in person visits all the prisons, inquires into their several cases, and that he hastens on the trial of their causes before the tribunals, we deem it sheer nonsense; more especially when we find it stated that there are no fewer than 130,000 prisoners in confinement, and the causes to be tried are counted by millions. Dr. Granville is by no means the first that has been carried away by the condescension of the imperial family to strangers, and more particularly to Englishmen; we incline to think that, when on the parade, the glittering of the ‘smooth snow,’ the waving of the pendant plumes, and the power of the imagination, must have combined to dazzle his eyes when he fancied ‘the countenance, stature, and figure of Nicholas and Michael claimed a decided superiority over every handsome officer we had seen that morning, or that we observed on subsequent occasions among the several regiments of the guards.’ The following anecdote

dote is curious, and *may* be true; but we doubt whether Nicholas will venture on the same feat with the Turks:—

‘The following trait of Nicholas, though of a different description, deserves to be recorded. I had it from the best authority. It is known that the Persians have, of late years, endeavoured to introduce the European tactics into their armies; yet, with so little success, that the Russian troops opposed to them have found little difference in their mode of fighting. Some months before the capture of Erivan by the Russians, some hundreds of these Perso-European soldiers were made prisoners, when the emperor desired that a certain number of them should be sent to St. Petersburg, where he had them dressed in the uniform of one of his regiments of guards, and ordered that they might be trained and instructed like them. He even took care that their clothing should be of better materials, and their food of the best kind, and, from time to time, his Majesty himself would go to see them manœuvre in order to judge of their progress. When he found them well trained, he sent them back to the shah, with this message: “Tell your sovereign, that if he really wishes to introduce the modern European system of tactics and military discipline into his armies, he may safely take you as his models—and that he may form as many such as he pleases, by applying to his immediate neighbours, instead of employing some renegade officers, or runaway adventurers from distant countries.”’—vol. ii. pp. 24, 25.

But the empress-mother, Maria Feodorowna, who has just departed this life, and who appears to have been, next to Nicholas, the great moving power of all that is transacted in Petersburg—how shall we be able to convey an adequate idea of the merits of this extraordinary and exalted personage, or to do justice to the distinguished talents, the virtues, and all the qualifications of so accomplished and amiable a woman—which require, as the author tells us, ‘the full measure and weight of biography!’ She was the widow of Paul, the daughter of Frederic Eugene, Duke of Wirtemberg, was born in 1759, yet, at this advanced age, she had more active business on her hands than either the emperor, his generals, or his ministers; and transacted it, too, with as much energy, care, and attention, as the very best and ablest of them:—

‘The conspicuous features in the character of the empress-mother, exemplified by her well-known daily distribution of time, are, a desire to promote and improve education among the higher as well as the lower classes of society; a wish to alleviate human sufferings; a disposition to support those who are without natural protectors; and great zeal in encouraging national industry and in patronising science and the arts.’—vol. ii., p. 31.

This good lady was not the mere nominal head and patroness of four-and-twenty public institutions in St. Petersburg: we are told that she was in the habit of rising early, receiving sealed reports from each,

each, reading them all, making remarks, and giving the necessary directions—managing a loan-bank—cultivating the fine arts—taking great interest in science, and particularly fond of botany. She designed medals and engraved the dies herself—cut cameos and intaglios on stone, and excelled in the art of turning in ivory and in wood.

‘As several of her institutions are situated at some distance from the capital, and some even as far as Moscow, the empress is seldom long without undertaking journeys, in order to judge by her own personal observation of the state and progress of those establishments. This constant activity keeps her Majesty in an uninterrupted state of health; and at the age of sixty-eight years she exhibits, in her personal appearance, as she does in mind, all the vigour and integrity of one at a much earlier period of life.’—vol. ii. p. 34.

Two great institutions for the education of young ladies were governed by, and one of them entirely the work of, the empress-mother—the *Communauté des Demoiselles Nobles*, and the *Institut de St. Catherine*. That of the *Demoiselles Nobles* consists of two parts; one, in which about four hundred young ladies of noble families are educated; and the other, the same number of daughters of *bourgeois*: the former reside nine, and the latter six, years in the respective establishments. They are taught all such accomplishments as young ladies acquire in other countries; and in addition, ‘the more advanced pupils become daily acquainted with the business of housekeeping, management of servants, and the arrangement of the household for the whole establishment.’—The nobles are divided into three classes, the *bourgeoises* into two; the former pay 1100 roubles a-year, the latter 600. The three classes are distinguished by the colour of their robes, which are red, blue and brown, simple yet elegant. They have large gardens and covered corridors, and are exercised in gymnastics for their amusement; but they are not permitted to leave the establishment till their education is finished. Their parents may see them on a Sunday, ‘under certain very judicious regulations, and the strictest *surveillance*.’ This is singular enough; but what follows is more so. ‘Corporal punishment does not enter into the system of discipline.’ What an idea! did it ever enter the brain, even of a Russian, to flog young ladies at a boarding-school? The pampered friars in papist convents of some countries have been accused of exercising such atrocities towards the young nuns in their power, but the empress-mother was too wise and discreet a lady to suffer monsters of this kind to come beneath the roof of her establishment. Dr. Granville seems to think that this kind of conventual education is likely to produce more favourable results than solitary or home education. We think differently. It appears

to us to have a tendency to dissolve the ties that nature has intended should exist between the parent and the child, by turning over the latter, at an early age, fit may be, to a capricious and uninterested instructress, who loses sight of her from the moment that she quits her prison, and returns to that home, that father's house, in which she must be looked upon, for a time at least, as a stranger.

Another institution, under the immediate superintendence of this charitable and benevolent princess, and which she had managed for the last thirty years, is the *Maison des Enfants trouvés*. The number admitted into this charitable institution, in little more than ten months, Dr. Granville says, was 3554, of which 465 were children at the breast. This gives, in round numbers, about 4000 a-year, which, in a population of 313,000, is as 1 to 78; but as about half of this number must be females, and it would be a large allowance to suppose that one-half the females are in a child-bearing state, it will follow that every twentieth woman brings annually a bastard into the world. What chastity and morality must prevail in St. Petersburg!

A number of these children, when fit to leave the *Maison*, are sent to the cotton manufactory of Alexandrowsky; but even here they were not lost sight of by their benefactress. She provided for those, who might enter into the holy state of matrimony, a neat log-house in the immediate neighbourhood of the factory; and, when the doctor was there, about one hundred, out of the thousand foundlings here employed, had married; thus forming, as he observes, a rising colony of *legitimates*. A certain number of the females are brought up and instructed in midwifery, and sent out to the lying-in hospitals—one of which is under the superintendence of the reigning empress, and another was under that of the empress-mother. The latter was entirely supported by this benevolent and charitable princess; it contains only about thirty beds; but the doctor assures us, and he must be a competent judge, that the care taken of the mother and child may be better compared to the lying-in chamber of a great lady than to an hospital. This is strictly intended for married women, and such as are in indifferent circumstances; and we agree with Dr. Granville that it must be a sad contrast to the really poor married woman, who has been lying-in in such a palace, with such an attendance as he describes, and in such linen, to return to her own abject fireside. But there was no end to the active benevolence of this good lady. She had another institution, founded for widows of officers who have been left in indigent circumstances, who are assembled, lodged, and fed in a part of the Smolnoë convent. Many of these voluntarily go out as nurses to the *Hôpital des pauvres*, wear a particular dress and a cross, and are called *veuves de la charité*, bearing

bearing a resemblance to the *sœurs de la charité* in the hospitals of France.

The mortality, however, in the hospitals of St. Petersburg, with all the care and countenance bestowed on them by the different branches of the imperial family, is something enormous. In the years 1811 and 1812 it is stated, apparently on good authority, that the average mortality in the two principal civil hospitals, was eighteen and a half per cent., or triple of what it is in London; and Dr. Granville says that he found from a table, that out of 9,590 deaths which occurred in the year 1818, 2260, or 1 in little less than 4, were children, and 62 from child-bed. On the whole population of St. Petersburg, the mortality is about 1 in 33, or three per cent. In another place, Dr. Granville says that near two thousand out of five thousand die of *consumption*; that is to say, that in the whole mortality, exclusive of the number of children abovementioned, namely 7330, the number that die of consumption amounts to 2930!—but the most extraordinary part is, that colds, and catarrhs, and diseases of the chest are said to be hardly known in St. Petersburg, *scrofula* being the prolific source of the abovementioned disorder.

However questionable the utility of some of these institutions may be, there can be no doubt of the true spirit of humanity and benevolence in her who presided over them. To her amiable disposition, her condescension, and marked attentions to all travellers of respectability who had the good fortune to be introduced to her, and more especially to Englishmen, we never met with one that was not ready to give his testimony; and there is certainly none in the empire whose loss will be so severely felt as hers.

Petersburg has very correctly been called the city of palaces—a city which, to use the words of Dr. James, the present Bishop of Calcutta, ‘is replete with every fancied ornament that taste and wealth could bestow, uniting in the same view all the elegant symmetries of Grecian and Roman art, with the gorgeous pride of the east.’ There is nothing, we believe, in all Europe, to be compared with the number, the immensity, the solidity, and elegance of the public buildings. Well might the French traveller inquire where the *people* lived? and we may ask Dr. Granville the same question; for of the people he tells us nothing. In truth, we may almost say, there are no people—none who have a voice in public affairs—none who have even a representative of any kind, save and except Nicholas, Emperor and Autocrat, who is everything,—all in all, or, as Dr. Granville calls him, ‘the father of his people.’ So were the autocrats of Rome, and the autocrats of Egypt, whose sons, like those of Russia, were employed in building those stupendous monuments, which time has not been

able wholly to efface. Our author acquaints us, likewise, that no *tiers état* exists in St. Petersburg, but in lieu thereof he enumerates the literary professors, the second order of *employés* under government, and the bankers; the merchants, the tradesmen, the professions, and the artisans are chiefly foreigners. We have little doubt, however, that as three hundred and thirteen thousand people happen to be congregated together in St. Petersburg, the doctor's own researches were to blame when he came to the conclusion that in this great city there is a total absence of 'those dark and wretched courts and lanes, the abode of the lowest classes.' Dr. G.'s five weeks spent in the gay and 'select circles'—emperors, princes, nobles, and generals—did not allow him to discover them—but there they are; and Capt. Jones found them in a condition low enough, and not very different from what Clarke has described—squalid, filthy, miserably poor. Travellers, especially those who are constantly fêted by the great, are apt to forget the just remark of our great moralist, that 'the manners of a people are not to be found in the schools of learning or the palaces of greatness; nor is public happiness to be estimated by the assemblies of the gay or the banquets of the rich;' that 'the great mass of nations are neither rich nor gay;' that 'they, whose aggregate constitutes the people, are found in the streets and the villages, in the shops and farms; and from them, collectively considered, must the measure of general prosperity be taken.' The 'great mass' of this description in Russia amounts to about forty of the fifty-three millions that constitute its multifarious population, a large proportion of whom are slaves to the aristocracy. This privileged class, who are in their turn, individually at least, slaves to the autocrat, amount to 225,000; the citizens are only 1,800,000; the merchants, 120,000; the ecclesiastics, 216,000; the army, 1,000,000; subaltern officers and inferior *employés*, 500,000.*

We can afford to notice only a very few of the 'thousand and one' palaces, churches, and other public edifices, which Dr. Granville has occupied from four to five hundred of his pages in describing. Many of the palaces, the government establishments, and literary and charitable institutions, were founded by the Czar Peter, and extended by Catharine and Elizabeth; and since their times others have been added or improved by succeeding sovereigns, each of whom seems to have had an itch to do something, whether useful or not. They appear, indeed, to consider it a part of their imperial prerogative to be meddling in matters which our crowned heads give themselves no concern about; and yet such matters go on much better, probably, than they would do by their interfe-

* Tableaux Statistiques, &c., de l'Empire de Russie, par Alexandre de Weydemeyer, 1828.

rence. But in Russia, the government, that is to say the emperor or his family, must meddle with everything. All the manufactories are imperial, and generally under the superintendence of some Englishman or Scotchman, who is raised to the rank of a general officer. Thus we find an imperial cotton manufactory superintended by General Wilson, an imperial glass manufactory, an imperial porcelain manufactory, and various others, which the autocrat is determined to have, for no other reason but that other nations have them, though few if any of them pay their expenses, or produce articles so good or so cheap as can be imported.

One of the most striking and gigantic buildings in St. Petersburg is the Admiralty. The principal front on the land side is, by the doctor's account, considerably more than one-third of an English mile in length, and its wings, in depth, extend six hundred and seventy-two feet, down to the edge of the Neva, this noble river forming the fourth side of the quadrangle. Along the front and wings a promenade, planted with trees, has taken place of the moat and ramparts by which it was formerly surrounded. Within the three sides (the Neva and two wings) are ranges of parallel buildings, which form the magazines, artificers' shops, mast and boat houses, offices, &c. ; and in the area within these, equal, we are told, to about sixty-two thousand square feet, are four slips for building the largest, and two for a smaller class of, ships of war. This, however, is impossible ; a side of such a square is not more than two hundred and fifty feet, and six slips would be huddled together even in six hundred feet, which, if so extended, would leave only one hundred feet in depth—not sufficient for a sloop of war ; the doctor, therefore, we presume, must mean square yards. The whole of the outer range of buildings consists of grand suites of rooms, and long and beautifully ornamented galleries, filled with the natural history and curiosities collected in every part of the globe, and brought by the different navigators which Russia, of late years, has sent forth on discovery. In one room are assembled all the different nautical and mathematical instruments ; in another all the models of ships of different nations and different eras ; in another a complete library connected with every branch of the marine service. Just before the doctor's arrival, three ships were launched—the *Emperor Alexander*, of 110 guns ; the *Grand Duke Michael*, of 74 guns ; and the *Imperatrice Alexandra*, of 84 guns—all of which were built in the very heart of the capital, and constructed on the principles of Sir Robert Seppings—which, indeed, are now, we believe, adopted by every maritime nation of Europe.

The oak timber with which vessels are built at Petersburg is mostly brought from Casan, of bad quality, and generally worked

up while perfectly green; the consequence is, that the usual duration of a Russian ship is not more than five or six years. Hitherto, they have served for no other purpose than, like the beggarly boxes of Romeo's apothecary, merely to make up a show. The small share which these bad-sailing ships would allow their respectable commander, the Count Heyden, to take in the late 'untoward' affair of Navarin, made, it seems, a very strong impression in the capital; and since that exploit they are building and sending out ships with more activity than at any former period. Whether their magazines are better filled than in the Emperor Alexander's time Dr. Granville gives no account. Capt. Jones says that the Emperor one day, complimenting Admiral F—— on their good order, observed, 'Admiral, you are always talking to me of the English fleet and arsenals,—I should be glad to know if their storehouses can be in better or cleaner order than these?' 'No, please your Majesty, they are not half so clean; because, instead of being empty, like these, they are filled with pitch, tar, hemp, and naval stores of all sorts, which gives them a dirty appearance and disagreeable smell.' The same blunt admiral (his name is not mentioned), on being asked, after the admiralty ditch and rampart were filled up, what he thought the Czar Peter would say, if he could rise and see those beautiful alterations in the *exterior* of his favourite admiralty? 'I know not what he would say to *them*,' replied the ancient, 'but I know well what he would think if he saw the deserted and empty state of the *interior*.' After this, the old tar had *leave* to go and reside in the country.

We may here notice a fact long known to botanists, but of which our planters and purveyors of timber appear to have had no suspicion, that there are two distinct species of oak in England, the *Quercus Robur*, and the *Quercus Sessiliflora*; the former of which affords a close-grained, firm, solid timber, rarely subject to rot; the other more loose and sappy, very liable to rot, and not half so durable. This difference was noticed so early as the time of Ray; and Martyn, in his *Flora Rustica*, and Sir James Smith, in his *Flora Britannica*, have added their testimonies to the fact. The second species is supposed to have been introduced, some two or three ages ago, from the continent, where the oaks are chiefly of this latter species, especially in the German forests, the timber of which is known to be very worthless. But what is of more importance to us is, that, *de facto*, the impostor abounds and is propagated vigorously in the New Forest and other parts of Hampshire, in Norfolk, and the northern counties, and about London; and there is but too much reason to believe that the numerous complaints that were heard about our ships being infested with what was called, improperly enough, *dry-rot*, were owing to

to the introduction of this species of oak into the naval dock-yards, where, we understand, the distinction was not even suspected. It may thus be discriminated from the true old English oak: the acorn-stalks of the *Robur* are *long* and its leaves *short*, whereas the *Sessiliflora* has the acorn-stalks *short* and the leaves *long*; the acorns of the former grow singly, or seldom two on the same foot-stalk; those of the latter in clusters of two or three, close to the stem of the branch. We believe the Russian ships of the Baltic, that are not of larch or fir, are built of this species of oak; but if this were not the case, their exposure on the stocks, without cover, to the heat of summer, which, though short, is excessive, and the rifts and chinks, which fill up with ice and snow in the long winter, are enough to destroy the stoutest oak, and quite sufficient to account for their short-lived duration.

Dr. Granville is moderate in stating the Russian army as not being less than half a million of men, which others, by paper estimates, have extended to a full million; but in this million are included all the *employés* belonging to the staff in St. Petersburg, to the commissariat, and, we believe, all the numerous persons about the court, who have rank in the army, including even the maids of honour, who are all major-generals. The machinery for the management of this army—the Horse-Guards of St. Petersburg—is in the palace of the *État Major*. One grand division of this vast institution is composed of hydrographers, topographers, and geographers, in which the general map of the empire, and maps of the respective governments, are constructed, examined, and corrected from the surveys, as they are brought in. Private soldiers were observed in one room, employed in copying MS. maps, plans of towns, and fortifications; others engraving them on copper; in another suite of apartments, a number of officers and soldiers, sitting round large tables covered with green cloth, were intent on calculations, drawing up tables, and keeping registers. Three large rooms are appropriated to the lithographic department. Another suite of rooms contains the instruments, and the manufactory of them. ‘The workmen are all privates or subalterns in the army, and natives of Russia, who have been taught the art, and seem to be very expert artisans.’ From ten to twenty printing presses are constantly at work in the neighbouring apartments, and they have a laboratory, in which the types are cast. Another range of rooms is set aside for the *chancellerie*, for transacting purely military matters; and a large octagon saloon is fitted up as a military library. In it is also a ‘war-game table, more instructive than chess, to familiarize very readily the young officer with the practice and technology of his profession.’ There is also a room, two hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred wide,

wide, containing the archives of the whole Russian army, enshrined, we presume, in receptacles rather different from the little odd white presses round the 'heel-kickery' (as the H.P. gentlemen call it) of our Horse-Guards. It is not, however, as the doctor says, 'unique in its kind,' as being 'wholly of cast iron:' there is a store-house in Plymouth dock-yard six times its size, with doors, windows, floors, and staircase entirely of cast iron. There is a hospital attached to this establishment, which contains about one thousand people, who constantly live in the house, besides one hundred and thirty women, and from forty to fifty children.

We pass over the long and very uninteresting account of the Imperial Academy of the Sciences, instituted by the Czar Peter; the Museums of Natural History, of Curiosities, and of Medals. The following articles, however, must be curious:—

'In the same part of the building have been arranged the different objects in gold, found in the *tumuli* of Siberia; and directions, I understand, have been given to the governors of that part of Russia to forward to the Academy all similar monuments and remains that might hereafter be brought to light. These relics of a nation scarcely known consist in diadems, military trophies, coats of mail, jewels, idols, and figures of various animals. The material of which they are made, and the beauty of their design and workmanship, bespeak great wealth, and an advancement in the polite and useful arts in the dominions of the race of Tschinghis-Khan, scarcely to be credited, were not these testimonies indubitable.'—*Granville*, vol. ii. p. 127. •

Everything in this northern capital is on the grandest scale. A triumphal arch was constructing, of porphyry, granite, and marble, in commemoration of the return of the Guards from Paris, which, when finished, we are told, will vie in grandeur with the colossal temples of Egypt. The imperial government pays the expense, but one individual, Theodore Ouvaroff, was permitted to contribute four hundred thousand roubles.

In the Hotel des Mines, the great conference-hall is stated to measure three hundred and fifty feet in length. Here the models of the mines and of the modes of separating the gold from the siliceous sand are neatly executed; and in another room is a splendid collection of minerals, all neatly arranged, and placed in glass cases. In this establishment are three hundred and thirty resident students; two hundred of whom are required to pay a *pension* of eight hundred roubles a year. They are instructed in every process of mining. Dr. Granville was shown in a model the structure—(it must have been a huge model)—of a real mine, with its surrounding strata. Descending with the conductor, each having a lighted taper,

'we followed him (says the author) into the bowels of the earth, under the building, by a tortuous road, and penetrated into the interior of a
series

series of mining chambers, the walls of which represented, by the aggregation of real specimens, the various stratifications which illustrate geology, and the metalliferous veins, skilfully arranged. Here, also, we observed the mode of sinking shafts, of making trenches and galleries, of cutting for the ore and carrying it out of the mine, the pumps employed to drain the mine, and every other utensil, machine, or process usually employed in such operations. The extent of this subterranean practical school is very considerable. I found, also, that it was rather colder than was comfortable, and we were very glad to see daylight once more peep upon us at the termination of our long peregrination. Those parts of geology and the metalliferous veins which appeared to me to be most successfully represented, were the coal formation and the veins of copper, and in another place, of gold in decomposing granite.—*Granville*, vol. ii. p. 155.

The total produce of the gold mines in the year 1827 is stated to have been 616,383*l.*, of which two-thirds may belong to private individuals. One of these, of the name of Demidoff, is said to have left 150,000*l.* sterling a year to each of his three children! One of them died last year at Florence. The following account of this family is curious enough.

‘When Peter learned how valuable a subject he had rewarded in old Demidoff, he wished to see him placed in the class of nobles. After some hesitation, the old man consented to receive his Sovereign’s farther bounty, and being asked what his arms should be, he answered, “a miner’s hammer, that my posterity may never forget the source of their wealth and prosperity.” It is said, that one of the three brothers left, at his death, the whole of his property to the Foundling Hospital, at Moscow. •

‘Nothing can equal the splendour in which Monsieur Demidoff lived; nor has there existed, for many years past in Europe, a more magnificent patron of the fine arts. Of the numerous suite which accompanies him every where, and in which there are painters, sculptors, musicians, and poets, the most remarkable feature is, a regular company of French comedians, with all their trappings and apparatus for establishing a theatre wherever their liberal master may choose to reside.’—*Granville*, vol. ii. p. 159.

The last public institution we shall notice is the botanical garden, which, like all the rest, is of gigantic dimensions. It contains sixty-five acres: a parallelogram formed by three parallel lines of hot-houses and conservatories, united at the extremities by covered corridors, constitutes the grand feature of this establishment. The south line contains green-house plants in the centre, and hot-house plants at each end; the middle line has hot-house plants only, and the north line is filled with green-house plants. The connecting corridors are two hundred and forty-five feet. ‘The north and south line contain respectively five different compartments of one hundred toises each,’ that is to say, they are together.

together six thousand feet. 'The middle line has seven compartments,' that is, three thousand more, making in the whole length nine thousand feet! Here, again, the doctor blunders egregiously in his measurement, as appears from what immediately follows. 'The whole range of hot and green-houses, taken in a continued line, measures three thousand six hundred and twenty-four feet, being little short of three-fourths of an English mile in length.' Either dimensions are gigantic enough, but the only value of figures is their accuracy, and, for aught we know, many others in the doctor's book may, like this, be two or three times too great or too small. There is, he says, besides, out of doors, a nursery for trees and shrubs, and a systematical arrangement of hardy plants, and such as are employed in the *materia medica*. In this there must also be some mistake; at least we are assured by a gentleman just returned from Petersburg, that *he* saw little or nothing growing out of doors but the common *matricaria*, or wild camomile.

Professor Fischer has great merit in being able to force his plants to a magnitude corresponding with that of the buildings which inclose them. Thus, we are told, an *Acacia speciosa* had grown eighteen feet in the space of two years, and an *Eucalyptus* five and twenty feet in the same period. But these are trifles. A specimen of the *Lobelia candens maxima*, in the green-house of creepers, had ascended to the height of *thirty-two feet*, and covered with its main stem and feeders, a space of *seven hundred feet*, though struck from a cutting under a hand-glass only two years before! And this wonderfully exuberant vegetation is in a green house, under the parallel of 60° latitude. A shoot of bamboo had reached nearly the top of the house, but what that height is we are not told; it is stated, however, that 'during the great heat of 1826, this plant had grown *twenty-six feet in the space of eighteen days*, or three-quarters of an inch in an hour!'

We have not yet, however, quite done with the giants, because what we are about to notice, we are told, has no parallel, and because there is here also a trifling blunder in the measurement. This is the restored or amended church of St. Isaac; and here we have an instance of that incessant meddling of the successors with what their predecessors had done in the way of palaces, churches, and public buildings. St. Isaac was founded by Peter in 1710. In 1768, Catharine ordered it to be reconstructed in marble, on a more extensive scale. Having reached the height of the entablature, Catharine died, and the work stood still. The Emperor Paul entirely changed the plan of the building; and Alexander approved of another plan, in the year 1818, by a Monsieur Montferrand, which is now in progress of execution, provided Nicholas should

should not take it into his head to alter or demolish it altogether. It has a cupola, which, up to the ball, is to be three hundred and seven English feet high. The interior is to be ornamented with one hundred and eighty-eight columns and pilasters of the Corinthian order, of marble drawn from the quarries of Finland; the capitals and bases of bronze richly gilt.

‘But the most astonishing, and certainly unparalleled feature of this magnificent edifice, will be the four porticos which are to decorate its exterior; each of which will consist of eight columns in front, and three in the flank, with capitals and bases of gilt bronze. These forty-eight columns of the Corinthian order, unique in Europe, have been cut out of the rock in Finland, each of one solid piece of granite, five feet ten inches in diameter at their base, five feet two inches near the astragal, and fifty-six feet high; consequently much loftier than those of the Roman Pantheon, which measure only forty-six feet nine inches and eleven lines.’—*Granville*, vol. ii. p. 198.

To see these gigantic pillars raised, it is said that architects of all countries have signified their intention of being present—‘an opportunity which,’ the doctor says, ‘neither times past have offered, nor will future ages, in all probability, again afford, of seeing forty-eight columns, each of one solid block of highly polished bronze and sparkling granite, seventeen and a half feet in circumference at their bases, and loftier than any that the hand of an architect has ever ventured to design.’ Indeed! who was it that ‘ventured to design’ Pompey’s pillar? As the doctor tells us to a *line* what is the height of the Pantheon columns, he ought, at least, to have been accurate to an *inch* in the circumference of those of St. Isaac, which, instead of being $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet, are, if our arithmetic be right, 18.333 feet, full ten inches more than he has stated them to be; and when he tells us that each column weighs 288,000 pounds, he again errs the contrary way. The average weight of a cubic foot of close-grained granite is, as nearly as possible, 164 pounds; the contents of the column of St. Isaac are 1330.467 cubic feet; *ergo*, the weight of the column is 218,197 pounds, or about one-fourth part less than the doctor asserts it to be.

With all the magnificence and oriental splendour of this Northern Babylon, the enormous wealth and extensive establishments of the nobles, the superb furniture of their palaces, and the splendid entertainments which are constantly given, to an extent unknown in other countries of Europe, there is still something that lacks of the delicacy and refinement which prevail among the upper ranks of more civilized nations, and smacks of the barbarian. We may illustrate this by two little anecdotes mentioned by Captain Jones. This officer was invited to a grand ball and supper given by the Empress-mother.

‘After

'After we had been about forty minutes at table, the Empress retired, when a most unexpected, extraordinary, but amusing scene, took place—a general scramble for the good things which were left, particularly at the Imperial table—Generals, Counts, and Subs, with their gold-laced coats, pocketing without mercy, and struggling to outdo the domestics, who did not appear to pay them much respect, or to be willing to allow them to carry off the spoils quietly; and in five minutes there was a perfect scene of devastation, even the very candles were carried off by the attendants, and, to the blaze of splendour which we had just witnessed, succeeded darkness scarcely visible.'—*Jones*, vol. i. p. 430.

The grocers, the packers, the dry-salters, *et id genus omne*, at the annual civic feast, may slyly pocket the *bon-bons*, or hand a piece of plumcake or pudding to their wives or daughters standing behind them; but we are not aware that, even in Guildhall, a Russian scramble is ever permitted. The other anecdote is told of the Grand Veneur Nariskin, who is said to be always doing something magnificent and eccentric.

'It is related of him that, knowing the Empress was to pass one evening, he had, by way of surprise, collected skins of all the ferocious beasts of the forests, and by placing either men or children inside, according to their size, gave them the appearance of life, and they were frisking about his grounds, to the astonishment of the Empress, when she passed. By way of further surprise, and honour to his sovereign mistress, he caused an extraordinary display of fireworks and rockets to be let off, when she came in front of the house. Unfortunately, however, not having apprised the supposed animals of the terrible explosion which was to take place, they were most dreadfully alarmed; and, instead of continuing to play their parts as quadrupeds, they attempted to seek flight as bipeds, and by which they rendered the scene truly ridiculous.'—*Jones*, vol. i. p. 331.

It was shrewdly answered by a foreigner to a Russian, who asked, what could induce his countrymen to adhere to the old style in their calendar, which had been abolished by all other European nations? in order, said he, that your countrymen may imagine themselves only a dozen days behind the rest of Europe, whereas, in fact, they are a whole century of years in arrear.

But we have done with St. Petersburg, and intend to conclude with a few observations on the two remaining works mentioned at the head of this article. Dr. Granville assures his readers, with the utmost confidence, that the good faith of the Emperor Nicholas may be perfectly relied on, in all that regards his engagements to the allies, in the treaty, to which he was a party, of the 6th July, 1827; because 'his political life has never belied any of those strict principles which, in private life, have by general acknowledgment been known to guide his conduct.' This may or may not be the case,

case, as hereafter shall appear; but, at the present moment, he labours under something more than a suspicion of a want of sincerity, which has weakened very considerably that 'reliance' of which Dr. Granville speaks. On a provocation from Turkey, no matter whether slight or otherwise, he has declared war against her; but, with a generosity for which he obtained adequate applause, he voluntarily offered to waive the privilege of a belligerent in the Mediterranean, and to adhere *there* strictly to the conditions of the treaty of London, the sole object of which was to liberate the Greeks from the Turkish yoke, in whose fate he pretended to be most deeply interested. No sooner, however, did he find that the Turks were not so easily beaten as he had supposed; that Varna, and Chumla, and Silistria retarded his progress towards the capital, than he sends an order, direct from Odessa, to Count Heyden, who was acting in concert with the other two allied admirals, and passing over the regular channels of communicating his intention to England and France, instituted a blockade of the Dardanelles. Of course he ceases to be any longer a party to the treaty. Having thus broken faith with his allies, and left the Greeks, as far as he was concerned, to the mercy of the Turks, what guarantee have we that he will observe more religiously his solemn avowal against any intention of territorial aggrandizement? Differing as we do altogether from the general views of Lieut.-Col. Evans, we are very much disposed to agree with him in what follows.

'With respect to the reigning autocrat—although it is but the other day the diadem has descended to him, has he not already found time to prosecute successfully an aggrandizing policy? The ink is scarcely dry which has signed away to him, by means of a most indefensible exercise of force, the banks of the Araxes,—and yet it is concluded that the same hand will gratuitously reject the splendid, and incomparably superior prize that now lies nearly prostrate for acceptance. We presume then, not only that a luxurious court will prefer the frozen swamps of the Neva, with their worse than hyperborean atmosphere, to the superb and unequalled shores of the Marmora;—but also that a young military monarch will be so reluctant to give umbrage to other nations,—that he is so averse to war, so enamoured of peace, and altogether so imbued with a fine sense of abstract right, that although this transcendent achievement (the ultimate aim of all the national conquests) be now ripe for execution, and, as it were, courts him on, he will yet forbear to give it effect. This is to be more than moderate.

'It will be to disregard the fervent aspirations of his officers; the desires of his clergy; the wishes of his people (for on this subject even the serfs have an anxious sympathy); it will be to decline what comes recommended to him by every great name of Russia; to be unmindful of his own glory; to contemn the substantial interests of the empire,—
and

and even, not improbably, to hazard what we may well conceive to be one of the chief bonds of union between the throne to which he has been preferred and the chiefs by whom it is upheld and surrounded, and who, it is no more than reasonable to suppose, now ardently and sanguinely look forward, through the medium of this very operation, to the possession in their own persons, or those of their descendants, of high apanages, lordships, and princely satrapies, amidst the softer climes and wealthier and more inviting regions of Southern Europe.'—*Evans*, pp. 117—119.

A very short space of time must now show what are the real views and intentions of the young autocrat. The public feeling was undoubtedly in his favour when he assumed the reins of government, though even then, Colonel Evans tells us, one of the highest functionaries of the empire thus expressed himself. 'Russia has now an emperor, whose character is marked by much stronger traits, and who is of a far higher ambition than distinguished his late brother; but those qualities will not suddenly reveal themselves.' They will gradually be disclosed by his public conduct.' Our decided opinion, however, is, that let who will be the autocrat of Russia, he must follow the general wishes of the army and the aristocracy, not denying that his personal character may give a bias to those wishes.

Lieut.-Col. Evans has acquired in the army the character of an intelligent, sober-minded, and very able, as well as gallant, officer; but, in treating of the 'Designs of Russia,' we are disposed to think his subject has run away with him, and hurried him on to the very verge of extravagance. He has been answered in part by an anonymous writer, who, we take for granted, is an English merchant trading to Russia. The object of the Colonel is to show that an immediate coalition of all the European powers, England and France taking the initiative, is the only means of putting a stop to the incursions and aggrandizement of this northern barbarian power, and to preserve the civilization of the Old World. The object of the other is the preservation of peace with Russia, and to show that little is to be apprehended from that power, even if she were in possession of Constantinople. Thus it is war against trade; and, as usual in such discussions, each partisan has overstated his case.

We shall barely mention the long list of miseries which Colonel Evans anticipates from the capital of Turkey falling into the hands of Russia. If the Sultan, he tells us, should escape the bow-string, he will be pensioned off, as was the lot of the traitor Stanislaus, and several others. England having first lost Corfu, Malta, and Gibraltar, the island of Sicily will next be coveted as an advanced post. Ferdinand of Spain will at once be taken under the special protection

tection of his imperial brother of the east, 'who may be prevailed on to send to Madrid some half dozen thousand good Muscovite troops, as a household guard and security for the royal person, against the plots of the Descamisados.' An alliance with the United States of North America, we may be well assured, will be one of the most intimate. Political agents and merchants will open a communication with the east. Our commerce will be ruined—reports will be spread of the intention of Russia to restore the Mogul, and re-establish the overthrown musnuds, and thus pave the way for the invasion of India. Cadiz and Corunna, and possibly Lisbon, will be crowded with Russian and Spanish troops ostensibly for the succour of Ireland, in which President Jackson will co-operate, and the Canadas will fall as a matter of course. It is but a sort of melancholy consolation that France must be involved in the same ruin with ourselves. The existence of their free constitution, with the palladium of a free press, will be too obnoxious to be permitted to endure. No respect will be entertained either for the French chambers, or the English parliament. Our House of Commons will be divided, the landed gentry will go down to the 'house,' threaten the government, and vituperate the emperor. This will be a groundwork of complaint for the insults passed upon a faithful friend and ally, (what! after he has despoiled us of every thing?) by the turbulent assembly of the English commons. We shall then go to war with the Czar, (we think, indeed, it would be full time;) the Chancellor of the Exchequer knows not how to raise the necessary supplies; the quarter's revenue exhibits a progressive falling off. 'The propriety of spoliating the great landed, church, and funded properties, will now be familiarly agitated.' Public credit receives a shock—consols fall as low as in 1797; all the branches of the public service will be in arrears; and, what is worst of all, 'those moveable fortresses,' which it gladdens the heart of an Englishman to look on, 'those stupendous masses now reposing on their shadows,' as Mr. Canning beautifully described them, will now be discovered, by reason of the suspension of annual and necessary repairs, 'to be scarcely sea-worthy: filth, rust, rot and corrosion will have already made havoc in every beam, plank, and stanchion belonging to them.'

While our navy is gradually falling into this state of complete ineptitude, the Russian navy is rapidly increasing to one hundred sail of the line, manned with expert seamen that have been bred on the 'lakes' of Marmora, Black Sea, Aral, &c., advantages which, if Buonaparte had possessed them, would, Colonel Evans thinks, have given a new turn to the war. With regard to this making of 'seamen' in close seas, the late Admiral Greig seems

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to have entertained another, and, we rather suppose, a sounder opinion than that of Colonel Evans. The Empress Catharine having visited the admiral's ship, on returning from a two months' cruize in the Baltic, said, 'Admiral, I suppose you have now capital seamen, and that my fleet is equal to an English one of the same force.' 'Madam,' replied Greig, 'do not deceive yourself; to make good seamen, we must keep the sea day and night.' 'How,' said the Empress, 'have you not been at sea for two months?' 'It is true,' the admiral replied, 'I have been out of port, but can hardly call it being at sea; seldom out of sight of land; no tides to contend with; no night; but, if we can expect to cope with the English, we must be at sea at all times, and in all seasons, surrounded by shoals, and driven by the tides, rapid and uncertain as they frequently are, sometimes in nights that are seventeen hours long. Nothing but such practice, Madam, can form perfect seamen, fit to contend with those of England and Holland.'*

More evils than 'those we have here enumerated are predicted by our Cassandra-like Colonel, should the Russians get possession of Constantinople. But, fortunately for the nerves of his readers, the *μαντεὺς κακῶν* has not left these ominous forebodings without a chance of preventing them, if taken in time; and his prescription is, 'an armed intervention'—an Anglo-French expeditionary armament of not less than fifty thousand troops, and twenty sail of the line; two-thirds of the latter to be furnished by us, and two-thirds of the army by the French, to proceed immediately to the scene of action, that is, to the Black Sea, to be supported by a concentration of the Swedish, Prussian, and Austrian armies, towards their eastern frontiers, and the assemblage of an allied fleet at Stockholm. This measure, we agree with him, if he could bring it to bear, would 'restrain at once the overweening Muscovite's ambition and arrogance, and subdue the senseless pride of the Asiatic.' His plan may be a good one, and all that he says we doubt not be accomplished; but as to the co-operating allies, he has already told us that little of a spontaneously energetic character is to be augured from the court of Vienna; that it may happen to personate both the dupe and the accomplice; that as the price of *complicity* (qu. confederacy?), a province or two will be readily conceded by Russia, and honours and applause showered on the celebrated Austrian minister; and that the whole will terminate 'in sending back, with all practicable speed, that imperial house to its original little domain of Hapsburg,'—and deservedly, we say, if Austria should be wicked or stupid enough to play so suicidal a part as Colonel Evans is pleased to sketch out for the heirs of Rodolph of Hapsburg.

* Jones's *Travels in Russia, &c.*

Then,

Then, Frederic William of Prussia is, by intermarriage, related to Nicholas, in the same degree that the Emperor Francis was to Napoleon, but with infinitely greater inducement to a collusion of views. And, lastly, as the son of the ex-King of Sweden is (or is to be) married into the house of Orange, so closely and confidentially allied with that of Russia, the succession of the family of Bernadotte seems very questionable, and consequently his measures can scarcely be unembarrassed, conscious as he must be of the illegitimacy of his title, and that 'the muzzles of the Russian guns are almost within sight of his council-chamber.' If we had not abundant proofs, how readily the ties of relationship give way to political expediency, we should despair entirely of Colonel Evans's confederation. We have no apprehensions, however, of the civilized nations of the west submitting to receive laws from the northern barbarians: and, without wishing to undervalue the talent of this author, hope we may be permitted to say that he has written too rashly and hastily, considering the extent and complexity of his subject.

We agree then with the general principle laid down by the writer of 'A Few Words,' that the extension of Russian dominion would not add any thing to its power of aggression; and might very considerably weaken it by lengthening its line of defence; that 'an extension of the dominion of Russia over the rude nations, its neighbours, is not so much an increase of resources as a channel for draining them;' and that the 'secondary estates of the continent, in the event of Russian aggression, would, no doubt, range themselves under the banners of their more immediate neighbours the French, even if their interests and their inclinations did not determine them to that side.' And as to this country, the author says,—

'I may assert, without fear of contradiction, that, since the period of the great territorial acquisitions of Russia—since the Turks were compelled to cede Bessarabia and half of Moldavia; since the second partition of Poland, and the conquest of Georgia, Great Britain has, notwithstanding the enormous dilapidation of capital occasioned by the intervening war of the French Revolution, made strides in wealth, and in power the consequence of wealth, previously unexampled. What measure of progress shall we take? The extension of surface under the plough, or the general improvement in the arts of tillage; the growth of our commerce in every sea and every port of the world where commodities can be exchanged for commodities; the prodigious increase of the quantity of manufactured produce, and of mechanical inventions, yearly accelerating the ratio of that increase; the progress of building in every direction; the constant additions to enjoyment and convenience; former luxuries now become ordinary comforts, and

the class of those enjoying them increased beyond precedent.'—*A Few Words*, pp. 37, 38.

But the case with Russia is widely different.

'Oppressed as she is,' says the Bishop of Calcutta, 'by an autocratical government, with an all-powerful nobility, with an half-digested feudal system, with an incapacitating spirit of corruption in every branch of administration, with foreigners in possession of every post of honour or profit, it is not too much to say that Russia has reached in the present reign (that of Alexander) the highest pinnacle of rank and power which her circumstances can ever admit her to attain.'*

The Bishop observes that no government has so little command of money, with so much real wealth, or so small an available military force in comparison with the amount of her standing army. The truth is, the accounts of the Russian army, of its discipline and valour, have been most grossly exaggerated. It never amounted, at any one time, to 400,000 efficient troops, spread over a surface equal to one-tenth part of the habitable globe. Its commissariat is in a miserable state; and as to its discipline, we can state on good authority, that when the battering train was brought up before Varna, it was found that the shot would not fit the cannon, and they were obliged to send to Moscow and Petersburg for a supply. As to their valour, it is, probably, on a par with that which is common to most armed bodies. The want of discipline in the Turks, judging from the results, could only have been compensated by, if not a superior, at least an equal degree of valour. The long protracted sieges of Chumla and Varna have fully established this point. Here the Russians have gained no reputation, but, on the contrary, have lost character, by purchasing the surrender of the latter fortress from a Macedonian traitor, half Greek and half Turk, the price, as we have been informed, being 500,000 roubles, *argent comptant*, protection to himself and followers, and an establishment on the Crimea, where this base wretch will live suspected and despised, and perhaps die *à la Czar*.

In Persia it required two campaigns, with the best soldiers that Russia could bring forward, to subdue the undisciplined troops of Abbas Mirza, and a whole campaign has been wasted before the entrenched camps of Varna, Chumla, and Silistria, the losses of which have required a new levy of one hundred thousand men (some make it double). The Russians fought well, it is true, on their own soil, against Napoleon, but without once gaining a decisive battle; and, in conclusion, to use the words of Lieutenant-Colonel Evans himself,—

* Journal of a Tour in Russia, &c., by the Rev. T. James, A.M.

‘ Suffice it to say,—that since about a hundred thousand Frenchmen, incumbered with twenty thousand sick and wounded, were enabled, though two thousand miles distant from their own frontiers, to remain unmolested masters for nearly seven weeks of the antique capital of the invaded empire, situated as it is in the very heart of its dominion, eventually also only voluntarily retiring from it, while still decidedly superior in the field,—it must in candour be conceded that the invulnerability of Russia is yet to be proved.’—pp. 218, 219.

And this admission is made after all the gloomy prognostics with which the gallant colonel had shaken the nerves of his readers.

Leave we, then, the west to take care of itself, and say a few words on the too oft repeated and hackneyed topics, a Russian invasion of India, and the destruction of our India and China trade, by diverting it into a new channel overland. On these subjects,—which since the days of the Czar Peter have become, as we have elsewhere observed, a sort of periodical nervous intermittent,—Colonel Evans appears to us to be completely floating adrift, without sail or compass. With regard to the first point—the army destined for the invasion of India is supposed to assemble at Orenburg, march for Attock by Herat, Bokhara, Khiva, and Samarcand, which are stated to be ‘as good, if not more advantageous intermediary stations, than any between Delhi and Attock.’ This is as new to us as it is bold on the part of the writer. He goes on to state, that a *considerable* commerce is carried on between Orenburg and Khiva, Samarcand, &c.,—a position which we are obliged to deny, and to state distinctly that *no* commerce is carried on by Russia with these countries; its *only* Asiatic commerce being with China, at Kiakta, to the value of about five millions of roubles.* He further states, ‘that the property of the country consists in cattle, camels, and horses; that the latter are in droves of thousands together;’ this, we shall content ourselves by observing, is physically impossible. Where the colonel has discovered ‘that the deserts (that of the Kirghis being one of them) in geographical maps, by no means invariably infer sterility,’ we are at a loss to find out, and all the information that we possess entirely negatives the assertion, that ‘the means of transport are here more abundant than in any part of the world’!

Having crossed the desert (of which more by and bye), we come to Bokhara, which, in the inflated style of oriental hyperbole, the Arabian and Persian writers designate as ‘one of the three terrestrial paradises.’ Sir William Ouseley, the only authority of Colonel Evans, in the same flowery style of the Persians, (from which we believe he translates,) says, ‘If a person stand on the Kohendis (or ancient castle) of Bokhara, and cast his eyes

* Tableaux Statistiques, &c., de Weydeneyer.

around, he shall not see any thing but beautiful and luxuriant verdure on every side of the country; so that he would imagine the green of the earth, and the azure of the heavens, were united; and as there are green fields in every quarter, so there are villas interspersed among the green fields.' How charming! If Sir William should happen to be perched on the top of Amesbury House, 'he shall not see anything but beautiful and luxuriant verdure,' &c., although Salisbury Plain be within half a dozen bow-shots.

But to the facts; and these we cannot do better than glean from Baron Meyendorf, who wrote the account of M. de Negri's Embassy to Bokhara; and from Captain Mouraviev, who was sent by General Yermoloff from Georgia to the khan of Khiva. These two recent works were reviewed in our Seventy-first Number, as the groundwork for a detailed inquiry into the practicability of a Russian invasion of India; and we cannot but think that, if Colonel Evans had fallen in with those books, and condescended to cast his eye over our remarks on them, he would at least have dropped this part of his gloomy speculation. Meyendorf's party left Orenburg on the 10th October; the distance to Bokhara is about a thousand miles; the time of performing it seventy days. With the exception of a few naked mountains, and here and there a deep ravine, the whole was found to be one uniform plain characterised by aridity, and melancholy uniformity; the scanty vegetation burnt up, and nothing left but a few stunted and shrivelled plants, chiefly of a species of wormwood. For the distance of two hundred and fifty miles, not a drop of water could be had, except in salt lakes, or in the bottoms of the dry clayey beds of what had once been lakes, but now covered with a thin coating of salt. The only verdure was a strip running along the line of the Sir or Gihon, which was frozen over, and the temperature at $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below the freezing point of Fahrenheit! Well might this inclement weather call to the Baron's recollection what Shereffedin tells us the army of Timour suffered on the Sir. 'Some lost their noses and ears, others their feet and their hands; the sky was but one cloud, and the earth but one mass of snow.' The little relief to the eye, and to the cattle, which this verdant strip afforded, was succeeded by a desert of red sand (Kizil-coum), extending east and west from the sea of Aral to Khokan, at least three hundred miles; that part crossed by Meyendorf employed them five days, without a drop of water. We really must extract the traveller's account of this desert of the Kerghis, not only for Colonel Evans's information, but also to justify the observation we have made on this part of the subject.

'The surface of the Kizil-coum is interspersed with sandy hillocks, raised to the height of twenty to sixty feet above the general level; but

but there is a cluster of five sand-hills, about a hundred and eighty feet high. From the summit of the most elevated of these, the uninterrupted view across the immense surface is like to a sea in a storm, which had been suddenly transformed into sand. In vain is a single object sought to fix the attention; nothing is seen on every side but a desert, to an extraordinary degree gloomy and monotonous.'

We would ask Colonel Evans whether this be one of the deserts on 'geographical maps that by no means infer sterility'? Here the party left the last remaining waggon of the five and twenty they started with, no less than eight draught horses having been abandoned to their fate in one day. And yet it is precisely over these deserts, that Colonel Evans tells us 'the means of transport are more abundant than in any part of the world.' At length, the exhausted party, having passed some hills covered with snow, and twenty miles of deep sand, reached the Oasis of Bokhara, where fifty of their horses died with eating green food, and drinking water, after their long previous starvation.

After the passage of such a desert, even a field of sesamum would stamp on Bokhara the name of a paradise, though an unfortunate Russian slave, speaking of the want of rain and water to drink, said to Meyendorf, 'it is a country which God must have created in his wrath.' Still, as an 'intermediary station,' it might, perhaps, feed the invading army, if it ever got there, for a week. The Colonel has not ventured to state the number of men who are to pour in upon India from Attock; but we think that he could not start fewer than fifty thousand from Orenburg, to have twenty-five thousand effective fighting men for the first *coup d'essai* towards re-establishing the Mogul on the throne of Delhi. We imagine, however, that fresh troops might be spared out of the three hundred thousand men which our Indian army consists of, to dispute the point with these emaciated Russians; particularly as it was but the other day that the Duke of Wellington publicly said 'he had seen all the armies of Europe, and none better than that of the East India Company.' Now, fifty thousand men, by taking as a scale of calculation what was found necessary to transport the party of Meyendorf across the desert, would require forty-one thousand six hundred camels, forty-six thousand five hundred horses, and three thousand waggons. If the last article could be moved at all as far as the Sir, where the whole of Meyendorf's were left behind, does Colonel Evans really suppose that the poor miserable Kirghis, scattered thinly over a thousand miles of desert, could afford relays of horses to the extent that would be required to drag these waggons? We venture to assure him, not to the extent of one hundredth part. Our decided opinion is, that if the Emperor Nicholas should, at any time, wish to get rid of a troublesome part.

part of his army, he could not possibly effect it better than by sending them from Orenburg to Bokhara.

We need not waste many words on the route from Balkan to Khiva, another 'intermediary station' of Colonel Evans. Captain Mouraviev found this Turcoman desert, if possible, more sterile and destitute of water than Meyendorf had that of the Kirghis — 'the image of death,' as he calls it, 'or rather of desolation, caused by some great convulsion of nature.' This, therefore, must, we think, be one that 'infers sterility.' It took him sixteen days to cross. The Oasis of Khiva is another of the 'three earthly paradises' of the Arabian writers; but it is a small one, and might, perhaps, furnish a breakfast for a Russian army, but heaven only knows where they would get a dinner. On the Captain's return, the surface of the desert was hard frozen; and numerous dead horses and camels were lying on the ground, and in the midst of them many human carcasses; they were Persian slaves, who had been captured at Astrabad, and abandoned on the march. 'It is of no importance,' said the Turcomans who escorted the Captain, 'we always leave a full half of these Kizilbash (red-heads) on the road, where they die either of hunger or cold.' No great encouragement this for a Russian army.

But Colonel Evans appears to think lightly, from the authorities which he has consulted, on these matters. What he imagines the Russians able to do, he recommends that we should take the initiative in doing, that is to say, that we should send an army from India to act by land in Daghestan and Shirvan, on the line of the Araxes, supported by a flotilla on the Caspian, to be built by our shipwrights sent from Bombay, in order to wrest from the Russians the provinces which they have conquered from the Persians to the southward of the Caucasus. Really, if Colonel Evans had not the reputation of being a most respectable and intelligent man, we are not sure that we should have taken the trouble to disperse the delusion under which he evidently labours, by a misconception of the intermediate country, which is not one that armies can pass and repass with the facility he appears to suppose. His antagonist of 'Few Words,' without entering into any detail, has decided this point of an 'invasion of India' we think successfully against him.

'Indeed, more than half of what we should have to combat under this head would probably, to many of our readers, be so excessively chimerical, that they would not think it worth the pains of refuting. That, because the Russians are of other European nations the least far from India, therefore they are near to it;—that the possession of posts on the great routes, and the nominal subjection of a few wandering tribes, makes the southern part of Asiatic Russia as productive in
resources

resources for offensive war, as Russia between the Don and the Neva;—that, because the vast countries between the Caspian sea and our Indian frontier are sprinkled here and there with cultivation, and occasionally present some leagues of road not impassable for carriages, therefore the supply of provisions will be constant and sufficient, and the expense of transporting artillery, ammunition, &c. not incalculably beyond what would be requisite for the same distance in Europe;—that, because a considerable part of the population in those countries is addicted to plundering, they will submit themselves to Russian orders for a march of several hundred miles, with a view to plunder the English, not yet conquered, rather than plunder the Russians themselves, whose baggage and convoys would be already within the reach of their forays,—are among the absurdities which the supposition of a Russian invasion takes for granted. It is unnecessary to add that, even if the Russians were to make their way to India, thirty thousand strong, exclusive of the great numbers which they must have left in their rear, to preserve their communications, which Colonel Evans thinks possible, the army of one of our Presidencies alone would be sufficient to hold them in check. While our troops would be bearing on their own resources, and would be receiving constant reinforcements, the Russians, already nearly twelve hundred miles from the base of their operations, would be weakened as they advanced by the detachments necessary to collect supplies. Under such circumstances, it would not be necessary to suppose more than very ordinary military skill on the part of our commanders to ensure, not the retreat merely, but the absolute surrender, of the Russians, as soon as they came to cross fire with our troops. Even success to them would be fruitless: victories would consume the only means of gaining more. A mere check would entail all the consequences of the most ruinous defeat.’—*A Few Words*, p. 56—58.

The second project which the colonel discusses is the overland trade with India and China which is to supersede ours. The Czar Peter thought of this, and whatever he thought, be the reigning sovereign who he or she may, is religiously treasured up. He had Hanway and Elton to assist his views on the Caspian, but they failed; and Doctor Granville tells us that a correspondence has recently been discovered, by which it appears that he made grand offers to that notorious projector Law, to form an establishment on the coast of the Caspian, to be called the Asiatic Company, to have the complete monopoly of the Asiatic commerce. The Czar offered to make him a prince, to bestow on him a large pension, with two thousand *fines*, otherwise serfs; but Law declined, on the plea of his engagements to France. On this point we have nothing to add to our investigation of the project of Gamba, the French consul-general of Teflis,* which was transmitted to the Emperor Alexander, and procured for him some-

* Quarterly Review, No. 71.

thing more substantial than a diamond ring or a gold snuff-box, a large grant of land on the river Phasis. This person is quoted by the colonel in support of his views, which we have deemed to be altogether chimerical, and see no reason to alter one iota of our former opinion, or in any shape to modify the conclusion we then came to, that a ship of twelve hundred tons burthen will bring from China to the Thames, in less time, and at less expense, a greater quantity of merchandise than twelve thousand mules, donkies, and dromedaries would carry, in many parts of the land journey, even for a single week; and that looking to the five or six months' journey over rugged and barren mountains, and such naked places as we have been describing—what with sore backs, and deaths, and reliefs, and beasts for the drivers, it may be doubted whether three times twelve thousand might not be required before the caravan reached its journey's end. This of course applies to an overland journey from the Caspian or Black Sea to China.

The colonel, it is true, has another route for conveying the commerce of India and China to the shores of the Bosphorus. From Constantinople to Bombay or Surat is, as he states, about three thousand miles, all sea, except about four hundred miles from Trebisonde to Moussol, on the Tigris. Small vessels are to proceed from the latter place down this river and the Persian gulph, and so on to Bombay, and we suppose to other parts of India and China. We have but two little objections to offer to this plan. The first is, that an army must accompany this Muscovite mosquito fleet the whole length of the Tigris, to preserve it from the plunder of the Arabs. If, as Colonel Johnson states, 'the mail from Mosdock to Teflis, and from Teflis to Mosdock, is carried on horseback, and well guarded and escorted by infantry and Cossacks, and the latter part of the way by a field-piece,' it will require many field-pieces and Cossacks, and infantry too, to protect the rich booty floating on the Tigris. And then as to the Persian gulph, if our 'moveable fortresses' shall not already be eaten up with 'filth, rust, rot, and corrosion,' but if, on the contrary, those 'magnificent machines' shall still be able 'to ruffle, as it were, their swelling plumage, to put forth all their beauty and their bravery, collect their scattered elements of strength, and awaken their dormant thunder,' then may Colonel Evans make himself perfectly easy that we shall have as little difficulty in hermetically sealing the Persian Gulf against the Russians, as we shall find in shutting them up in the Baltic and the Dardanelles.

This distinguished officer may probably agree with us, on reflection, that rapid movements of the pen are not always so advisable as we understand him to have found, in his own practice, those of the

the sabre and bayonet. His style, though hasty and dashing, bears the marks of a strong and vigorous mind ; and his imagination, we hope, will hereafter be less apt to run away with his judgment.

We are just in time to state the disastrous *finale*, which we have received from an authentic source, of the rash and precipitous invasion of the Turkish territory by Russia—that alarming invasion which, in the opinion of Lieut.-Col. Evans, demanded an immediate armed intervention of all the powers of Europe, to stay the overwhelming career of the autocrat, who aimed at little less than universal dominion. The Turks, however, have done it effectually of themselves, single-handed, without the assistance of any one power, European or Asiatic ; and the Sublime Sultan may now boast, with the Roman warrior,

. . . . ‘like an eagle in a dove-cote, I
Flutter’d your *Russians* in *Bulgaria* ;
Alone I did it.’

Fluttered, indeed, with a vengeance ! The rout was complete ; resembling, on a smaller scale, that of the French from Moscow. We are told that not a living creature escaped out of this horrible Bulgaria, save man—and he, bare and destitute of everything that constitutes a soldier—without arms, without accoutrements, without baggage, and, as the French would say, completely demoralized ;—all the draft horses, and cattle of every kind ; all those of the cavalry and artillery, dead ;—all the guns, carriages, waggons, ammunition, and provisions, left behind as spoil for the Turks. The extent of these disasters is endeavoured to be concealed at Petersburg, where the war, from the first, was unpopular ; but now men shake their heads, by which, like the shake of Burleigh’s in the play, they mean a great deal, though they say nothing ; and they are afraid to write, as all letters are inspected at the post-office. It is to be hoped that this disastrous campaign will have taught the young emperor a lesson of moderation, which will counsel him to seek for peace rather than conquest.

ART. II.—*The Chronological Index to the Statutes of the Realm, from Magna Carta to the End of the Reign of Queen Anne.* Published by the Record Commission. London. 1828.

SOME faint idea of the bulk of our English records may be obtained, by adverting to the fact, that a single statute, the Land Tax Commissioners’ Act, passed in the first year of the reign of his present Majesty, measures, when unrolled, upwards of *nine hundred*

dred feet, or nearly twice the length of St. Paul's cathedral within the walls; and, if it ever should become necessary to consult the fearful volume, an able-bodied man must be employed during three hours in coiling and uncoiling its monstrous folds. Should our law manufactory go on at this rate, and we do not anticipate any interruption in its progress, we may soon be able to belt the round globe with parchment. When, to the solemn acts of legislature, we add the showers of petitions, which lie (and in more senses than one) upon the table, every night of the session; the *Lills*, which, at the end of every term, are piled in stacks, under the parental custody of our good friends, the Six Clerks in Chancery; and the innumerable membranes, which, at every hour of the day, are transmitted to the gloomy dens and recesses of the different Courts of common-law and of criminal jurisdiction throughout the kingdom, we are afraid that there are many who may think that the time is fast approaching for performing the operation which Hugh Peters recommended as 'A good work for a good Magistrate.' This learned person, it will be recollected, exhorted the commonwealth men to destroy all the muniments in the Tower—a proposal which Prynne considers as an act inferior only in atrocity to his participation in the murder of Charles I., and we should not be surprised if some zealous reformer were to maintain, that a general conflagration of these documents would be the most essential benefit that could be conferred upon the realm.

That there are inconveniences in the present system, under which our legal records are managed, must be admitted; but, allowing for some defaults, which may be easily remedied, they are included in the price which we pay for a limited monarchy. In Turkey, the Cadi writes his *fetva* on the margin of the petition, and delivers it to the Plaintiff, whose well-timed and discreet administration of the purse of sequins has obtained a decree in his own favour, and ensured the application of the *bastinado* upon the luckless Defendant: but no memorials of the suit or vestiges of the decision are preserved; nor is it necessary, for when the law depends upon the will and pleasure of the judge, it is a work of supererogation to accumulate the history of proceedings, which do not furnish any materials for jurisprudence, or afford any security for life or property. Amongst the causes which have produced the government which we now enjoy, none, perhaps, have been more efficacious than the forms and technicalities of our jurisprudence. England owes more to the grey goose-quill than to the spear; more to the sheepskin than to the banner; more to the Judge than to the Baron; and, had it not been for the barriers arising from the rigid technicalities of the bench and the bar, it

it is probable that, at this moment, we should be either subjected to absolute despotism, or to the still more bitter and searching tyranny of a licentious democracy.

Many 'matters of form,' which are often treated lightly, create a quiet, uninvincible, and constant opposition to any irregularity which may be detrimental to the commonwealth. Let us instance the old doctrine, that the King could neither give nor take but by 'record.' This restriction alone, by preventing the immediate and unconsidered effects of rapacity or exaction, was an element of good government, which gave 'old England' a better chance for obtaining rational liberty than all the prerogatives of a Justiza of Aragon. No one who has temperately and dispassionately considered the history of those much-vituperated periods, termed the 'middle ages,' can have failed to observe the singularly beneficial consequences which, on the whole, have resulted from the steady and silent legislation of precedent: occasional practices becoming usages; usages and customs becoming laws; growing with the growth of the state, and adapting themselves imperceptibly to the circumstances which at once created and required them. And although the mere mode and manner of shaping the documentary transactions of the legislature and of the courts of justice may not, at first, appear to be a very prominent feature in the constitution, still it will be found that the maxims resulting from the 'making up of records' have had a very marked influence upon the general character of our government and policy.—During the eventful struggles which preceded the civil wars and the revolution, all the arguments by which the attacks upon the liberties of the subject were resisted or supported, were painfully and carefully adduced from the earliest muniments of the kingdom: either party appealed, not to abstract reasoning, but to the roll or the membrane, to the letter of the law. If a Castilian advocate, in the reign of Philip IV., had wished to make such references to the proceedings of the ancient Cortes, he could not have completed his pleadings. Instead of being collected in a legal and authentic form, the protocols of these Assemblies were dispersed in all the monasteries of the kingdom: they could never be consulted together. Putting the convenience of access out of the question, it is inconceivable how much the *consequence* of documents is increased by their juxtaposition and arrangement; and if the rolls of parliament had been scattered and concealed like the Spanish 'Capitulos,' whatever lessons are to be derived from the struggles, debates, and dissensions of our ancient legislature, would have been practically lost to posterity. In our civil wars, no less than in all our political strifes, each party has endeavoured to sustain its claims by law; and during the seasons of the greatest turbulence,

turbulence, we find constant appeals to the mildewed record and the mouldering charter. Nor must it be forgotten, that it was this political application of antiquity which created the inestimable writers, to whose labours we owe whatever sound knowledge we possess of English history, Spelman, Selden, Prynne, Brady, Petit,—always stimulated, though sometimes deluded, by the zeal with which they engaged in the researches of constitutional literature.

Judicial records, in the strict sense of the word, could not ~~exist~~ amongst the Anglo-Saxons, whose popular courts, or folk-moots, were conducted by oral pleadings. The men of the Hundred, or of the Shire, assembled in the open air beneath the aged tree where their meetings had been held from time immemorial, or upon the hill where their ancestors had raised the rude and artificial seat of justice. Scribe or register attended not, and the judgment of the court was *recorded* in the memory of the *Witan*, the judges by whom it was pronounced. In these courts all legal transactions took place. On rare occasions, the decisions of the Hundred, or Shire, were written in the blank leaves of the gospel or missal, belonging to some neighbouring minster. But although this mode of preserving a *history* of the transaction might be adopted, it had no legal effect. To employ our modern language, such an entry was not legal evidence, of which a court could *take notice*—it was not a record which could be *pleaded*. If any evidence was required of judicial proceedings, the proof was given by the testimony of the Hundred, or Shire, in its corporate capacity, the suitors bearing witness to the judgments which they or their predecessors had pronounced—without making reference to written documents or entries.

A contrary principle prevailed with respect to the instruments by which property was transferred. The ‘land-boc,’ as the charter was called, appears to have been considered as conclusive evidence in a court of justice. Great importance was, therefore, attached to these instruments, and though the title to real property depended mainly upon possession, still the ‘land-bocs’ were so necessary for the legal security of the land-holder, that, when they happened to be outstanding in the hands of other persons, they were purchased by the payment of large sums of money, or ‘got in’ at a very dear rate. The monks of Ely, in one instance, gave three hydes of land to Alderman Aylwin, to induce him to assist in recovering certain ‘cyrographs,’ which had been kept back by the heirs of a party, one ‘Edric Long,’ from whom they had made a purchase. As the property consisted of seven hydes and a half, this *retaining fee* amounted to almost half the estate. In the end the monks obtained the much-coveted

coveted charters, by exchanging them with Alfwold, the brother of Edric, for certain deeds which he wanted, and by paying him thirty 'aurei' over and above; and from the manner in which the transaction is commemorated in the *Liber Eliensis*, it is evident that it was reckoned to be an advantageous bargain. These 'land-bocs' may, in fact, be considered as records. The folkmoets were courts of voluntary, as well as of contentious jurisdiction: every act by which property could be acquired, took place in the assemblies of the people; except in some few cases, where an authentic publication might be effected by other means. If a donation was made to a 'Minster,' the donor placed his 'land-boc' on the altar, in the presence of the assembled monks and clergy, who were considered as equivalent to the 'moot' of the people. But the general rule was, that the agreement and intentions of the parties should be testified in the folkmoot. Contracts for the purchase of lands were made there. In such an assembly the money was paid; and there the charter was engrossed in the presence of the Witan, whose names were added as witnesses thereto. It also happened, not unfrequently, that a hostile suit, concerning land, was terminated by agreement before the Witan, and such a compromise would become the substance of a 'land-boc,' in which the suit was recited, and which became a part of the title-deeds. Hence, the origin of the opinion amongst our common lawyers, that 'fines for the assurance of land'* are older than the conquest: an opinion which is substantially true, if we consider the purport and intent of those instruments, though erroneous, if applied to the formal documents which are grounded upon a real action, conducted according to the jurisprudence adopted in the Anglo-Norman tribunals.

The earliest repository of records noticed in history, is the 'house of the rolls, where the treasures were laid up in Babylon.† Here the decrees of the Persian kings were deposited, and, as may be inferred from the 'writ' of Darius, all instruments relating to the domains and revenues of the sovereign. Human affairs proceed nearly on the same scheme, in all times and countries. The reason of depositing legal muniments in a secure place of custody is so obvious, that we need not wonder to find that the practice prevailed equally in England, as well as in the ancient Persian empire. About the reign of Canute, we have various notices of the 'land-bocs,' executed in duplicate or triplicate, and of which one 'part,' to use the expression of conveyancers, was placed in

* This 'common assurance,' the foundation-stone of the art of conveyancing, is a compromise of a fictitious suit, in which the party who is to convey the land acknowledges it to be the right of the party in whom it is to be vested.

† Ezra, chap. vi. ver. 2.

the 'Honey,' or royal treasury, where it remained under the care of the 'Бунъѣзнъ,' the Cubicularius, or Chamberlain. Winchester was the seat of the treasury of the kingdom of Wessex, and in this establishment, which afterwards became the 'treasury of the Exchequer,' the gold was stored which belonged to the King in his public capacity;—but the royal ornaments which decorated his person, and the relics of his tutelary saints—the gems, and 'camcos,*' which delighted his eye, and which, like that given by Ethelred to the monastery of St. Alban's, were supposed to afford ~~a~~ ^a surer aid than could be derived from human leechcraft, were probably enshrined in his private oratory or chapel—and it was as usual to place the charters in this depository as in the treasury. The fane of Delphi and the Athenian Parthenon held the treaties and conventions of the Greeks; and the chapel was equally the record-room of the Carlovingian monarchs, whose pomp and dignity often seem to have been emulated by the Anglo-Saxon kings. In some respects, the chapel was a more convenient strong room for the reception of the charters even than the treasury; for amongst the members of the royal household, a very important station was held by the King's Priests or Chaplains, the "Clerks of the palace" of the continental sovereigns. Their signatures were affixed to the royal charters, with a notice of their station; and we find eleven of these Clerks, together with the twelfth, the *Chancellor*, subscribing a charter of William Rufus, which, though executed not a few years after the conquest, is in strict conformity with the rules of Anglo-Saxon diplomacy. 'Clerkskip,' that is to say, the rare accomplishment of letters, was confined almost wholly to the clergy. As late as the reign of Edward I., the *Clericus*, or chaplain, was usually the only person in the household who could use his pen. When Thomas de Turberville engaged in the traitorous correspondence for which he was afterwards executed, he was compelled to have recourse to his 'Clericus,' who revealed the correspondence; and if, in the thirteenth century, any seer or astrologer had ventured to inform Parliament that the time would come when every Knight of the Shire would be so 'over-educated' as to be able to read, write, and cast accounts, such a prediction of the 'march of intellect' would have been considered as utterly incredible.

The station of the Clerks of the Chapel † about the person of
the

* The cabalistic volume of Gaffarel will afford much curious information on the subject. The term 'cāmaieu,' or 'gamaieu,' derived from the Hebrew or Arabic, designated either a stone insculpt with magical characters, or whose varied tints were supposed to disclose its actual virtues. They are frequently noticed in the ancient inventories of royal jewels.

† From these chaplains, or clerks, the modern 'Masters in Chancery' are lineally descended.

the Sovereign, rendered them the secretaries, who were employed to reduce his commands into writing, and to prepare those legal instruments which emanated from his will: all of which were authenticated by affixing the 'Great Seal.' This practice, unknown to the Saxons until the last age of their history, was partially introduced by the Confessor; and some of his charters yet have the Seal appendant, bearing a fearful effigy of the monarch, with mustachios extending their length far on either side of his visage. But this mode of testifying the royal assent was not the usual course, and only obtained by favour and solicitation; and most of the Confessor's grants have only the signature of the cross, according to the ancient custom of his predecessors.

On the Continent, the seal had been employed since the days of Dagobert; but the Confessor departed from the pattern of his contemporaries, the waxen impression being pendant to the charter, whilst the diplomatic etiquette of France required that the wax should be applied upon the parchment like a modern wafer-seal.* William the Conqueror adhered to the fashion of the Anglo-Saxon Chancery; but he caused his effigy, representing him as the mailed Duke of Normandy, mounted on his charger, and brandishing his lance, to be impressed on the obverse of the wax, whilst the reverse represents him as King of England, bearing the crown and sceptre, arrayed in the robe of royalty, and seated on the throne: and hence the origin of the double representation of the Kings of England on their Great Seals, which has been continued to the present time. For an analogous reason, the seal of Odo, Bishop of Baieux and Earl of Kent, exhibits him, on the obverse, clad in his pontificals, and, on the reverse, in the martial garb of the earldom. Louis VII., upon his marriage with Eleanor of Guyenne, caused an imitation to be made of the English seal, one side representing him as King of France, and the other as Duke of Aquitaine; but when he lost that territory by his separation from his consort, he then used only the French die, and the reverse of the wax continued without any impress until Philip Augustus stamped the blank with the counter-seal of the Fleur-de-lys, being his privy signet.

The Great Seal itself, when not in the king's own custody, was entrusted to the 'Chancellor,' whose salary, as fixed by Henry I., amounted to five shillings per diem, besides a 'livery' of provi-

descended. Even in the reign of Edward II., the chancellor was considered as the chief of the king's chapel. All the writers employed in the chancery, as well as in the courts of law, seem to have been in holy orders, and the chancellor was originally *complimented* with the right of presentation to all crown benefices under the value of twenty marks, for the purpose of enabling him to provide for the clerks, 'qi longement avoient travaylé en place.' Rot. Par., 4 Edward III., No. 51.

* Pendant seals were afterwards adopted in France,

sions,

sions. And the allowance of one pint and a half, or perhaps a quart, of claret, one 'gross wax-light,' and forty candle-ends, to enable the Chancellor to carry on his housekeeping, may be considered as a curious exemplification of primitive temperance and economy. With respect to the functions of the Chancellor, it is to be observed that, although individually he was not a Judge, he certainly held a high and distinguished station as the King's Chief Scribe, and he probably had a seat in all the King's Courts by virtue of his office. Thus, if he chose to be present in the Exchequer, he sat in the second seat, and his advice was to be taken by the other members of the court, when any matter of moment was to be transacted. In his own peculiar department of Chief Scribe, his office was wholly ministerial, except when he happened to be specially empowered by the King. All the effective management of the office rested with the Sovereign, who directed his own chancery whenever he thought fit so to employ himself; and the mode of exemplifying a charter, technically termed an 'inspeximus,' was invented by Henry II., who by word of mouth dictated its tenor to Walterus de Constanciis, his Chancellor;* and at the same time explained the reasons which induced him to adopt a form which, until then, had never been employed in the Chancery.

To understand the general course of our ancient government, we must consider all the subordinate judicial and administrative departments, either as committees formed out of the 'Curia Regis,' the Court in which the King was assisted or advised by his Prelates, Clerks, and Barons; or as Offices attached to that Court for the purpose of transacting the King's affairs with greater efficacy or despatch. They all emanated from a common centre, and they all communicated with that centre when occasion required. Thus the justices, afterwards distinguished as the judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, were certain Clerks and Barons named out of the larger body, to despatch those pleas and suits which could not be conveniently decided before the King, either alone, or with the assistance of the Great Council of the Kingdom. The Chancery was the secretariat department of the King's Court, and the Exchequer was another committee, composed of the Barons, who were deputed to sit in the Treasury, or 'Hordæ,' and to see the money counted out and told upon the chequered cloth, from whence the awful tribunal of extents and informations derives its ancient name.

Honest Maddox, professing 'an equal veneration for our ancestors, whether of the Anglo-Saxon or Norman race,' declares that

* This Chancellor is not noticed by Dugdale. He was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln, and the archbishopric of Rouen.

it was equal to him 'whether the one or the other of them had been entitled to the glory of being the first contrivers and inventors of that noble Court of Exchequer.' But after stating the arguments with great impartiality, he inclines to the Norman origin of the Court. We believe that in effect it existed amongst the Anglo-Saxons, whose government was by no means deficient in fiscal ingenuity. But, with respect to the details of the establishment, we readily agree with Maddox in ascribing them to the Normans; and it is possible that the '*Rotuli annales*,' sometimes called the *Great Rolls*, or *Pipe Rolls*, in which the accounts of the revenue of the Crown are entered, may have begun with the reign of the Conqueror. Yet, if such existed, we are informed by Alexander de Swereford that they had perished before the thirteenth century, and the first fragment of these invaluable records has been referred to the fifth year of the reign of Henry I.* The troubled reign of Stephen offers a chasm, but they are resumed with Henry Plantagenet, from whence the succession continues with few interruptions to the present time. None of the French records begin earlier than the reign of Philip le Bel. Those of the Germans date from a period still more recent, and our English series is probably more complete and ancient than any other now existing in the world.

In the earlier periods, the '*Great Rolls*' afford the most minute particulars of the territorial possessions of the Crown. Therein the sources and particulars of the revenue are fully detailed; and they elucidate every branch of our laws and policy during the most obscure and difficult era of English history, when the Anglo-Saxon policy was breaking up, and that system was forming upon which our present constitution is founded. But, with the exception of the scanty excerpts published by Maddox, no portion of the information with which they abound has ever seen the light; and we fear that they will long continue buried in the sepulchral vaults in which they now moulder.†

According to the plan of the Anglo-Norman Exchequer, the Chancellor, as we have observed, had a seat in the great Counting-House of the Kingdom. Whether he was present or absent, his Scribe engrossed the counter-roll, which was to detect the error or fraud of the Scribe of the treasurer; and a Clerk of the Chancery watched the Scribe of the Chancery. Henry II., not entirely

* This roll has been considered as belonging to 5 Stephen; but Maddox has satisfactorily shown that it can only be referred to the year and reign mentioned in the text.

† This is now strictly the case; when Maddox wrote, they were kept in wainscot presses in the old Exchequer, at Westminster; but they are now in a species of cellar, beneath the Pipe-Office, in Somerset-House, where, although secure from fire, they cannot be consulted without the greatest inconvenience. They also begin already to suffer from the dampness and moisture of the apartment.

trusting even to this double vigilance, added a third roll, which was written by one Master Thomas Brown, who thus controlled both the Treasury and its Controller. The counter-rolls are now kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an officer instituted when the High Chancellor of England withdrew from that tribunal, and they also exist in a series, which is tolerably complete, though some few of the rolls have strayed into other departments. The details of the organization of the Exchequer are foreign to our present purpose; but it will appear sufficiently, from the particulars which we have given, that the proceedings were transacted with much regularity. Now will it escape notice, that as far back as our records can be traced, the business of this country was conducted with a degree of accuracy and precision which could scarcely have been expected in an illiterate age, and which may be considered as an unquestionable indication of the good sense and vigour of those who had the direction of public affairs.

The *Great Roll* was not originally intended to bear record of any other matters except those which related to the finance of the Kingdom: it contained the charge and discharge of the Sheriff, through whose hands the money passed, and who was the chief, if not the only, collector of the revenues of the Crown. Private individuals, however, occasionally paid fines, for permission to enter the substance of their deeds and charters upon the Great Roll, in order to preserve a legal memorial of the contents, in case of the loss of the originals. But, until the reign of King John, the charters, patents, and writs issued under the Great Seal, by and in the name of the Sovereign, were not in anywise registered or recorded. It is true that there are in the Tower, certain rolls or membranes, called the '*Cartæ antiquæ*,' containing transcripts of ancient deeds, from the Saxon periods down to the time of Henry III.;—but these rolls are probably composed of the copies of charters which were brought into Chancery, in order that they might be exemplified. The charters are principally arranged according to their subject matter: those relating, for example, to each religious house, being generally contained on the same membrane, though of many different dates and periods; and they have no similarity whatever to the '*Rolls of the Chancery*,' which are contemporaneous records of the documents issued under the Great Seal, being made up or completed year by year.

The non-appearance of ancient documents is not always a conclusive proof of their non-existence; but, with respect to the Rolls, we are furnished with various reasons, which may fortify us in the opinion that none anterior to the reign of John have perished, either

either by accident or design. Thus we are informed that it appears, from a specification or inventory of the records made in the reign of Richard II., that we now possess as many as were then kept in the Tower: so that any hypothesis of their loss, either during the wars of York and Lancaster, or at any subsequent period, is effectually negated. Furthermore we find that when, in the reign of John, a charter, granted by Richard Cœur de Lion, was destroyed by accident, the new grant was issued pursuant to the verdict of a jury, stating the substance of the lost document; a proceeding which would scarcely have been adopted, if any enrolment had then existed, since it would have been much easier to have consulted the roll than to have appealed to the fallible memory of the jurors: and as a perfect roll of the first year of John begins with Holy Thursday, 1199, the day of his coronation, it seems that the plan was arranged during the interregnum, which, as we have shown on a former occasion, took place after the death of Richard I., and before the recognition of his brother by the assembled Baronage.*

Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was appointed Chancellor on the day of the coronation, had been very active during the interregnum. He was one of the Commissioners or Justiciars deputed to England as soon as Richard died, and the Archbishop, by causing the English to become the men of 'John, Duke of Normandy,' had secured the succession of the new sovereign. It is not impossible but that the registration of the documents which passed the Great Seal may have been connected with the views entertained by the Prelate, who declared that he had been taught by his prophetic mind, and by the oracles and prophecies which he had consulted, that John would bring the crown and kingdom into great confusion. The classification of the instruments recorded in the rolls, is a proof that the plan was not adopted hastily or without forethought; and, though some slight variations took place in subsequent times, yet the main arrangement never sustained any substantial change. For some reason, which we cannot discover, a form of enrolment was adopted in the Chancery, which had hitherto not been in use in England. The Exchequer rolls, as well as the rolls of the courts of justice, consist of membranes, which are stitched together at the top, so as to form a fasciculus. In Chancery, the membranes are sewed together consecutively, according to the practice of the ancients, and wound up so as to form a cylinder. The hand-writing of the Chancery rolls is not altogether identical with that of the '*Rotuli Annales*,' being somewhat of a newer

fashion, and more cursive. Both, however, are clearly to be distinguished from the monastic or historical hands of the same period, which may be considered as ecclesiastical alphabets. They abound much more in abbreviations, which descended from the 'sigla' employed by the Roman jurists of the Lower Empire.

According to the scheme, which we are willing to attribute to the Archbishop Hubert, each set of rolls received a distinctive name, and was appropriated to a peculiar class of enrolments. Grants of lands or immunities, foundations of religious houses, privileges conferred upon individuals or communities, or by which, in after times, a corporate right was created, are principally recorded upon the *Charter rolls*. The *Patent rolls*, upon which some charters are also noticed, contain the licenses granted by the Crown, grants of offices, restitutions of temporalities, and other instruments of the same description. All commissions, whether judicial or administrative, are found upon this set of rolls, constituting one of the most important branches of information which they afford. The *Close rolls* offer documents of a more varied description. A writ close, was *folded* or *plied* and sealed up with the wax upon which the Great Seal was impressed; and the mandates which regulated every department of the government being of this description, their contents are singularly instructive. Here, we find the writs of summons of the Peers, and the writs of election for the Commons, together with many parliamentary proceedings, such as writs issued by the authority of the legislature, which are not found upon the parliament rolls.

In the early reigns, the most minute items of the court expenditure were warranted by special writ,—the purchase of a bucket-rope for a well—a silk gown for the queen—a cloak lined with rabbit skins for a maid of honour—a hundred yards of dowlas for the napkins of the royal table—the curing of bacon intended for the royal larder—the purveyance of the ginger, galingal, cummin, and other choice spices which seasoned the royal dishes—are all recorded with the greatest form and solemnity. Other mandates, relating to the erection, the repairs, and the adornments of the royal palaces, particularly in the reign of Henry III., are of extreme importance in the history of art. We can peruse the minute instructions given by the monarch for raising those sumptuous piles of which the last mutilated fragments have been demolished, as at Westminster, to make room for the lathe and plaster of modern architecture. The diplomatic correspondence between the king and foreign princes, also appears on these rolls. The proceedings relating to the incidents of tenure are often entered upon the Close roll, together with records of judicial proceedings before the council, whether in or out of parliament.—

From

From the reign of Henry VI. the decrees of the Court of Chancery are frequently recorded in the same manner, together with such deeds as were acknowledged in Chancery; a practice which began at a very early period.

The rolls of *France*, *Rome*, and *Almain* may be considered as branches of the Close rolls, being chiefly composed of diplomatic instruments relating to transactions with the potentates whose names are indicated by their titles; and which, on account of their extent and number, were more conveniently divided from the general series. The '*Liberate rolls*' derive their names from the writs directing payments to be made out of the Treasury of the Exchequer, and, like the Close rolls, they furnish many minute and amusing details of the royal expenditure.

It is said in Normandy, that their ancient archives were destroyed by the policy of Richelieu, and we cannot ascertain whether any counterparts of the '*Norman rolls*' existed at Caen or Rouen. Those which are now in the Tower contain not only the instruments relating to Normandy, which passed the Great Seal, but also the '*chirographs*' of '*concordes*,' which were effected before the Exchequer at Rouen. This circumstance seems to show that, although the Duke of Normandy had conquered England, still England, as the more powerful Realm, had acquired a tacit supremacy over the Duchy; and we have doubted whether some of the founts of the Norman jurisprudence did not originate on this side of the channel. The '*Gascon rolls*,' like the Norman rolls, equally evince the superiority assumed by the English government. All grants or charters relating to the duchy of Aquitaine and its appurtenances, appear upon these records. When Cardinal Fleury, by issuing an arrêt in the nature of a general *quo warranto* information, attacked the franchises of the religious and civil corporations of the fairest provinces of France, the evidence which supported their rights was adduced from the archives of a hostile realm: and the first calendar of any portion of the Tower records was published, not for the use of our own country, but for the information of the inhabitants of the ancient, but now foreign, dominions of the English Crown.*

Whilst the Chancery records were increasing in importance, the Treasury of the Exchequer still continued, in many respects, as the principal charter-room of the kingdom. In the reign of the Conqueror, it had received the memorable record of *Domesday*, the foundation of our territorial history. The plan of a general survey was familiar to the Romans. It had been imitated by the Frankish monarchs, and the new description or survey of

* The Calendars of the '*Rolls Gasconnes*,' &c., in two folio volumes, by Carte, were published on this occasion in the year 1743.

Gaul, enacted by Chilperic, and which was intended to enhance the quota of direct contributions, occasioned a dangerous rebellion. But the cause of the people was successfully advocated by Fredegunda. Addressing her husband, she cast into the flames the registers which contained the particulars and valuations of the domains which had been assigned to her in dowry, and her words and actions so influenced the monarch, that he followed her example, and desisted from his exactions and demands.

As these precedents may have been known to Alfred, there is no absolute improbability in the tradition that he caused a general survey to be taken of England, or at least of such parts as were subject to his government, by shires, hundreds, and tythings. Unfortunately the tradition rests upon the sole authority of Ingulphus: and whatever authentic materials may form the substratum of the historical romance ascribed to the venerable Abbot of Croyland, they are so adorned in the rifaccimento, which bears the sanction of his name, that the truth can never be ascertained. Thus the pseudo-Ingulphus presents us with a terrier of the possessions of his house, which, as he affirms, was abstracted and methodized from the rolls of Alfred and the roll of the Conqueror, but which is most evidently only an interpolated extract from the existing Domesday.*

With respect to the Conqueror's Domesday, our historians do not agree altogether as to the time of its formation; but the second volume (for it is divided into two parts), which contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, bears a colophon

* 'The reader,' Mr. Ellis observes, 'who compares Ingulphus's transcript with the published survey, will easily notice the more material errors of the scribe who copied for him. Exclusive of occasional misstatements in the quantity and value of land, the Domesday contraction for *moda* is frequently lengthened into *moneta*. In one instance, *v* for *quinque* is interpreted *vero*.'—*Monasticon*, N. E. vol. ii. p. 98. Such mistakes could scarcely have arisen in the age of Ingulphus, when the contractions employed in Domesday must have been well understood and familiar. The demesne of the abbey in 'Ellowarp,' is described as containing 'quatuor leucas in longitudine et tres leucas in latitudine.' And Ingulphus adds the following remarks:—'Cognoscentes itaque leucas, et millaria, dicere poteritis, posteri nostri et amici, quod cum sedes abbatum nostrae in longitudine, i. e. de ulteriori ripa de Schepishee in ejus oriente usque ad Kenulphston in ejus occidente, dicitur habere quatuor leucas, i. e. octo millia passuum; et in latitudine, id est, de ulteriori parte ripae de Southee in ejus austro, usque ad ulteriorem ripam de Aesendyk; vel de Weland in ejus aquilone duas leucas, id est, quatuor millia passuum; horum neutrum verum est. Sed scire debetis, Anglos sub dominio Normannorum transisse in multis ad mores Francorum; et ideo loco milliarum, leucas dixisse, sed millaria intellexisse; et cum longitudo ejus excedit quatuor millaria, et latitudo duo millaria, prudentissimi metatores contra malitiam æmulatorum nostrorum piissime providentes, potius plus quam minus ponere voluerunt. Acceptavit hanc rationem tota vicinia taxatorum, acceptavit et regis curia, cum veritas spatii exigeretur in incorporatione regalium rotulorum.' This acknowledgment of the favour shown to Croyland by the Domesday commissioners proves that Ingulphus refers the passage to Domesday—but *no such description is found in the record, and the extract and comment are equally apocryphal.*

which

which testifies that the survey was completed in the year 1086, being the twentieth of the Conqueror's reign. The Saxon Chronicle, the best authority, states that the survey was enacted in a great Council or Parliament held at Gloucester, in pursuance whereof the king sent his barons or justices into every shire, with a commission to inquire how many hundred hydes of land were in each shire, how much cattle the king had himself, and how much cattle upon his demesne lands, and what annual income he was to receive from each shire. Also, he commissioned them to record in writing how much land his archbishops had, and his abbots, and his earls, and how much every man had who was an occupier of land within England, either in land or in stock, and how much money it was worth. 'So narrowly, indeed,' continues the chronicler, 'did he direct it to be inquired into, that there was not a single hyde or yard of land unmeasured. Nor further, it is a shame to tell, but he thought it no shame to do, an ox, a cow, or a swine was not left, but what was put down in his writings, and the writings were all brought to him afterwards.' The mode by which the survey was formed is deserving of peculiar attention; and the accidental preservation of a portion of the original documents,* from which the record was compiled, affords those details which were unnoticed by the chroniclers. The survey, then, was made by the juries of the hundred, which juries, in the county of Cambridge—for it is possible that the practice was not entirely uniform—consisted of two classes. The first was composed of the sheriff and the principal Barons of each shire. The other class consisted of the parish priests, the *reeves* or *præpositi*, and six villains from every township; and the evidence which they gave upon oath constituted the returns to the commissioners. They received a threefold charge—they were to declare the value and tenure of the property, as in the reign of the Confessor;—when granted by William—and at the very time of the survey. The information thus obtained was then abridged and methodized. Thus, in the Cambridge inquisitions, the matter is arranged according to hundreds and townships; whilst in the Exchequer Domesday

* A manuscript, apparently of the reign of Henry III. (Bib. Cott. Tib. A. vi.) contains transcripts of parts of the original returns for the county of Cambridge. The portion relating to the possessions of the church of Ely, has been published by the Record commissioners. The second, entitled '*Inquisitio de terris quas laici tenuerunt in Grantebriggescyra*,' is yet inedited. The *Eron Domesday*, as it is called, is a volume preserved amongst the muniments of the Dean and Chapter. Its main body presents a description of the western parts of the kingdom, comprising the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall; and it is supposed, as far it extends, to contain an exact transcript of the original rolls or returns made by the Conqueror's commissioners. The lands in the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall, belonging to one tenant, are classed together—the counties following one another, though not always in the same order—and, in like manner, the summaries of property in Wilts and Dorset.

we find the lands classed, as required, under each tenant's name, and the abstract was copied into the two volumes before noticed, which are now extant amongst the records of the Exchequer anciently in the 'Tally Office,' and are now deposited in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey. They are in excellent preservation, having been treated with the utmost tenderness and care; for, amongst other precautions, it is forbidden to touch the writing, or to advance your finger beyond the margin. The returns of live stock are omitted in the larger Domesday: probably the particulars of this transitory property were not considered as worthy of preservation. We are unable to answer the question why they are recorded in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, unless by supposing that the Lesser Domesday is the only remaining volume of the *first edition*, and that the others were recopied and condensed, perhaps under Rufus, in the volume which has been usually considered as a contemporaneous record.

It is not unusual to describe Domesday as a badge of Norman tyranny. That the survey was prompted by the stern and rigid principles of government adopted by the Conqueror, cannot be denied; but instead of being calculated to enlarge his authority, it was in truth an admission of the restriction of his power. Had he considered himself as an absolute monarch, governing by right of conquest, there would have been little necessity to inquire into the prerogatives of Edward the Confessor. New lords had become seised of the halls of the Saxon Thanes; and few indeed of the English aristocracy enjoyed any share of wealth or honour. Still the law was unshaken and unchanged. The record which testified the extent of the rights of the sovereign was an equal protection to the humble Socman, whose privileges were enumerated with equal fidelity—and who, if his franchises were invaded, was thereby enabled to claim his ploughland with as much certainty as the king could assert his wide-spreading prerogative. The precedent, so given, was soon universally adopted: every prelate and every baron imitated the proceedings of the royal courts, as closely as could be effected by the constitution of the seigniorial tribunal; the value of the rents of the manor, and the services of the bondmen, were investigated by proceedings modelled after the prototype of Winchester; and every *extent* of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, that is to say, an inquiry into their nature and value, effected by means of a jury empannelled before the escheator, the sheriff, or any other person delegated by the crown, derives its origin from the proceedings of the Exchequer of the Conqueror.

One of the principal objects of the Domesday survey, was to ascertain the number of hydes which were to be charged with the
Danegeld.

Danegeld. This land-tax was assessed at the rate of six shillings per hyde, amounting, on the average, to one hundred acres; and until the land was brought under the plough it does not appear to have been liable to the payment. The increase of cultivation may, therefore, have been one of the causes which induced the ambitious Flambard to advise another survey, which was considered as one of the greatest grievances of the tyranny of the Red King. Other general surveys, in the nature of Domesday, were made from time to time. Henry I. made similar inquiries, and a most curious description of Winchester is extant, resulting from the inquest of the eight score and six burgesses impannelled before the commissioners, in which we have the particulars of every house in the city which paid 'Landgable' or ground rent to the king in the days of Edward the Confessor, and at the time when the survey was made. It is uncertain to what period we are to refer the fragments of another general survey hitherto unnoticed, and affording some important particulars relating to tenure, which are omitted in Domesday. For instance, from the description of the boroughs of Winchcombe and Gloucester we ascertain that the burgesses had a certain estate by inheritance in their burgages, and which was not divested by the Conquest.*

Under Edward I. we may continue the series of territorial surveys by, '*Testa de Neville*,' and by the *Hundred rolls*, which, like the older Domesday, equally resulted from the verdicts of the jury. The first, sometimes known by the name of the '*Liber Feodorum*,' contains an abstract, made, as it is conjectured, either by Ralph Neville, an accountant of the exchequer in the reign of Henry III., or by Johannes de Neville, a justice itinerant of the same period, from records relating to scutages and aids, to which additions were made by other diligent compilers; and it is extremely valuable, as giving a condensed and accurate view of the feudality of the thirteenth century, though, as it was intended merely as a book of general evidence, for the use of the contemporaries of the compilers, many notices, which would have been most instructive to after-times, were necessarily omitted. The more ample '*Rotuli Hundredorum*' were formed by the inquests taken pursuant to the general commissions, (2 Edward I.) by which certain justices were appointed to inquire not only into the value and state of the demesne lands of the crown, and the knights' fees held in capite, but also into the illegal exercise of territorial

* 'In *Winchelcumb*, in dominio Regis Edwardi erant lx Burgenses reddentes xlii sol. de gablo per annum. De hiis sunt lii in hereditate sua manentes.'

'*Gloucestr*,' Tempore Regis Edwardi erant in civitate ccc Burgenses in dominio, reddentes xviii li. et x sol. de gablo per annum. De hiis sunt c tres minus residentes in propria hereditate, et c tres minus manentes in emptis, mansionibus, Francigenae et Anglici.'

franchises. The rolls which were compiled for the use of the exchequer, are extant for most of the counties of England; and from the very minute view which they afford of the state of the landed population, they constitute a species of resting point between Anglo-Norman feudality and that order which was established when Littleton expounded the English law. They exhibit the Churl, the Socman, and the Baron, in that memorable era when the causes were beginning to operate which converted their grandchildren into the labourer, the farmer, and the gentleman, and destroyed the ancient government and policy of the Realm.*

Equally important is the volume which may be considered as the Domesday of North Wales. About the 26th Edward III., John Delves, acting as Lieutenant of the Earl of Arundel, made his circuit throughout the country, for the purpose of ascertaining not only the value of the royal demesnes, but also the local tenures, customs, and powers. Adopting the ancient course, he summoned the landholders, as well free as bond, and their declaration upon oath was examined or verified by the juries empannelled in each 'commot,' being substantially the same process as was employed by the Conqueror. These reports were completed with so much accuracy, that every parcel of land can still be identified; yet so complete has been the introduction of English law, in the Principality, that the best informed of the Cymric antiquaries are unable to give a satisfactory interpretation of the tenures specified in the extent, and of which the knowledge is lost in the mist of antiquity.†

The '*inquisitiones post mortem*' bear the same relation to each distinct barony and estate, which Domesday does to the kingdom in general. Upon the death of a Tenant in capite his land was seized by the crown; a jury was then empannelled before the Escheator, and the jurymen were charged upon their oaths to declare the particulars and value of the property, and the name and age of the next heir. This proceeding was returned to the

* The Testa de Neville and the Rotuli Hundredorum are amongst the volumes published by the Record Commission. The 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' is a kind of Domesday of church property, taken pursuant to commissions issued 28 Henry VIII., for the purpose of ascertaining 'the whole and true value of all the possessions,' as well spiritual as temporal, belonging to any manor of dignity, monastery, priory, &c. in England, Wales, Calais, and the Marches. Six volumes of these very valuable records have been edited by Mr. Caley, accompanied by minute and exact ecclesiastical maps, which have been executed under the inspection of Mr. Rickman.

† The original extents, which were deposited in the exchequer at Caernarvon, have been long since dispersed and destroyed. Copies of those relating to Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Denbigh, made about the reign of Henry VII., are extant in two volumes, in the Harleian collection, which appear to have belonged to the court of wards. A translation of the Extent of Anglesey, by the late Mr. Parry, has been published, with transactions of the Cymrodorion. It is highly desirable, however, that the original should be printed.

Chancery,* and a duplicate was also transmitted to the Exchequer: the heir, if an adult, then appeared in court, and upon performance of homage to the King, and payment of his reasonable relief, the estate was restored to him. If, on the contrary, the Heir was a minor, he and his land remained in wardship until he could sue out his writ *de etate probanda*, under which process witnesses were examined; and their depositions being returned into Chancery, he was released from wardship, but during which bondage, however, a yoke of another description had been usually imposed upon him, which was not to be thrown off with equal facility. The sale of the marriage of an Heir, whether male or female, was a most valuable perquisite, and the price brought by the 'gentile Bachelor,' or the blooming Damsel, was regulated by the bargains of the contracting parties, that is to say, the King or his grantee, who sold the bride or bridegroom, and by the parent who bought the match for the benefit of his offspring. The records relating to these parts of the crown property (and even as late as the reign of James I. the law and the abuse continued in full vigour) afford a singular view of the state of society, and form a whimsical contrast to our modern ideas. Instead of finding a Serjeant-at-arms despatched to punish a clandestine marriage, we discover the same worthy officer employed for the purpose of apprehending a ward who had been guilty of a contempt of court by refusing to accept the hand of the lady who had been duly tendered to him by the Attorney-General before the Master of the Rolls. In the reign of Henry II. the crown wards were regularly catalogued and inventoried, like the slaves of a plantation. According to the Assizes of Jerusalem, the sage and venerable matron who was so fortunate as to attain the unmolested age of threescore, might refuse a husband without incurring the penalties consequent upon a contempt of the king's authority. But even at that venerable age, when she was allowed to retain her widow's weeds, she was still put down in the English record with all particulars, so that the opportunity, whether more or less remote, of disposing of her, might not be lost to the Treasury. Magna Charta mitigated this domestic tyranny, but still the evil remained; and the knight might perhaps envy the tenure which enabled the free Socman to chuse his mate, without fear of being exchequered for his disobedience in following the impulse of his own heart.†

The

* Calendars of these inquisitions, from the reign of Henry III. to Henry IV. have been published by the Record Commission.

† The roll quoted in the text bears the following title :

'Rotulus de Dominabus, Pueris et Puellis in Comitatibus Middlesex' Essex' Hertfordscir' Bedfordscir' Bokinghamscir', Norff' Suff' Cantebrigg' Hunt' Notingehamscir' Roteland'

The records of the Legislature, which may be classed under the general heads of *Statute rolls—Parliament rolls—Writs of summons and election*—and *Petitions*, offer more chasms than any other public documents. Anterior to the reign of Edward I., our knowledge of parliamentary proceedings is derived either from the unsatisfactory narratives of the Monkish Chroniclers, or from the incidental entries upon the Close and Patent rolls; the Parliamentary rolls, properly so called, which are in the nature of journals of Parliament, do not offer any regular series until the reign of Edward III. There is great reason to suppose that the loss of our earlier constitutional records is not entirely the effect of accident, and that intentional spoliation has aided the ravages of time. When the Lords in opposition debated the resolutions which were to limit the royal authority of Richard II., they moved for the production of the statute by which Edward II. had been deposed, and upon consideration of this revolutionary document, the ordinances and commissions which transferred the chief prerogatives of the Crown to a Council, were established and founded. 'All records relating to the deposition of Edward of Caerharvon' have entirely disappeared; and when it is recollected that the cancellation and destruction of rolls and records touching the 'state and government' formed a prominent charge in the impeachment of Richard II., it seems probable, that during his short and transient interval of property, he destroyed these dangerous precedents.

During the reign of Richard II., the rolls of Parliament were not deposited, as afterwards, amongst the rolls of Chancery, in the Tower: they probably remained in the Treasury of the exchequer, in which depository the only existing rolls of the reign of Edward I. are now to be found. Nor were they, like the other records, accessible to the subject, and open to inspection. This fact is proved by the following transaction. There is now existing in the Tower an ancient book, not a record, but a

Roteland' et Lincolnesclir' factus et retornatus Anno tricesimo Regis Henrici (secundi.)'

The following particulars of a Norfolk 'Bachelor' and a Norfolk widow, will exemplify the character of this document, of which, as yet, we have been able to obtain only an imperfect transcript.

'*Hæres Alberti de Grelley* est in custodiâ Domini Regis, et nunc est cum Gilberto Bassett avunculo suo, et est xi annorum. Villa de Tunstede quæ fuit prædicti Alberti est in custodiâ Nigelli fil' Alexandri et Roberti de Burrun. . . . Dictus Albertus habuit unum filium et tres filias: terra sua in Tunstede valet xxx lib.'

'*Agnes de Muntchenesey* (quæ fuit filia Pagani fil' Johannis) est in donatione Domini Regis et est lx annorum. Habet tres filios: primogenitus vocatur Radulphus, et secundo Willielmus, qui ambo sunt milites: tertius vocatur Hubertus, et est clericus. Ipsa habet duas filias quarum una est nupta Stephano de Glanville, et altera Willielmo Pagnel. Ipsa habet in Holkham undecim libratas terræ.'

private

private compilation*, which was deposited amongst the muniments some time about the beginning of the seventeenth century, called or quoted by the names of the '*Black-book*,' or the '*Vetus Codex*,' and containing transcripts of various parliamentary proceedings, some of which are extant, whilst others are lost. Amongst the former is the roll of the 20th Edward I., and in the 6th Richard II., an *exemplification* being required of certain privileges granted to the Abbot of Marmoustier, the chapter or section is stated in the patent to have been extracted from 'a certain volume,' being the book in question, and not, as is always the practice with records, from the original and authentic source. The language of the exemplification is such as to show, that the volume was not then preserved in any public repository; and there is no doubt, but that if the Parliament roll could have been searched, the suitor would have resorted to it according to the usual course, which was as regularly established then as at the present day. The concealment of the parliamentary records will account for the very slight notices which our ancient legal writers afford, either of the judicial proceedings of Parliament or of its institutions. No one, in reading Fleta, would suppose that the Council or Parliament was the prime mover of the administration of the law; and these circumstances will also explain the very inaccurate accounts which have been preserved by contemporary writers concerning the Great Council of the Realm. Of the statutes, the ancient transcripts are innumerable; but the '*Vetus Codex*' is the only ancient copy hitherto known of a roll of Parliament.

Many parliamentary documents have been lost to posterity by negligence and neglect. Until the reign of Edward II., the entries on the 'Close roll' of the writs of summons and of election were extremely irregular. It appears to have been the practice (yet continued) for the Clerk of the Chancery to make out the writ from what is termed the 'parliament pawn,' that is to say, a pannel or schedule of parchment containing the form of the mandate, and which it was his duty afterwards to enter upon the Close roll. Now it is apparent from the examination of the records, that such business was considered of secondary importance, when compared with the documents concerning property. Sometimes the clerks allowed the pannel to remain upon the file without transcribing it, or they would content themselves with tacking it as a *rider* to the Close roll; and whilst every writ relating to land was carefully recorded and enrolled, it was

* From the handwriting of this volume, we should conjecture that it was transcribed early in the reign of Ed. III. Before it came into the Tower it passed through several hands. In 1586, it belonged to Fleetwood, the Recorder of London.

long before the Clerks of the Chancery felt it a duty to make the Parliamentary enrolments with more regularity. In a constitutional point of view, this fact is of great importance: since every argument, arising from the non-appearance of Parliamentary writs upon the Close roll, must fall entirely to the ground; and, though the records do not furnish any writs of summons of the temporal Peers anterior to the Parliament convened by Simon de Montfort, still, as we have full evidence that they were issued as early as the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, we can only attribute their absence on the roll to the carelessness of the official transcriber. This slovenliness is shown in many instances; it is not uncommon to find a Baron summoned to Parliament many years after he had been consigned to the grave, to the great perplexity of the toiling genealogist, who vainly endeavours to reconcile the contradictions of the most authentic materials of the pedigree. With respect to the writs for the Commons, we will not venture upon the much vexed question of their antiquity, nor will we pronounce when the Knights of the Shire first appeared in the Great Council of the realm; but we may observe, that an original writ of election, of the 3d Edward I., has lately been discovered, of which not a trace can be found in any record or history.

The knights and burgesses were required to give good bail for their attendance in Parliament, and the writ of election, like the writ of summons, was a hostile process issued for the purpose of compelling the attendance of those who would gladly have kept away. The knights of the shire for Oxford were particularly contumacious. The Chiltern Hundreds, being a liberty in which the sheriff had no jurisdiction, although they did not then open the door for getting out of parliament, offered a secure place of refuge to the member who did not like to get into it, who there defied the power which otherwise would have distrained his goods and chattels, in order to ensure his appearance at York or Westminster. Sometimes, however, the wages paid by the electors to the members seem to have proved an agreeable temptation to the knights, who, residing in a distant county, had no objection to travel to and from the metropolis at the expense of their constituents, and to be paid for their residence besides. This temptation, on some occasions, gave rise to foul play: thus, in the 17th Edward II., we find an indictment preferred against the sheriff of Lancaster for a false return of Knights who had not been elected by the county. But the gravamen was not so much in the nomination of these spurious representatives as in the job which 'William le Gentil' had concocted for the benefit of his friends. When he returned home with the 'writ de expensis,' he caused his bailiffs to levy twenty pounds for their

use—whereas the men of the county allege that, if they had been left to their own choice, they could have had sufficient men to go to Parliament for half the money, or even for less, for ten pounds or ten marks.*

Even when Parliamentary representation had assumed a greater degree of importance, the electors seem to have cared little for the person of the member, if they could but keep his salary in their pockets. The Bailiff of Rochester returns, (12 Henry IV.,) that it is a laudable custom of the City from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, that when any of the King's lieges, being a foreigner, and not born in the city, comes to reside there, he must, in order to obtain his freedom, serve once in parliament for the said city, at his own cost and charges. This return is made for the purpose of saving the sums of nine pounds two shillings; and as the voice of the commons was certainly of considerable authority,* we must assume either that the member was so strictly limited by the instructions of his constituents, as to render his private opinions of little consequence, or that all questions were so generally carried by the ascertained understanding of the assembly, as to destroy the efficacy of any individual vote,—it being indeed probable that, at this period, the house never divided.

In the earlier periods of our history, the statutes were framed with great deliberation by the sages of the law. Before the bill which contained the proposed statute was brought into 'Parliament,' the King and his Council discussed its provisions, or, as appears from a memorable anecdote, the Council entrusted some one member with the task. Robert Walraund thus penned and prepared that chapter of the statute of Marlebridge, 52 Hen. III., which restrained the collusive infeoffments made by the father to his heir, for the purpose of defrauding the chief Lord of his wardship—and which, according to the tradition of Westminster-Hall, first took effect in Robert Walraund's own grandson. These ancient statutes, as appears from some fragments yet extant in the Tower, seem to have been presented to Parliament as substantive documents—that is to say, having the entire form of a statute, but which draft was, of course, subject to any verbal alterations which might be suggested in the assembly; and such amend-

* The indictment, which relates to the parliament 15 Edward II., sets forth, that when the writ came down for the election of two knights, 'qui eligi debuissent per totam comunitatem comitatus, idem Willielmus elegit Gilbertum de Haydok, et Thom' de Thornton, sine assensu comunitatis, qui cum redissent de parlamento, tulerunt breve pro expensis suis levandis, per quod præceptum fuit Ricardo et Willielmo de Winwik ballivis ejusdem vic' quod levarent xx libras pro expensis prædictorum militum, ubi comunitas istius comitatus habuisse possent de electione sua propria, duos sufficientes homines ad etundum ad parliamentum pro decem marcas, vel decem libras.'

ments appear upon the fragments to which we have alluded. The statutes which originated upon the petitions of the 'Commonalty of the Realm,' were not brought into Parliament in a perfect shape, but resulted from the requests or petitions of the Baronage, or the Commons; and, by combining the petition and the answer, the law was framed by the King's Council, sometimes after the dissolution of the Parliament in which the request had been propounded. The few yet solemn acts of legislation, anterior to 6 Ed. I., are not extant upon any record, properly so called. They are collected only from ancient manuscripts; some of which, however, have an authoritative character—such as the *lieger-books* of monasteries, in which they were entered for the information of the community, and in the episcopal registers, which, it may be remarked, preserve many curious parliamentary proceedings, of later date, not upon the rolls. The ancient manuscript collections of the statutes, in public and private collections, and in which the unrecorded statutes are preserved, are innumerable, and many belong to that happy period when all the written legislation of the realm was comprised in a gaily illuminated duodecimo. To these collections a calendar is usually prefixed; and sometimes the lawyer prefaced his manuals by a few quaint verses, the *apophthegms* of Aristotle, or a treatise on *onomancy*, in which—is it a satire upon the wisdom of the Courts?—the rules were given for predicting the result of a lawsuit, by valuing the letters of the plaintiff's and defendant's names.

The laws of the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Hen. I., are entered in the *Red-book* of the Exchequer; and it is possible that the 'Assizes' of Hen. II., of Richard, and of John, may have been preserved in some such volume for the convenient use of the King's court. But there are no existing traces of any regular record of the enactments of the legislature before the reign of Edward I. The *Great Statute-roll*, as it is called, begins with the Statute of Gloucester, 1278, and ends with the 8 Ed. IV. A chasm then ensues; and, from 1 Rich. III. to the present time, an enrolment in Chancery, differing in some technical particulars from the ancient statute-roll, authenticates the acts of the legislature. The original acts are deposited in a strong tower now converted into the Parliament Office, and which marks the boundary of the ancient Palace of Westminster.

The Statute and Parliament Rolls have been preserved, on the whole, with reasonable care; but the Writs and Returns, together with the Private Petitions, of which we have spoken on a former occasion, were long considered as useless lumber. At the restoration of Charles II. all these documents, which we now prize as the very cream and flower of our constitutional records, were in
a state

a condition which, in the course of a few years, would have satisfied the best wishes which Hugh Peters could have formed for their destruction. Prynne's account of the state in which they were then found, must be perused in the untranslatable language of his 'epistle dedicatory' to Charles II.—

'No sooner received I your royal patent (passed without fees) for the custody of your ancient records in your Tower of London, even in the midst of my parliamentary and disbanding services, then monopolizing all my time, but I designed and endeavoured the rescue of the greatest part of them from that desolation, corruption, confusion, in which (through the negligence, nescience, or sloathfulness of their former keepers) they had, for many years bypast, layen buried together in one confused chaos, under corroding, putrifying cobwebs, dust, filth, in the darkest corner of Cæsar's chappel in the White Tower, as mere useless reliques, not worthy to be calendared, or brought down thence into the office amongst other records of use. In order thereunto, I imployed some souldiers and women to remove and cleanse them from their filthynesse; who soon growing weary of this noysome work, left them almost as foul, dusty, nasty, as they found them. Whereupon, immediately after the Parliament's adjournment, I and my clerk (in August and September last) spent many whole dayes in cleansing and sorting them into distinct confused heaps, in order to their future reducement into method; the old clerks of the office being unwilling to touch them for fear of fouling their fingers, spoyling their cloathes, endangering their eye-sight and healths, by their cankerous dust and evil scent.

'In raking up this Dungheap (according to my expectation) I found many rare ancient Precious Pearls and Golden Records, relating to the High Court of Parliament, the Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Eyres, the Laws, Government, Trade, Merchants, Merchandize, Coyne, Revenue, Militia, Navy, Wars, Defence, and affairs of England, Wales, Ireland, Jersy, Guernsey, Alderny, Serk, and of Gascoign, Cayles, Burdeaux, and other parts of France, whiles under the dominion of the Kings of England; Negociations, Treaties, Leagues with, and Letters to, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Flanders, and other foreign Kings, Kingdoms, Princes, States; with many original Bulls of Popes (some of them under seal); Letters to and from Popes, Cardinals, and the court of Rome; Complaints, Prohibitions against Popes, Prelates, and their unjust Usurpations, Provisions, Exactions upon the Crown, Lawes, Liberties, Clergy, and Laity of England; besides other Records of more private concernment;—all which will require Briareus his hundred hands, Argus his hundred eyes, and Nestor's centuries of years, to marshall them into distinct files, and make exact alphabetical tables of the severall things' names, and places comprised in them—wherein most Treasuries of Records are very defective, which oft causeth your subjects to make long, fruitlesse searches, and to depart with a *non est inventus* of what they sought for.'

In this his search, he continues, he found ninety-seven parcels of original Parliamentary Writs, which he marshalled into distinct bundles, in an alphabetical and chronological order, for public use and ready search; and the abstracts constitute his well-known work, in which, however, he has committed many errors. Anthony a'Wood has informed us that when Prynne studied, 'his custom was to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes, serving as an umbrella to defend them from too much light, and seldom eating any dinner. He would be every three hours munching a roll of bread, and now and then refresh his exhausted spirits with ale.' We have the greatest respect and veneration for his memory. None but those who have travelled the same rugged road can sufficiently appreciate his worth as a pioneer. But there are many strange inaccuracies to be detected in his labours, and we suspect that, under the genial and gentle influence of the nappy ale and the night cap, the acute antiquary very frequently sunk into a comfortable dose.

No effectual arrangement of the historical records took place until the institution of the Record Commission; a measure originating in the zeal and exertions of Lord Colchester, and to whom the public are primarily indebted for whatever improvements have since been effected in the system. In the meanwhile, the Parliamentary Writs, and other documents of a similar description, had suffered greatly from damp and decay. Many have been tied up in small bundles, and the parchment has been so cankered, by the combined effects of damp and pressure, that when the writ is touched it not unfrequently crumbles into dust; but even greater mischief has ensued from the injudicious application of tincture of galls. This deleterious nostrum bestows a temporary distinctness upon the faded writing, but, after a few years have elapsed, it covers the whole surface with a deep and indelible brown, in which every vestige of the writing disappears.

We have enlarged rather upon the history of our ancient records than upon those of more recent date, though the latter would afford ample scope for disquisition. It may be remarked, however, that their present dispersion throughout the metropolis is a serious grievance to the professional man, who may be compelled to range between the latitudes of Westminster and Whitechapel before he can collect the evidences which he may require; and to the client, who must pay for the lengthened and repeated journeys. A central depository, which should contain all the records of the Legislature, and the proceedings of all the Courts of Justice, the evidences of our history, and the sources of our Law, together with those important muniments by which the various rights of property are sustained, would be still more
beneficial

beneficial than ornamental to the metropolis. The expense of the building, and the difficulty of reconciling various conflicting interests, may be a sufficient reason for delaying the execution of this plan, but it is surely time to alter the rule which declares that 'office copies of judicial records, that is to say, copies made by known officers of the Court, are *not* admissible in *other* Courts.*' In other words, that when it is necessary to prove before the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, sitting at Nisi Prius, that a judgment was given in the Court of Common Pleas, the production of the formal 'office copy,' made out upon stamped paper, and duly signed and certified as a true copy by Mr. Richard Brembridge, the 'Clerk of the Judgments,' is in itself of no avail whatever, unless some person is present who can swear that he examined the copy with the original roll, *the official signature and attestation being considered as mere nullities*. This, with some inconsiderable exceptions, (as to documents exemplified under seal) which hardly ever occur in practice, is the case with every species of public record. Now there can really be no valid reason why his Majesty's several tribunals should look upon one another with so much extreme distrust and jealousy, nor why Lord Tenterden should be under the legal necessity of declaring, that the known, public, and authorized deputy of Sir William Best is not to be trusted until his transcript be verified by the oath of the Clerk of the Attorney.

According to the law of every other country, except that of England, full faith is given to an official signature, and to the document which it attests. Upon what ground the present practice is to be justified we know not, except the apprehension that the agent of the party may falsify the office copy after he has obtained it for the use of his client; but putting the penalties of the law out of the question, it is very obvious that a knave, bold enough to practise such a fraud, would not feel much difficulty in effecting it by means of perjury.

The records relating to real property are perhaps more defective in their present arrangement and system than any other class of public muniments; and the attempts which have been made by the Legislature to give greater security to titles, have proved singularly inefficient and perplexed. Our readers are probably aware that a judgment recovered against an individual, attaches upon the freehold lands which he possesses, and that if a purchaser acquires the property so bound, the lien obtained by the creditor is not affected by the transfer made by the defendant. As the law originally stood, all judgments were supposed to be judgments of the first day of the term in which they were obtained, and not of

* Starkie on Evidence, vol. i.

the natural way upon which they were really signed ; and therefore a purchaser might have been rendered liable to a judgment acknowledged subsequently to his purchase : for instance, he might pay his money and enter into possession on the 24th day of Jan. ; and on the 12th day of Feb. the fraudulent vendor might acknowledge a judgment to a creditor, which would take effect as from the 23d of Jan., being the first day of Hilary Term. To obviate this injustice it was enacted that the officer should mark the real day of signing the judgment, and from which day only it should take effect ; so far was reasonable,—but, according to the irregular practice which then prevailed, it did not compel the plaintiff to ‘ carry in the judgment roll,’ so that, in the words of Mr. Sugden, ‘ purchasers and others were rendered almost incapable of discerning what judgments were recovered.’

To remedy this defect, a second statute was passed, which directed that the proper officers should make and put into an ‘ alphabetical dogget’ ‘ by the defendants names’ ‘ a particular’ of all the judgments entered in the respective courts, and which are to be fairly put and kept in books of parchment, and the sum of fourpence is to be taken for every term during which the search extends. Such is the law, and we must now state how it has operated. As the dockets are directed by the acts to be made up in *pairs* of terms, viz., for Michaelmas and Hilary, and for Easter and Trinity, each year produces two ‘ fair parchment books’ in *each* court, so that when a search is to be made for the moderate period of ten years, it is needful to turn over the SIXTY volumes entrusted to the ‘ Clerk of the Essoyns of the Court of Common Pleas, the Clerk of the Doggets in the Court of King’s Bench, and the Master of the Office of Pleas of the Court of the Exchequer,’ before it can be ascertained whether the estate is clear. The difficulties, however, do not end with the bulk of this array, for the officers of the courts interpreting the word ‘ alphabetical’ in its strictest sense, arrange the names simply according to their initial letters, and not according to their initial syllables. Thus a page is opened for A, and all the names beginning with A, are therein entered, not in A B C order, but indiscriminately and promiscuously, as the judgments come into the office, and therefore if a purchase is made (*e. g.*) from Mr. Abel, the attorney must continue his researches to the very end of the letter A. This occasions an enormous increase of labour, and, therefore, of uncertainty ; for every circumstance which lengthens a search in a registry, diminishes its efficacy by increasing the chances of error, all of which might be saved by adhering to the rules of the spelling book. All the calendars belonging to the record offices are upon the same defective plan, which we find pursued in the indexes to
the

the earliest specimens of typography, and which has been retained without variation, from the time of Henry VIII., when such calendars first began to be made.

According to the common law, every transfer of land was public and notorious. In addition to the formality of giving 'seisin' or possession of the premises, all the tenants were required to 'attorn' or to place themselves beneath their new liege lord; and if the land was conveyed by 'fine,' the transaction took place in open court, and was recorded upon its rolls. In Scotland, the old feudal forms are retained, and 'earth and stone,' 'clap and hopper,' 'net and coble,' the emblematical symbols of the field, the mill, or the fishery, must be delivered, with due solemnity, to the proxy of the purchaser. To these forms, however, our neighbours have added the precaution of registration. The original instrument is deposited in the general Register Office at Edinburgh, and also recorded at full length upon the books; and the office copy which is delivered to the parties is considered as their title-deed, somewhat according to the practice of the English ecclesiastical courts, where the will is retained in the registry, and entered upon the lieger books, and a probate copy issued to the executors. Upon the Scotch system of registration we shall simply observe, that it affords entire security to the incumbrancer, the creditor, and the purchaser—to the landed and commercial interest—and that when the calendars are completed according to the plan suggested by Mr. Thomson, any search, however extensive or complicated, will be effected in the course of a morning.

The feudal forms of conveyance in England lost their efficacy in great measure by the subtle contrivances which enabled the owner to deal with the beneficial interest in the land as a kind of metaphysical *ens* distinct from the freehold. The celebrated Act of Henry VIII.* commonly called the Statute of Uses, was intended to destroy the foundation of these secret conveyances; and concurrently with this law, another was enacted which would have enabled the parties to choose between the notoriety afforded by the act of seisin on the land, and the publicity of registration. For it enacted, in substance, that no manors, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, should be transferred by any bargain and sale, except the same should be made by writing indented, sealed, and enrolled in one of the King's Courts of Record at Westminster, or before the Custos Rotulorum and two justices of the peace, and the clerk of the peace of the county in which the lands lie (27 Henry VIII., cap. 16.) The act contains a saving clause, excepting lands, &c., in corporate towns, the officers whereof had been used to enrol evidences, &c. But it was

* 27th Henry VIII., c. 10.

held not to extend to the counties palatine of Lancaster and Cheshire, nor to the Bishopric of Durham, and therefore by 5th Elizabeth, cap. 26, it was enacted, that bargains and sales, &c., of lands in those jurisdictions should be enrolled in the Exchequer of Chester, and in the Courts of Chancery of Lancaster and Durham or before the justices of assize within the respective franchises.

The statutes do not direct the mode of enrolment, but, according to the practice of the Courts of Record (grounded upon very ancient anterior usage) the deed must be first acknowledged by some one of the parties before a judge of the Common Law Courts, or a Master in Chancery. In practice, the enrolments before the Custos Rotulorum have been discontinued. Those in the corporation courts continue in force, particularly in London; and in some private statutes, for improvements and analogous purposes, the enrolment of the bargains and sales in the Court of Husting has been made equivalent to a fine.

If the laws of Henry VIII. had retained their full effect, conveyances of land would either have received publicity from the ceremony of delivering possession on the land, or from their registration on the rolls of the courts when they were acknowledged; but the ingenious inventions which enabled the lawyers to resort to secret conveyances destroyed the effects of the statute of enrolments; and, except in some few cases directed by particular statutes, no deeds are enrolled, except where the purchaser wishes to obtain a greater security against accidents than can be afforded by a tin box deposited with his banker: for, if the original be destroyed, an office copy of the enrolment would supply its place to all intents and purposes. This cause is sufficiently operative to render the enrolments tolerably numerous, and they constitute a class of partial and disorderly registers, disposed in different offices, and with no other indexes excepting calendars on the plan of those in the judgment offices.

During the Commonwealth, it was proposed to establish county registers, in which all instruments affecting real property should be recorded. The bill, which was skilfully drawn, never became a law, but the idea was not forgotten; and though the attempts which were subsequently made to accomplish the scheme failed, as to the kingdom at large, yet registers, nearly upon the plan suggested by the Commonwealth bill, were established in those districts in which they are now in force. In the Bedford Level, (a tract containing upwards of ninety-five thousand acres,) in the counties of Northampton, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, conveyances of lands have no force but from the time when they are entered in a book or register kept for that purpose, pursuant to the Act 'for settling the draining of the

the great level of the fens.* And it may be remarked, that this provision was evidently intended as a boon and encouragement to the adventurers by whom the 'drowned' land was conveyed. The registration of deeds in the West (2 & 3 Anne, c. 4), East (6 Anne, c. 35), and North Ridings (8 Geo. II. c. 6) of Yorkshire—in the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull—and in the County of Middlesex (7 Anne, c. 20)—is founded upon the statutes which agree in substance, in directing that memorials of all deeds and conveyances shall be registered, in default of which they are void, as against subsequent registered purchases. Copyholds and leaseholds, at rack rents, or not exceeding twenty-one years, are excepted. The Registrar is to keep an alphabetical calendar of all parishes, extra-parochial places and townships in his riding or county; with reference to the number of every memorial that concerns the hereditaments in every such parish, &c., and of the names of the parties mentioned in such memorial.

The policy establishing a general registration in England has been the subject of much discussion; it is not, however, our intention to moot this point, which will be duly considered by the Commissioners, who are now so diligently and ably enquiring into the laws of real property; but it is evident that the present system is so ingeniously contrived, that it must be admitted to be wrong in whatever manner the question be decided. If the English statutes are advantageous, they ought to be forthwith extended to every county;—if disadvantageous, they should be forthwith repealed; for it is not easily reconciled to any sound principles of legislation that the law of real property should change on passing under Temple Bar—that there should be two different codes for Fulham and for Putney—for Holborn and High Holborn,—or that a protection against fraud should be afforded to Yorkshire which is denied to the men of Lancaster, on the opposite bank of the Ribble.

The mode of registration adopted in the English register offices, supposing that the principle be considered as advantageous, is liable to many serious objections. The Middlesex Registrars have long since discontinued the alphabetical calendars of places directed by the statute; and the only indexes in the office are such imperfect lists as we have before described, in which the names of the conveying parties are entered according to their initial letters, without any further attempt at arrangement. The books are ruled in parallel columns, and to each name is added the number of the memorial, but not the date of the deed, and an extremely brief and irregular notice of the situation of the property conveyed; sometimes the parish is given, sometimes the street, and sometimes both

* 15 Car. ii. c. 17.

are omitted; and it is, therefore, impossible to ascertain what the *parcels* are, without consulting the register-book to which the index refers. This book is in elephant folio, of the very largest size, such as to require much exertion to carry it from the shelf to the table. Now the persons, *against* whom the register ought to be searched with most jealousy, are speculating builders and land-jobbers: and as individuals of this description usually own many houses in a street or parish, and are involved in every variety of incumbrance, the references to the register-books become extremely numerous, and render the search so laborious as to be almost impracticable. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the charge made by the solicitor is in proportion to the time consumed; and the purchaser of a leasehold house, of 10*l.* per annum, in any one of the innumerable 'Prospect Places' and 'Trafalgar Terraces,' which environ our metropolis, may incur a much greater proportionable expense than if he were in treaty for a manor. The expense of the search increases in an inverse ratio to the value of the property.

The present Registrars are not to be blamed for following in the footsteps of their predecessors. Yet the interest of the public imperatively requires the very simple amendments which would render the searches in the registry easy and effective. Continuing the present columnar arrangement, the names of the granting parties should follow in *dictionary order*. The date of the deed should be set out, and, in a third column, such an abstract of the *parcels*, *i. e.* of the property conveyed, as might enable the person making the search to identify the property without further trouble, and to ascertain, from what appears on the face of the index, whether it is not necessary to consult the book to which the index refers. The first requisite of every index or calendar of title-deeds is to convey such full and exact information as to enable the reader to judge from that index or calendar *alone*, whether it is or is not necessary for him to resort to the original document for more ample details. The calendars of places, directed by the statute, and discontinued by the Middlesex Registrars, should be resumed, as, in many cases, they would greatly simplify the search, nor ought any trouble or expense to be spared in their completion. Any imperfections in the indexes of a public register make it a snare instead of a safeguard. And these imperfections are so much felt in the Middlesex Registry, that many professional men consider the institution a nuisance, in consequence of the responsibility which attaches to the person whose duty it is to make the search, and who, under the present arrangements, cannot discharge that duty without extreme loss of time and labour.

It will be observed, that we have laid great stress upon particulars
of

of mere mechanical arrangement. Those who are accustomed to research of any kind will be sufficiently sensible of the extreme importance of diminishing trouble and inconvenience, of sparing the arm and the eye. How often is the best authority left unconsulted by the author, because it happens to stand on a high shelf, or in the next room; because a key must be found, or a door opened; or because the size of the volume is too large, or the type too small! It is seldom difficult to muster up strength for one great exertion; but the best of us may be jaded and wearied out by petty sources of trouble—always recurring and never subdued.

ART. III.—*The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England.* 2 vols. London. 1828.

2. *The Kuzzilbash: a Tale of Khorasan.* 3 vols. Lond. 1828.

AN old acquaintance of ours, as remarkable for the grotesque queerness of his physiognomy, as for the kindness and gentleness of his disposition, was asked by a friend, where he had been? He replied, he had been seeing the lion, which was at that time an object of curiosity—(we are not sure whether it was *Nero* or *Cato*)—: ‘And what,’ rejoined the querist, ‘did the lion think of you?’ The jest passed as a good one; and yet under it lies something that is serious and true.

When a civilized people have gazed, at their leisure, upon one of those uninstructed productions of rude nature whom they term barbarians, the next object of natural curiosity is, to learn what opinion the barbarian has formed of the new state of society into which he is introduced—what the *lion* thinks of his visitors. Will the simple, unsophisticated being, we ask ourselves, be more inclined to reverence us, who direct the thunder and lightning by our command of electricity—controul the course of the winds by our steam-engines—turn night into day by our gas—erect the most stupendous edifices by our machinery—soar into mid-air like eagles—at pleasure dive into the earth like moles?—or, to take us as individuals, and despise the effeminate child of social policy, whom the community have deprived of half his rights—who dares not avenge a blow without having recourse to a constable—who, like a pampered jade, cannot go but thirty miles a day without a halt—or endure hunger, were it only for twenty-four hours, without suffering and complaint—whose life is undignified by trophies acquired in the chase or the battle—and whose death is not graced by a few preliminary tortures, applied to the most sensitive parts, in order to ascertain his decided superiority to ordinary mortals? We are equally

equally desirous to know what the swarthy stranger may think of our social institutions, of our complicated system of justice in comparison with the *dictum* of the chief, sitting in the gate of the village, or the award of the elders of the tribe, assembled around the council fire; and even, in a lower and lighter point of view, what he thinks of our habits and forms of ordinary life,—that artificial and conventional ceremonial, which so broadly distinguishes different ranks from each other, and binds together so closely those who belong to the same grade.

In general, when we have an opportunity of enquiring, we find the rude stranger has arrived at some conclusion totally unexpected by his European host. For instance, when Lee Boo, that most interesting and amiable specimen of the child of nature, was carried to see a man rise in a balloon, his only remark was, he wondered any one should take so much trouble in a country where it was so easy to call a hackney-coach. Lee Boo had supped full with wonders; a coach was to him as great a marvel as a balloon; he had lost all usual marks for comparing difficult and easy, and if Prince Hussein's flying tapestry, or Astolpho's hippogryph, had been shewn, he would have judged of them by the ordinary rules of convenience, and preferred a snug corner in a well-hung chariot.

From the amusing results arising out of such contrasts it has occurred to many authors, at different periods, that an agreeable and striking mode of inquiry into the intrinsic value and rationality of social institutions might be conducted, by writing critical remarks upon them, in the assumed character of the native of a primitive country. Lucian has placed some such observations in the mouth of his Scythian philosopher, Toxaris. In modern times, the Turkish Spy, though the subject of his letters did not embrace manners or morals, had considerable celebrity. The interest of the famous political romance of Gulliver turns on the same sort of contrivance. But, perhaps, the earliest example of the precise species of composition which we mean, exists in the Memoranda imputed to the Indian Kings, and published in the Spectator. At a later period, Montesquieu's Persian Letters, with Lord Littleton's imitation of that remarkable work, and Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, were designed to represent the view which might be taken of Parisian or London manners and policy, by a Persian sage in the one case, and a Chinese philosopher in the other. Still, however, the notable imperfection occurred in these representations, that neither Montesquieu, nor Littleton, nor Goldsmith was at all qualified to sustain the character he assumed. Usbeck and Lien Chi Altangi are scarcely different, after all, from Europeans in their language, views, and ideas. The Persian caftan and Chinese gowu are indeed put on, but the Persian and Chinese
habitual

habitual modes of thinking are not exhibited, any more than the language of either of these countries: the Frenchman's Persian might be a Chinese, or the Englishman's Chinese & Persian, without the reader being able to appeal to any satisfactory test for re-adjusting the machinery.

It is in this most essential particular that the *Travels of Hajji Baba* may claim a complete superiority over the works of those distinguished authors. The author of *Hajji Baba's Travels* writes, thinks, and speaks much more like an oriental than an Englishman; and makes good what he himself affirms, that the single 'idea of illustrating Eastern manners by contrast with those of England, has been his *Kebleh*, the direction of his Mecca.' Hajji Baba, moreover, is not an orientalist merely, but one of a peculiar class and character—a Persian, and differing as much from a Turk as a Frenchman from a German.

The English reader, however, as *he* is politely called, who is ignorant of all save what his own language can convey to him, might have been at some loss to trace the merits of such a work, without some previous acquaintance with the Persian manners, particularly as differing from those of other oriental nations; since, however well acquainted he might be with the habits and manners of his own country, it is necessary, for the enjoyment of this work, that he should know something of the peculiar scale on which they are to be measured. This necessary information has been amply supplied by the '*Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*'—in which we have a lively and entertaining history of the hero of the present work, his early adventures, mishaps, rogueries, with their consequences; all tending to prepare us for his experiences in England. There are few of our readers, probably, who have not perused this lively novel, which may be termed the *Oriental Gil Blas*, and enjoyed the easy and humorous introduction which it affords to the oriental manners and customs, but especially to those which are peculiar to the Persians.

By what peculiar circumstances, in climate, constitution, education, or government, the national character is chiefly formed, has been long disputed; its existence we are all aware of; and proposing to travel, consider it as certain, nearly, that we have peculiar advantages to hope, and dangers to guard against, from the manners of a particular region, as that we shall enjoy peculiar pleasures, or have to face peculiar inconveniences in its climate. The genius of the Persians is lively and volatile, to a degree much exceeding other nations of the east. They are powerfully affected by that which is presented before them at the moment—forgetful of the past, careless of the future—quick in observation, and correct as well as quick, when they give themselves leisure to examine the

the principles of their decision—but often contented to draw their conclusions too rashly and hastily. It is evident that the acuteness of a spectator of foreign manners is of the first consequence in rendering his lucubrations spirited and interesting; and that the erroneous results at which his precipitate ingenuity may often arrive, cannot fail to afford a proportional share of amusement. The errors of the dull are seldom productive of mirth; and the information which he may sometimes convey is so much alloyed by the natural stupidity with which it is amalgamated, that, to say truth, few persons care to be at the trouble of separating it, just as (since the Dutchmen gave up that task) it has not been thought worth while to extract the small quantity of silver which is contained in every ton of lead. It is he that is witty himself, says Falstaff, who is the cause of wit in others; and the mercurial Persian may be equally expected to afford entertainment in both capacities. But we may safely say that, not amusement only, but instruction of a very serious kind is to be derived from considering the nature of some of the materials which are here under the management of a master.

Hajji Baba, as the reader probably well knows, is a roguish boy, the son of a barber of Ispahan, who becomes the attendant upon a merchant, is made prisoner by a band of Turcomans, with whom he is forced to become an associate, although, as in the case of Gil Blas, a private feeling of cowardice greatly aids the moral sense in rendering the profession disgusting to him. After having the signal glory of conducting the tribe to a successful enterprise on his native city, he escapes from the Turcomans to be plundered by his own countrymen—is reduced to be a water-carrier—a seller of tobacco, and at length a swindler. He emerges from this condition to become the pupil of the Persian physician-royal. From this situation he rises to the kindred dignity of an immediate attendant on the chief executioner, and, of course, a man of great consequence in a state where various gradations of violence, from a simple drubbing to the exercise of the sabre or bowstring, form the pervading principle of motion. In this last character a scene is introduced, (the death of the unhappy Zee-nab,) tending to show that, though the author has chiefly used the lighter tints of human life, its darker shadows are also at his command. The consequences of this tragedy deprive Hajji of his post, and he is reduced to take sanctuary. He changes his manners, lays aside the military profession, and assumes airs of devotion—becomes a respectable character, somewhat allied to Sir Pandarus of Troy—but is once more involved in ruin by the superstitious and intolerant zeal of a Mollah to whom he had attached himself. After such a series of adventures, he escapes to

Con-

Constantinople, where he sets up as a seller of tubes for tobacco-pipes. Here, in the assumed character of a wealthy merchant of high Arabian extraction, he marries a wealthy Turkish widow; but, being detected as an impostor, is obliged to resign his prize. Finally, Hajji Baba obtains the protection of the grand vizier, and of the Shah himself in particular, by the great assiduity he displays in acquiring some knowledge of the European character, which the contest between the French and English, for obtaining superior influence at the court of Ispahan, had rendered an interesting subject of consideration in the councils of Persia. At length the celebrated mission of Mirza Firouz,—the same, we presume, with the well-known Abou Taleb, Persian envoy at the court of the late king in the years 1809 and 1810,—determines the fate of Hajji Baba, who receives directions to attend it in the character of secretary. Here the original account of his adventures, published in 1824, closed, with a promise that, if they appeared to wish it, the public should be informed, in due season, of Hajji's adventures while in the train of the Persian ambassador to Saint James's.

The author has no reason to complain of that want of attention, which will sometimes silence the most pertinacious of story-tellers,—yea, even the regular bore of the club-house whose numbers he has thinned. Hajji Baba met with an universal good reception. The novelty of the style, which was at once perceived to be genuine Oriental by such internal evidence as establishes the value of real old China—the gay and glowing descriptions of eastern state and pageantry, the character of the poetry occasionally introduced—secured a merited welcome for the Persian picaresque. As a picture of oriental manners, the work had, indeed, a severe trial to sustain by a comparison with the then recent romance of Anastasius. But the public found appetite for both; and indeed they differ as comedy and tragedy, the deep passion and gloomy interest of Mr. Hope's work being of a kind entirely different from the light and lively turn of our friend Hajji's adventures.

- The latter, with his morals sitting easy about him, a rogue indeed, but not a malicious one, with as much wit and cunning as enable him to dupe others, and as much vanity as to afford them perpetual means of retaliation; a sparrow-hawk, who, while he floats through the air in quest of the smaller game, is himself perpetually exposed to be pounced on by some stronger bird of prey, interests and amuses us, while neither deserving nor expecting serious regard or esteem;—and like Will Vizard of the hill, 'the knave is our very good friend.'

The rapid and various changes of individual fortune, which, in any other scene and country, might be thought improbable, are proper

proper to, or rather inseparable from, the vicissitudes of a government at once barbaric and despotic, where an individual, especially if possessing talents, may rise and sink as often as a tennis-ball, and be subjected to the extraordinary variety of hazards in one life, which the other undergoes in the course of one game. But, were further apology necessary for the eccentricity of some of the events, than the caprice of an arbitrary monarch and the convulsions of a waning empire, we have only to compare the reverses represented as experienced by this Barber of Ispahan, with the mighty changes which we ourselves have been witness to, affecting thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers. The mighty and overwhelming sway which seemed neither to have limits in elevation or extent—that power, the existence and terror of which led to the collision of European politics in the court of Ispahan—where is it now, or what vestiges remain of its influence? We might as well ask where are the columnus of sand which at night whirl over the broad desert, in number and size sufficient to be the death and grave of armies, and in the morning, sunk with the breath which raised them, are only encumbering the steps of the pilgrim as hillocks of unregarded dust.

The terrible hurricane of moral passions which had vent in the French revolution, and the protracted tempest of war which ensued, have, like the storms of nature, led to good effects; and of these not the least remarkable has been the connecting, in intercourse of feeling and sentiments, of nations not only remote from each other in point of space, but so divided by opinions as to render it heretofore impossible that the less enlightened, wedded as they were to their own prejudices, should have derived the slightest improvement, either in arts, government, or religion, from the precept or example of their more cultivated allies. The idea of a certain literary influence being exercised by the English press at the court of Ispahan, would, twenty years ago, have sounded as absurd as to have affirmed that Pres-ter John had studied Sir John Mandeville's travels, or that the report of the guns fired in Saint James's Park was heard on the terrace of Persepolis. And yet such an influence to a certain extent now exists, since, it appears, from the following admirable epistle, that the Persian court were interested in, and touched by the satirical account of their manners in Mr. Morier's novel, and felt that pettish sort of displeasure which, like the irritation of a blister, precedes sanative effects. We refer to a letter addressed *bona fide* to the author of Hajji Baba, by a Persian minister of state.

Tehran, 21st May, 1826.

‘My dear Friend,—I am offended with you, and not without reason.
What

What for you write Hajji Baba, sir? King very angry, sir. I swear him you never write lies; but he say, yes—write. All people very angry with you, sir. That very bad book, sir. All lies, sir. Who tell you all these lies, sir? What for you not speak to me? Very bad business, sir. Persian people very bad people, perhaps, but very good to you, sir. What for you abuse them so bad? I very angry. Sheikh Abdul Russool write oh! very long letter to the king 'bout that book, sir. He say you tell king's wife one bad woman, and king kill her. I very angry, sir. But you are my friend, and I tell king, sheikh write all lie. You call me Mirza Firouz, I know very well, and say I talk great deal nonsense. When I talk nonsense? Oh, you think yourself very clever man; but this Hajji Baba very foolish business. I think you sorry for it some time. I do not know, but I think very foolish.

'English gentlemen say, Hajji Baba very clever book, but I think not clever at all—very foolish book. You must not be angry with me, sir. I your old friend, sir. God know, I your very good friend to you, sir. But now you must write other book, and praise Persian peoples very much. I swear very much to the king you never write Hajji Baba.

'I hope you will forgive me, sir. I not understand flatter peoples, you know very well. I plain man, sir—speak always plain, sir; but I always very good friend to you. But why you write 'bout me? God know I your old friend.

'P.S. I got very good house now, and very good garden, sir; much better as you saw here, sir. English gentlemen tell me Mexico all silver and gold. You very rich man now, I hope. I like English flowers in my garden—great many; and king take all my china and glass. As you write so many things 'bout Mirza Firouz, I think you send me some seeds and roots not bad; and because I defend you to the king, and swear so much, little china and glass for me very good.'—vol. i., p. xvii.

That so hopeful a correspondence might not fall to the ground, the author of *Hajji Baba* returned an answer of a kind most likely to have weight with a Persian, and which we can all observe is, like Don Pedro's answer to Dogberry, 'rightly reasoned; and in his own division.' Like the letter to which it is an answer, it is a *chef-d'œuvre* in its way; but we have not room to quote it.

The author contends that irritation will lead to reflection, reflection to amendment. The Persians, he observes, are, in talent and natural capacity, equal to any nation in the world, and would be no less on a level with them in feeling, honesty, and the higher moral qualities, were their education favourable. To fix, therefore, the attention of the leading men of the nation on the leading faults of the national character, may have on them so powerful an effect, that the name of Morier may be remembered as the first who led the way to the illumination of Persia by the introduction of

of English literature into the pavilions of Tehraun. We proceed to give some account of the present work.

Hajji, a man of consequence as being supposed to understand the manners of the Franks, and secretary to Mirza Firouz, the Persian Elchee or Ambassador to England, commences by collecting in the most arbitrary manner, and by the most summary means, whatever he judges would be most acceptable at the court of Saint James's, as articles to be presented to the King of England. Being invested with plenary powers, he fails not to make a sweep of all he can find which is rich and rare, not failing to obtain a ransom from those whom he spares, and to detain, for his own private purse, a handsome per centage of the pillage which he accumulates. His collection of rarely-gifted slaves is edifying. Among them there is a guardian of the haram designed for the service of King George III., who is termed *Mûrwari*, or the pearl, as being the most vindictive, spiteful, and inexorable wretch of his species,—watchful as a lynx, wary as a jackal. To this treasure is added a negro prize-fighter, who can carry a jackass, devour a sheep whole, eat fire, and make a fountain of his inside. But the British ambassador at the court of Persia, being taken into their counsel, explains why neither the pearl nor the spoutman, nor even the property of an Ethiopian woman, whose constitution could dispense with sleep, and who was therefore destined to watch the royal couch of Britain, would be acceptable to the venerable sovereign for whom they were intended,—the discussions on which topics are stated with much liveliness. Upon the same occasion was prepared and placed in the hands of the ambassador, that celebrated letter to her Majesty Queen Charlotte from the King of Persia's chief wife,—assuredly one of the most extravagant morsels of oriental bombast that ever astonished European ears. Here is a modest sample.

‘It is necessary that the sweet-singing nightingales of the pen of correspondence should warble some notes in the garden of affection, and open the buds of our design in performing the pleasing duty of acknowledging, with thanks, the receipt of the acceptable present of our beloved sister, which we have hung upon the neck of accomplishment. May your house, the dwelling of kindness and friendship, ever flourish. The duties of friendship point out the necessity of occasionally sprinkling drops from the cloud of the pen, to increase the verdure of the meadow of affection.’—vol. i., p. 43.

Before the Persians can profit a great deal from British literature, the extirpating hoes of criticism, to use their own figurative language, must root out a great variety of many-coloured flowers from the garden of eloquence, and they must learn to call the spade of the aforesaid, or any other, garden, by its proper name of spade. Their

Their present eloquence is a debauched style of exaggeration, which communicates its character to thought and action, and is no more consistent with an improvement in taste, than cotton in the ears, or musk crammed into the nose, is compatible with the accurate exercise of these organs. On the other hand, there is some fancy and even wit in some verses of the Persian poet-laureate, for the inscription of a small casket, which, on being opened, was found to contain on one side a miniature picture of the Shah, and on the other a mirror, in which the King of England, for whom it was designed, might see the reflection of his own face.

‘ “ Go, envied glass, to where thy destiny calls thee ;
Go, thou leavest the presence of one Cæsar, to receive that of another.
Still thou bearest within thee thy sovereign’s form ;
And when thou ’rt opened again by Britain’s king,
Thou ’lt reflect not one Cæsar, but two Cæsars ;
Not one brother, but two brothers ;
Not one Jemsheed, but two Jemsheeds ;
Not one Darab, but two Darabs.’—vol. i., p. 55.

We have no doubt that the mouth of Aster Khan, ‘ the prince of poets,’ was crammed, upon this occasion, with sugarcandy, which is his usual and appropriate reward. We have few sweetmeats, as our readers are well aware, to spare for the use of any author, and the prince of poets must be pretty well satiated with them. We shall therefore only say that ingenuity and wit often find a ready alliance with affectation and absurdity elsewhere than in Eastern poetry.

The train of the ambassador to the Court of Saint James’s has its divided interests and its intrigues. Mirza Firouz, though compelled to receive his high charge as a distinguished favour, is at the bottom convinced that it is designed as an honourable exile, conferred upon him at the instance of the Grand Vizier, who had become jealous of his influence with the sovereign ; and with the same strain of feeling he regards Hajji Baba, even while he finds himself obliged to treat him with some respect, as a spy over his conduct placed there by the prime minister. Hajji endeavours, by flattering attention and assentation of every description, to blunt the suspicion, and disarm the ill will of his chief ; but, though he occasionally seems to succeed, he is, *au fond*, only tolerated.

At Erzeroum, one of the ambassador’s retinue commits a theft, and deserts. He is seized and brought back, and his master orders his ears to be cropped. This comes to the ear of a personage who considers the proceeding as derogatory to his own authority,

the embassy being now in the Ottoman territories. The pasha, in short, sends his principal chaoush, an old grave Turk with a white beard, to remonstrate with the ambassador in all civility; and the scene which followed is admirably descriptive of the composure of the formal, solemn, taciturn Osmanli, contrasted with the petulant fury of the vivacious Persian.

‘The ambassador was surrounded by all his servants when the chaoush entered, and was still in the height of his fury at the delinquency of his running footman. He was pouring out a torrent of words, cursing first the day he had set out on this expedition, then the vizier who sent him, then the Turks and their country, when the solemn son of Osman interposed his *selam aleikum*, peace be with you! and took his seat with all due reverence. “What has happened?” exclaimed the ambassador to his visitor. “Nothing,” answered the chaoush. “Have you seen what abomination that rascally countryman of ours has been committing?” said the ambassador. “Please Heaven, his father shall burn ere long. We are not such asses to let him escape gratis. Until I have got his ears into my pocket, not a drop of water passes my lips; of that make your mind easy, O effendi!” “The pasha, my master,” said the Turk, “makes prayers for your happiness, and has desired me to inform you that such things cannot be.” “What things cannot be?” exclaimed the ambassador with the greatest vivacity. “What cannot be? Shall I not, then, cut off his ears? Ah! you know but little of Mirza Firouz if you think so! By the sacred beard of the Prophet, by the salt of the shah, by the pasha’s soul, and by your death, I would as soon cut off his ears (ears did I say? by Ali, and head into the bargain!) as I would drink a cup of water. We are rare madmen we Persians; we do not stand upon trifles.” “But,” said the Turk, totally unmoved by the volubility and matter of this speech, “my master orders me to say that he is one of three tails, and that, therefore, no ears can be cut off in Arz Roum except by himself.” “Three tails!” exclaimed the Mirza, “three, do you say? If the pasha has three, I have fifteen; and if that won’t do, I have a hundred; and if that be not enough, tell him that I have one thousand and one tails. Go, for the love of Allah, go; and tell him moreover, since he brings his three tails into the account, that the ears are off, off, off.” Then calling aloud to his ferash, and to two or three other servants, he said, in a most peremptory tone, “Go, rascals, quick, fly, bring Sadek’s ears to me this instant. I’ll three tail him! If he had fifty ears I would cut them off.” Then turning to the chaoush, who had already got on his feet in readiness to depart, he said, “May your shadow never be less. May God protect you. Make my prayers acceptable to the pasha, and tell him again, if he has three tails, I, by the blessing of the Prophet, have fifteen.”

‘Upon this the Turk, exclaiming from the bottom of his gullet “*La illaha illallah!* there is but one God,” walked slowly away, and had not proceeded many steps before he met the Persians coming up, bearing

ing the ears of their countryman, or something very like them, on the cap of a saucepan, and who did not fail to exhibit them to the phlegmatic Osmanli with appropriate expressions of superciliousness.'—vol. i. pp. 74—77.

After all, the ambassador was himself cheated; for his retinue suffered the rogue to escape uncropped, and exposed, to satisfy their master's indignation, two slices of a young kid, in lieu of the parings of his ears.

After this adventure, these travellers proceed to Constantinople, where the kindness of a Turk adds to their retinue a Circassian slave, whose company, and the manner in which she was to be treated, added somewhat to the niceties of the envoy's situation. They next reached Smyrna, where they were to be received on board of a British frigate. But when summoned to embark, and avail themselves of a favourable wind, a most violent opposition arose on the part of the envoy and his astrologer Mohammed Beg, who declared that the stars had not announced a propitious moment; and that, to weigh anchor at the command of an infidel, merely because the wind blew fair, would be downright madness. Fortunately, both the envoy and his astrologer sneezed twice in the course of the debate, which, being admitted as a happy omen, sufficient to counterbalance a dark horoscope, they embarked with the mehmandar, a young English officer, appointed to serve as their interpreter. Their surprise at what they saw on board, and at the wonders of Malta, together with their indignation at the unexpected restraints of the quarantine, we shall pass over, but cannot omit the following passage concerning the ceremonial of the table,—a matter conventional in itself, but yet so knitted up in the opinion of every country with the whole system of civility and good breeding, that nothing affords more ground for ridicule or offence than the slightest breach of its etiquette.

'When it is remembered how simple are the manners of our board, where nothing is seen upon the cloth, save the food placed in various sized bowls and dishes, and spoons of different denominations for taking up the liquids, no one will be astonished when I say that we were quite puzzled at what we saw upon an English table. It absolutely bristled with instruments of offence. We saw knives, with long glittering blades of all sizes and descriptions, sufficient in number to have ornamented the girdles of the shah's household, as well as a variety of iron claws, looking like instruments of torture for putting out eyes, or running into criminals' bodies. To these were added pin-cers, trowels, scoops, spoons of all shapes, and contrivances so numerous that it would take up a whole life to learn their use; and for what purpose? merely to transfer the food from the dish to one's mouth. It is to be imagined that we were very awkward when we first adopted

this new mode of eating, we who had been accustomed from our childhood simply to take every thing up in our fingers, and carry it with comfort and security to our mouths, without the dangerous intervention of sharp instruments. The ambassador, however, determined from the beginning to persevere ; and so did I, in order not to have the daily mortification of being laughed at by the infidels, which they always seemed very ready to do whenever they discerned any thing in our habits of life that differed from theirs. Our first essays were rather disastrous, for my chief, in wielding his knife, had nearly cut off one of his fingers ; and I, forgetting the claw which I held in my hand, eating for a moment as usual with my fingers, almost put out my eye by running the horrid instrument into my face. Then there were ceremonies without end, of which we could not comprehend the necessity. It is proper etiquette that the food in the large dishes should first make a deviation from the straight line to one's mouth, by resting on certain smaller plates before each guest. Then it is not lawful to drink from the jug or bottle at once, but the liquor must first be poured into subsidiary glasses, whilst each sort of mess has its appropriate spoon. It is improper to eat butter with the spoon for soup, or to swallow the soup with a butter ladle. To take up a fowl whole in one's hand would be a mortal sin ; much more to offer a bit to one's neighbour, which with us is reckoned so high an honour. In short, to describe the novelties which came under our consideration at every moment, would require more patience than so unworthy a servant of the Prophet as I possess.'—vol. i. pp. 133—136.

The arrival of the envoy at Plymouth, and the transference of the suite to London by the rapid and novel vehicle called a mail coach, are described with corresponding spirit. Their doubts and difficulties increased as they reached London ; the envoy conceived himself disgraced because no deputation met him before he entered the capital ; the suite were puzzled how to arrange themselves in the splendid lodgings with which they were provided. They were incommoded with the excess and variety of the accommodation.

‘For instance, we found chairs of all fashions : some to keep one's legs up ; some to let them down ; some to loll with the right arm ; some with the left ; others to support the head. Now, this to us, who have only one mode of sitting, namely, upon our heels, appeared an excess of madness. Then there was one set of tables to dine upon, another set for writing, others again for washing and shaving. But where should I end were I to attempt description ? The same difficulties existed about the rooms. The room in which the servants had established themselves, was one appropriated for eating. To eat any where else is improper—to sleep there would be sacrilege—to make a bath of it would create a rebellion. Then above this were several large apartments, with couches placed in various corners, where the whole of us might have slept most conveniently ; but these we were informed
were

were the Franks' *dewan khaneh*, where the masters received their visitors.'—vol. i. pp. 204, 205.

But if the simplicity of the Persians' mode of living rendered them subject to embarrassment, from the complexity of European accommodation, the elchee was still more thrown off his balance by the unexpected ease of British diplomacy. Mirza Firouz was disposed to make fight, as the expression goes, and to contest with vigour every preliminary form in the negotiation. The mode, when, how, and with what degree of ceremony, he should meet the minister, and what honours should be rendered on either side, oppressed him as considerations of the deepest import. But he was spared the trouble of fatiguing his brains on these valuable punctilios, for the King of England's vizier for foreign affairs, as well as his first vizier or prime minister came at once to pay him the usual compliments, without making the least scruple on the subject. The Persian embassy were petrified at gaining a point, so important in their eyes, without a moment's debate. They were still more astonished at learning that one of the personages, thus neglectful of ceremony, was no other than the far-renowned conqueror of Tippoo Sultaun.

A visit even more interesting than that of Lord Cornwallis, was that of the visible representatives of that metaphysical and abstract idea of a sovereignty—personified in India, sometimes as Mother Company, whose sons conquer kingdoms with the one hand, and gather rupees with the other, and sometimes as John Company, whose salt is eaten by about a hundred thousand of sepoys. The avatar, or earthly descent of this (to an oriental) incomprehensible personage, appeared before the astonished elchee in the form of two common infidels, whom the ambassador and his suite (having hurried to the window upon their being announced) beheld standing by an old hackney coach, and wrangling with the driver for his fare. These, Hajji Baba learned, were the king and deputy king of Ind—the breathing successors to the throne of Aurengzeb, Jehangir, and Shah Allum—in a word, the Chair and deputy Chair (as their interpreter explained himself, pointing first to a chair, and then to a stool, in illustration of his meaning). On further explanation, the strangers learn that, though the personages who visited them,

'possessed kingdoms, they were not in fact kings; that the revenues of these kingdoms did not belong to them, but to others who enjoyed the fruits of them; that they were partly concerned in occasionally sending out a king, or *firman firmai*, to Calcutta; but that they, their Indian king, their fleets, their armies, were subject to another greater personage still, who was one of the king of England's viziers, who lived in a distinct corner of the city, and that he again was the immediate servant of the real shah of England and of Hindostan.

'Bewildered

‘Bewildered with this complication of real kings, and little kings, viziers, sitters upon chairs, and sitters upon stools, we held (says Hajji Baba) the finger of suspense upon the lip of astonishment, and pondered upon all we had heard, like men puzzling over a paradox. At length our visitors took their leave, and the ambassador promised that he would shortly fix a day for getting better acquainted with “Coompani,” of whom he and his countrymen had heard so much, and about whose existence it became quite necessary that Persia should, for the future, have clear and positive information. Instead of re-ascending their crazy coach, the kings (for so we ever after called them) walked away upon their own legs, and mixed unknown and unheeded in the common crowd of the street.

‘When they were well off we all sat mute, only occasionally saying, “Allah, Allah! there is but one Allah!” so wonderfully astonished were we. What? India! that great, that magnificent empire!—that scene of Persian conquest and Persian glory!—the land of elephants and precious stones! the seat of shawls and kincobs!—that paradise sung by poets, celebrated by historians, more ancient than Irân itself!—at whose boundaries the sun is permitted to rise, and around whose majestic mountains, some clad in eternal snows, others in eternal verdure, the stars and the moon are allowed to gambol and carouse! What! is it so fallen, so degraded as to be swayed by two obscure mortals, living in regions that know not the warmth of the sun? two swine-eating infidels, shaven, impure, walkers on foot, and who, by way of state, travel in dirty coaches filled with straw! This seemed to us a greater miracle in government than even that of Beg Jan, the plaiter of whips, who governed the Turcomans, and the countries of Samarcand and Bokhara, leading a life more like a beggar than a potentate.’—vol. i. pp. 265—268.

The Persian envoy was not doomed to be gratified by every thing which occurred in his intercourse with the British court. He is described by Hajji Baba as being astonished and displeased at finding that his first audience of the sovereign is likely, from some circumstance of the English monarch’s convenience, to be deferred beyond the period he had contemplated. This was a great subject of grief and anger, the more so, as all the Persian vehemence could not move the phlegm of the English ministry, and hardly that of the mehmandar, or interpreter.

The hour of audience being at length fixed, the envoy is informed that he is to proceed to the palace, there to be presented to the Shah of England, by his vizier for foreign affairs, and to deliver his credentials. The elchee exclaims bitterly against the common-place character of such a reception, as altogether unworthy of his own character and the dignity of the sovereign who occupies the most ancient throne in the world.

‘“When your ambassador,” said Mirza Firouz, “reached the Imperial Gate of Tehran, was he received in the manner that I have been

been here? No. The king's *amou* was sent to welcome his arrival before he even entered the city. And when he proceeded to his audience, the streets were lined with troops; salutes were fired, sugar was thrown under his horse's feet; drums, trumpets, and cymbals resounded throughout the city; the bazars were dressed; the populace were ordered to pay him every respect. He was clothed with robes of honour, and he was allowed to stand in the same room in which the king of kings himself reposed. And, by the beard of the Prophet, I swear that if I am not treated in the same manner, I will proceed as a private individual to the palace, I will ask to see the king, I will place my shah's letter into his hands, and, having said my *khoda hafiz shuma*, 'May God take you into his holy protection,' I will straightway leave the country, and return whence I came."

"That may be very well to say, as far as you are concerned," said the mehmendar, "but my sovereign is somebody also, and is likely to be consulted on this question. Suppose he were not to agree to your visit?" We saw the storm was impending, and that the mehmendar's words might as well have remained at the bottom of his throat. The ambassador's face was thrown upside down; the hairs of his beard became distended; and he oozed at every pore. "In short, then," said the ambassador, his eyes flashing fire, "am I an ambassador, or am I not?" "Is my king a king, or is he not?" said the mehmendar, to which, angry as he was, in his own language, he mumbled something to himself about "dam, or dammy," which word caught the Mirza's ear, and he, recollecting it to have been frequently used on board ship, mistook it as an epithet applied to himself, and his wrath then broke out something in the following words: "'Dam,' do you say? Am I 'dam?' If I am 'dam,' then you are the father of 'dam.' Why should I remain here to be called 'dam?' After all I am somebody in my own country. I will defile the grave of 'dam's' father. I will do whatever an ass can do to his mother, sister, wife, and all his ancestry. I am not come all this way to eat 'dam,' and to eat it from such hands." Upon which he flung out of the room, leaving the mehmendar to open the eyes of astonishment, and to eat the stripes of mortification.—vol. i. p. 238.

The mehmendar, with perfect composure, buttoned his coat, took his hat, and wished them all a good morning. The envoy, however, now becomes alarmed that, in his zeal for maintaining his dignity, he might have overacted his part, and thrown some serious impediment in the way of the proposed audience. At length, real impatience and anxiety getting the better of all airs of dignity, he sends Hajji to the mehmendar, with an orange in his hand, and a courteous invitation to dinner. At the appointed hour, accordingly, the interpreter appears, calm and undisturbed as usual, and is most kindly received by the Persian, and caressed, as a man who had acquired wisdom in the east, and knew the folly of being really angry on such occasions.

‘To this the mehmandar answered, “May your friendship never diminish. I have made known your wishes to the vizier for foreign affairs.” “Well,” said the ambassador, all of a sudden excited, “and what did he say?” “He said,” returned the infidel, “that there would be no difficulty in giving you a public audience. We have plenty of troops, and plenty of coaches, abundance of fine clothes, and fine things, and you shall go before the king, accompanied in any manner you choose.” “Wonderful!” exclaimed the ambassador, “wonderful! I do not understand you English at all! You make no difficulties. You leave no room for negotiation.” “Not upon trifles,” returned the mehmandar. “Trifles? do you call an ambassador’s reception a trifle?” said Mirza Firouz. “There is not a step made on such an occasion as this in Persia which is not duly measured. And do you call the dignity of sovereigns nothing?” “The nations of Europe were fools enough in times past,” said the mehmandar, “to make matters of etiquette affairs of state, and they used to lose intrinsic advantages in pursuing these ideal ones; but they are become wiser; we look upon etiquette now as child’s play. However, in consideration of your being Persians, and knowing no better, we do not hesitate in giving you as much of it as you please.”

‘Upon this the ambassador stroked his beard, pulled up his whiskers, and sat for some time in deep thought. He felt himself lowered in the estimation of the Franks, whilst, at the same time, he was aware that he could not act otherwise than he had done. At length he exclaimed, “And so the English think that we are men from the woods, asses, beasts of burthen, and know nothing of what the world is about? Be it so, be it so. But this know, that a nation who can trace its ancestry to Jemsheed; who counts a Jenghiz Khan, a Tamerlane, a Nadir Shah, an Aga Mohamed Khan, ay, and a Fatteh Ali, amongst its kings, is not accustomed to child’s play, and, moreover, is not at all inclined to take example from the kings of Frangistaun for any part of its conduct in matters relating to its own dignity.”—p. 245.

The audience finally proceeds as originally proposed, the acute tact of the Persian having discovered, that, to insist upon vanities willingly and indifferently conceded would be placing himself in the rank of a froward child, or a barbarian, ignorant of the points on which Europeans rest real consequence.

This entertaining passage touches a point in the chapter of human society which leads to some reflections. The time is not so very distant when the English court would have reasoned on such a subject, in a manner not unworthy of that of Ispahan. When Sir John Finnett, the author of *Finetti Philoxenes*, acted as master of ceremonies to Charles I., Mirza would have encountered in him, beard to beard, or whiskers to beard at least, a zealous defender of those points of ceremony which modern ministers conceded with such easy contempt, and an antagonist, therefore, after his own soul. But one question remains, and it is
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an important one. We have turned over to oblivion and scorn the ancient superstitions of masters of ceremonies, and gentlemen ushers, about first and last in the order of reception, right and left in point of place, chairs and joint stools in respect of accommodation; nor would the Spaniards and French, in the suites of their respective ambassadors, be (without the interference of Townsend) permitted, as of yore, to fight a bloody and fatal battle in the streets of London, on the important point whose carriage was entitled to precedence. The sense that ambassadors are sent for other purposes has got rid of all this foppery. But, we would ask, might not the reformation be carried further?—is it not worthy to be extended from the ante-chamber, where it has been achieved, into the cabinets themselves, where much, and of a most important character, remains to be done to simplify diplomacy? James I.'s witty character of an ambassador, that he was a man of quality sent to lie abroad for the good of his country, has, perhaps, been too deeply imprinted on the European system of conducting foreign relations. It is particularly unfavourable for the English nation, and advantageous for the political agents of other countries, who, by a dexterous employment of what is familiar to their habits, and alien to ours, have, for ages, been as remarkable for gaining as we for losing in diplomacy. An Englishman argues much as he handles his national weapon in a private quarrel. He can make a shift to apply one sound argument as substantial and as solid as a lead bullet, to the comprehension of his adversary, by whom it must often be admitted as sufficing. But, in the small-sword logic, the tierce and quarte of diplomatic finesse, he is almost sure to be foiled. The progress of time has thrown general light on all manufactures, trades, and even professions, and has dispelled the mist in which interested persons had involved them; the more that the *mysteries*, as they were termed, attached to peculiar employments have been removed, the more powerful has been the assistance they have received from true science. The same rule would doubtless apply to diplomatic arrangement, if conducted on a more frank, explicit, and open principle, than that of the tortuous *détours*, *finesses*, &c.—(we are glad the vocabulary is not English)—hitherto held almost inseparable from the science. The diplomacy of Napoleon was conducted with all states inferior in power, on the principle of *sic volo sic jubeo*, and his decisive argument was the circle which the Roman consul drew round the eastern monarch. This put finesse and subterfuge much out of the question, and these were only resumed in his negotiations with Great Britain. On these occasions, the protracted contest, though maintained by the most able combatants, somewhat resembled that of men fighting in the armour of their great

great grandfathers. The old tricks of the diplomatic science, ever since this palpable exposure, have been falling into as much disrepute as *Barbara Celarent*. Its disguises are now too threadbare to serve the purpose of concealment. Above all, the selfish, narrow-minded, and most impolitic principle that each state ought to act, and had a right to act, for its own separate advantage, in seizing whatever advantage, craft, or superior force could secure for it, has been severely expiated by universal suffering, and though it cannot perhaps be altogether expelled from the bosoms of sovereigns and statesmen, will be no longer unblushingly avowed. The time was when Joseph II., thinking he had a fair opportunity to subdue Turkey in Europe, gave the King of Prussia to understand very frankly that the only rule of peace or war which sovereigns could be bound by, was the probability of their being defeated, or successful,—in other words, the same principle on which gamblers draw near the hazard table, and highwaymen take the road.* This wretched system of senseless ego-ism, after having engaged Europe in such a succession of mutual injuries, aggressions, and wrongs, until, like skirmishes of the frogs and mice, the feuds were ended in the general subjugation of the continent, has been fortunately counteracted, and for the present exploded; and, we believe, most civilized states have arrived at the wholesome conclusion, that true policy does not consist in the struggles of a nation for its own aggrandizement, but in the union of the whole European republic towards promoting the peace and happiness of the civilized world. If this be now in a great measure recognized as the object of public treaties, it seems to follow that an object so fair, and manly, and meritorious, will be best furthered by being stated and followed up by plans and arguments of the same candid character. Persons proposing each some sinister advantage to himself, naturally conceal their real objects under the jargon of contending attorneys, to whom peace is war. But men united in the honest purpose of seeking that which is best for the whole, get rid as soon as possible of the gringribber of negotiation, and resort to the language of common reason and common sense, because that which is unquestionably just always gains by being made completely intelligible. A fair experiment of this nature was made long since, when the plain and downright integrity of Sir Andrew Mitchell was found too many for the refined policy of the wily Frederick, the most subtle of negotiators, and when the English ambassador, merely by dint of speaking truth,

* See this unblushing avowal in a very interesting work entitled, '*Memoires d'un Homme d'Etat*,' which contains much authentic information concerning the state of Europe at the commencement, and during the progress of the French revolution. We believe it is justly attributed to the pen of Prince Hardenberg, one of the few truly great statesmen of our own times.

raised at once his own character and that of his country into weight and authority. The present time too is highly favourable for simplifying the subtleties of public diplomacy, since no minister ever could know better than our present premier the superiority of Corporal Trim's single thrust of the bayonet, the determined aim and irresistible vigour of which bears down all fine fencing in action, and all metaphysical subtleties in logic. Let us speak a frank word, for it is a true one. Subtlety is not our national characteristic, and when we engage in the recondite mazes of diplomacy we attempt a game which we do not understand, and from which, therefore, we are not likely to rise winners. Since the time of Philip de Commines, who first made the remark, 'the English have commonly lost in negotiation what they have gained in war.' This could not, surely, be the case, were our diplomacy conducted on the principles of plain reason and common sense.

We ask pardon of our readers for a digression to which, in truth, the work before us affords no apology, since, differing in that particular from Montesquieu and Lord Littleton, the author of *Hajji* never suffers the lucubrations of his Persian to touch upon politics, whether of a general or national character, confining his subjects almost entirely to criticisms on manners and customs.

The ambassador—whose liberal mode of thinking, and shrewdness of perception of character, though mingled of course with national prejudice and a good deal of national roguery, are not to be disguised—is, we conclude, the same Mirza whose wit and talents excited a strong sensation in the fashionable world about eighteen or twenty years ago, and whose person, character, and manners made the subject of a small and agreeable pamphlet by Lord Radstock, which, though not published, was, we believe, pretty generally circulated. There was in the manner of Mirza all the address and dexterity of a courtier, with some points which seemed to indicate a deeper degree of reflection than we are accustomed to connect with the idea of a Mussulman. His repartees were often repeated at the time, and lost none of their effect in coming forth by the medium of bearded lips, from a head swathed round with a turban. His jests were regulated with much delicacy. He could, on occasions, be severe enough, but it was always when time and place served. A profound blue-stocking once teased him with inquiries whether they did not worship the sun in Persia. 'Oh yes, Madam,' said Mirza, with perfect coolness, 'and so would you in England too—if you ever saw him.' Mirza, while residing in Britain, made a *progress*, on which occasion he showed that he completely understood the duty of tourists.

ists who would act in character, to ask a certain number of questions, with a becoming degree of indifference as to the manner in which they may be answered. For example, when he visited a large public library at one of the universities, he looked round the room, 'Fine room—great many pillar—are they stone pillar?—wood pillar?' His cicerone, who had a slight impediment in his speech, not answering immediately, Mirza went on, 'You do not know?—very well—very many book here—are they printed book or written book?' There was a similar hesitation; 'You do not know? very well.' In Edinburgh he visited the old palace of Holyrood, whose gallery is garnished with a most fearful and wonderful collection of pictures, said to be portraits of the hundred and six ancestors of gentle King Jamie, which we believe were originally painted to grace the entrance of his unhappy son Charles into his Scottish metropolis in 1633. Mirza no sooner beheld this collection of scarecrows than, being a critic as well as a wag, he turned to the old lady who showed the apartments:—"You paint all these yourself?" 'Me, Sir—no, no—I canna paint anyt'ing, please your honour.' To which Mirza answered, 'You not know, ma'am—you try, ma'am—you do a greatly deal better, ma'am.' Such was, in his actual reality, Mirza Abou Taleb, the prototype of Hajji's patron, whose character, therefore, is not overcoloured by our tell-tale secretary.

Additional interest is given to the narrative by the contrasted lights in which the same incidents are seen by the envoy and Hajji, (both of whom are somewhat indifferent, or, at least, very liberal in matters of religious belief,) and the master of ceremonies, Mahomed Khan,—a rigid Mussulman, and others of the suite who are zealous followers of the Arabian prophet. The Circassian, too, though a late convert to Islamism, became, as is the nature of her sex,—to say nothing of the nature of renegades—a violent assserter of the creed which she had so recently adopted. There was a dinner accepted by the envoy at the house of some wealthy Jew merchant, or banker, which liberality on Mirza's part drew on him reproaches from his mistress, his master of the ceremonies, and even from Hajji Baba himself. The Mirza is provoked beyond patience.

"Oh you dog without a saint!" said he to Mohamed Beg; "are you a Mussulman to lie after this manner? why am I to bear all this want of respect? I am the shah's representative, and if the shah himself was here he would cut your head off; but as I am a good man I will only punish you with a few blows. Give him the shoe," he cried out to several of us; and having named me as the principal agent, I was obliged to take off my slipper, and inflict on the mouth of my friend as many blows as I could. I went to work as quietly as possible;

sible; but with all my ingenuity I could not avoid knocking out a certain old and solitary tooth, which had stood sentry at the door of his mouth ever since the last reign.

‘The poor sufferer left the ambassador in pain and anger. I heard him vow eternal vengeance; and to me he said, “Oh you of little fortune! why would you hit my tooth! You did better things when you were a ferash, and beat men’s toes.”

‘I swore upon the sacred book that I was without help, that I was ordered to strike; and I only begged that if he were ever obliged to do the same to me that he would not spare me.’—vol. ii., p. 271.

But it is an amourette of our adventurous friend Hajji Baba which chiefly interested us. The gallant secretary had made an acquaintance at Astley’s (which place of amusement he calls the horse-opera) with a father, mother, and three daughters, the first of whom was a devotee, who converted Jews, and made stockings for the poor; the second, beautiful and fashionable; the third was not come out yet, but had a tendency to blue, in the garter at least. All this was made known to our Hajji by the loquacity of the mother, who expatiated upon the wealth and generosity of her husband.

“*Mashallah!* praises to Allah!” said I, “he is also very fat;” and I added, “what may his fortunate name be?” “Hogg, at your excellency’s service,” said she. “It is an old Scotch family, and we flatter ourselves that we come from some of the oldest of the stock.” “*Penah be khodu?* refuge in Allah,” exclaimed I to myself; “a family of the unclean beast! and old hogs into the bargain! My luck is on the rise to have fallen into such a set. And pray what may yours and the young ladies’ names be?” said I. “We’re all Hogg’s too,” said the mother.

This leads to a visiting acquaintance which the secretary keeps private from the ambassador, the ambitious Ispahani having in secret nourished hopes of securing the affections and property of the beautiful Miss Bessy Hogg. The ladies, on their part, had adopted some idea that their eastern friend was a mirza, or prince, which Hajji Baba failed not to confirm, gaining thus an amazing step in their favour.

‘This being established, it was quite amusing to observe the rate at which they started with the word “Prince,” as if it had never crossed their lips before. Whatever they addressed to me was prefaced with that monosyllable, until at length, in my own defence, I was obliged myself to ask a few questions. “Where is your papa?” said I to the beautiful Bessy. The mamma answered, “He is gone into the city; he attends to his business every day, and returns in the evening.” “Ah! then,” said I, “he is merchant—same in my country:—merchant sit in bazar all day, at night shut up shop, and come home—What he sell, ma’am?” “Mr. Hogg,” said the lady, with some dignity,
“does

"does not keep a shop, he is an East India merchant." "*Then perhaps he sell ham,*" said I, thinking that his name might be a designation of his trade, as it frequently is in Persia. "Sells hams!" exclaimed the lady, whilst her daughters tittered. "Why should he sell hams, prince?" "*Because he one Hogg, ma'am. In our country, merchant sometime called after the thing he sells.*" "La, prince!" exclaimed the lady, "what an odd custom. Hogg is an old family name, and has nothing to do with the animal. There are Hoggs both in England and Scotland." "You might as well say, prince," remarked the young Jessy, "that Sir Francis Bacon, the famous Lord Verulam, was a pork butcher." "And that all our Smiths,* Taylors, Coopers, Bakers, Cooks, and a thousand others, were representatives of their professions," added Bessy. "Well, I never heard any thing like it," summed up the mamma. "Mr. Hogg a ham-seller, indeed! La, prince! what could you be thinking of?"—vol. ii. p. 93.

This false step is soon repaired; and, by dint of his supposed quality, our friend Hajji, whom no scruple or fear of consequences ever deterred from prosecuting an immediate advantage, is invited to a splendid dinner by the family of Hoggs, and treated with such distinction, that he conceives himself to be on the point of making a conquest of the moon-faced object of his affections; whilst, on the other hand, he has no small reason to be apprehensive of the envoy's displeasure, should he be detected in the act of taking upon himself the character of a prince. This fact transpires, like most others, through the medium of the newspapers, which announce the grand entertainment given by those distinguished fashionables, Mr. and Mrs. Hogg, of No. —, Portland Place, to his highness the Persian Prince Mirza Hajji Baba. Great is the displeasure of the ambassador; and great above measure is the embarrassment of his worthy secretary, justly suspected of being the illustrious prince who has shared the banquet of the unclean beasts, as the cousins of the Ettrick Shepherd are unceremoniously denominated; and as he endeavours to vindicate himself, with some warmth, against the charge of having eaten a good dinner, he draws on himself the discipline of the shoe-heel, applied repeatedly to his teeth by the envoy himself, while his hands are held by two of the assistants.

This mis-adventure does not prevent the enterprising secretary from persevering in his scheme on the heart and fortune of the lively Bessy. He is even able to extract some countenance from the ambassador, who, understanding that the damsel has a fortune of fifty thousand tomauns, proposes that the profits of the adventure shall be fairly divided betwixt himself and his dependent, he

* The prince did not know Verstegan's couplet, or he might have found an answer—

' Whence cometh Smith, be he lord, knight, or squire,
But from the clown that forged in the fire?'

getting the portion, and Hajji Baba the person of the lady. But, though this obstacle is removed, it is in vain that Hajji makes love in the Persian manner, by rubbing his own shawl against the back of the young lady's pelisse; it is in vain too that he learns from an Englishman—(who had, probably, in his mind, the lively story of 'Altham and his Wife,')—that there have been instances of love-*tales* being favourably received in England when told under an umbrella, and in the middle of a shower. Chance, assisted by his own dexterity, gave him the desired opportunity, with its adjuncts of the umbrella and the rain, which he considered as essential to a propitious explanation. But while, in the most correct style, we presume, of Persian adoration, he styles the young lady his *tuoli shēker khu*, or sugar-loving parrot, and invites her to 'wife with him and live with him'—the lovely Bessy slips her arm from under that of her lover, and hints something of speaking to mamma. The prosecution of the story is, we think, a little caricatured. The Father of the Hogs, as Hajji calls him, is represented as applying to the ambassador, and to the mehmendar or interpreter, for the purpose of learning our friend's real character, birth, fortune, and expectations. Now as the said Hogg is described as a wealthy India merchant, we think that he must certainly have known what wool a Persian's red cap is composed of, and that it is impossible he could have thought for a moment of matching his daughter with a foreigner, of a false religion, and a barbarous country, while there were so many bachelors, good men on 'Change, and very good christians, doubtless, to boot. It is wonderful, however, that in a work which afforded such tempting opportunities to push humorous incidents into extravagance, the author should have resisted the licence, except only in the present instance. The appeal to the too veracious mehmendar is utterly destructive of Hajji Baba's tender hopes; and the moonfaced Bessy Hogg, instead of being made a princess after the desire of our Persian secretary, or the 'lady' of a young long-spurred hussar officer, after her own inclinations, becomes the wife of a wealthy grocer, and her oriental admirer is a resigned witness of the ceremony which—we doubt not, to her great ultimate comfort and satisfaction—makes her Mrs. Figby.

The departure of the embassy, with all the preparatory bustle, and above all, the settlement of long bills which it involves, is described with the truth and spirit which characterize this lively work, and of which we have given so many instances. Hajji Baba returns safely to Persia. The wonders which he saw at the court of Britain he narrated before the throne of the Shah; was invested with a dress of honour; and dismissed from the royal presence

presence with his head, like that of Horace, knocking against every star in the zodiac.

Before laying aside these two volumes, we cannot resist the temptation to turn back for a moment to the travels of Abou Taleb (reviewed in our VIIIth number), which are the production of a *bona fide* Mussulman. The advantage, of course, remains infinitely on the side of the work written to amuse, over that which was composed for the purpose of instruction. Such ludicrous errors as Hajji cherishes and records, his real prototype, when he fell into any of them, took especial care to conceal; giving us only the result of what he learned from matured consideration and experience. Abou Taleb deals, therefore, in matter of fact, and is most prosaic exactly where the secretary of the Persian embassy is most lively, imaginative, and absurd. It is odd that, though both works bear the marked impress of oriental composition, they hardly evince an idea in common with each other, excepting that the authors show the same holy scruple at employing a brush composed of hogg's bristles for the purposes of the bath. There is one political plan for the settlement of our national debt, which Abou Taleb does us the favour to suggest, and which in the Hajji's hands could not have failed to make a grand figure. Nothing could be more easy, he imagines, than to assemble the creditors of government in the presence of parliament, and inform them in plain language that they must instantly enter into a compromise, and agree to be contented with receiving a certain proportion of their debt. We have only to observe, that the remedy seems to us to stop halfway; and that if the 'Light of the Universe,' or any other oriental monarch had a parcel of troublesome creditors assembled in the Atmeidan, before the 'refuge of the world,' or whatsoever his palace might be called, he would probably make them glad to compound, not for half only, but for all their claims, merely by drawing up a few nasakchies around the congregation. How the remedy would work in Europe—under favour of the learned oriental physician—the wise may make some drachm of a scruple.

Another work of considerable merit, belonging to the same class of composition, has attracted our favourable notice, though we are at present compelled to introduce it only in a very summary way. It is called the 'Kuzzilbash,' that is, the 'Redcap,' by which is meant the Persian Soldier, so named from the distinguishing part of his attire. This oriental romance, for such it must be termed, displays an accurate and intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs, as well as the history of Persia. The power of description displayed in it, so far at least as external circumstances are concerned, is of a most rich and picturesque character.

character. The author's pictures of natural scenery in the East show an eye familiar with its beauties and its terrors; and indicate, we are tempted to think, no ordinary acquaintance with the art of the draughtsman. The following description of what had once been an ornamented garden, but was become a place of rendezvous for a marauding tribe of Turcomans, might be easily transferred to canvass as a counterpart to Goldsmith's Auburn:—

'Just upon the edge of the bank, the little stream, after filling a canal, had been trained to fall over an artificial cascade of stone, the sides of which had been adorned with ornaments of the same; but the canal was almost obliterated, and the stone over which the water rushed was broken, and had fallen in such a manner as to confine the stream still more. A rude spout of stone had been placed so as to collect it in the basin below, and to enable the women to fill their water-vessels more easily. A huge old sycamore tree, once the chief ornament of the garden, grew on one side and overshadowed the basin; and a vine, which had rooted itself among the broken stones, formed a still closer covering, protecting the water from the rays of the sun, so as to render it always cool and refreshing. It was a delicious spot, and had become the favourite rendezvous of the whole aoul: the women came morning and evening to fill their water-skins; the elders of the men met to smoke their callepoons under the shade, and the youths to talk over their exploits performed or anticipated, to play at games of chance, and listen to the tales of a Kissago, or to gossip with the women; the children sported below upon the green bank, or threw themselves into the sparkling waters of the little lake at its foot.'—vol. i., pp. 59, 60.

The following sketch of a Persian cavalier has the richness and freshness of one of Heber's, or Morier's, or Sir John Malcolm's pages:—

'He was a man of goodly stature, and powerful frame; his countenance, hard, strongly marked, and furnished with a thick black beard, bore testimony of exposure to many a blast, but it still preserved a prepossessing expression of good humour and benevolence. His turban, which was formed of a cashmere shawl, sorely tached and torn, and twisted here and there with small steel chains, according to the fashion of the time, was wound around a red cloth cap, that rose in four peaks high above the head. His oemah, or riding coat, of crimson cloth much stained and faded, opening at the bosom, showed the links of a coat of mail which he wore below; a yellow shawl formed his girdle; his huge shulwars, or riding trowsers, of thick, fawn-coloured Kerman woollen-stuff, fell in folds over the large red leather boots in which his legs were cased: by his side hung a crooked scymetar in a black leather scabbard, and from the holsters of his saddle peeped out the butt ends of a pair of pistols; weapons of which I then knew not the use, any more than of the matchlock which was slung at his back. He was mounted on a powerful but jaded horse, and appeared to have already travelled far.'

Scenes of active life are painted by the author of the *Kuzzilbash* with the same truth, accuracy, and picturesque effect, which he displays in landscapes or single figures. In war, especially, he is at home; and gives the attack, the retreat, the rally, the bloody and desperate close combat, the flight, pursuit, and massacre, with all the current of a heady fight, as one who must have witnessed such terrors. We regret we have not space to give a further extract; and still more that we cannot add to these just praises any compliment to the art with which the author has conducted the incidents of his story—which are, at the least, very slightly put together, and frequently placed in perspective the hero and his affairs. The historical events are dwelt on so often, and at such length, that we lose interest for the *Kuzzilbash*, in tracing the career of Nader and the revolutions of Persia. This is a sin which, we hope, the author will not cleave to, on further experience. We must also hint, that the moral characters of the agents whom he introduces are not sufficiently discriminated to maintain much interest with the reader: they too much resemble the *fortem Gyan fortemque Cloanthum*. It may be answered, with plausibility, that people, trammelled by the dogmatic rules of a false religion, and the general pressure of an arbitrary government, are not apt to run into the individual varieties of character to be found in a free and Christian community. But a more close inspection of that great mass which preserves, at the first view, one dull appearance of universal resemblance, gives a great many differences both of a national, a professional, and an individual kind. While, then, we sincerely hope the author of the *Kuzzilbash* will resume the pen, we would venture to recommend that he commence on a more restricted canvass, and lend considerably more attention to the discrimination of his characters, and the combination of his story. In this case, with his stores of information and powers of language, we cannot help thinking he will secure public favour.

In the meantime, and with our recollection of the remarkable circumstance, that English literature *has* found an interest even in Persia, we feel disposed to nourish hopes that the taste may increase. Why may not European productions become, in time, as indispensable to the moral habits of a Persian, as a Chinese leaf to an European breakfast? Such expectations may appear extravagant to that sect of dampers who may be termed the Cui-bonists.—What would be the good consequence, they may ask, should Britain be able to introduce into Persia the whole trash which loads her own circulating libraries? We reply that these volumes of inanity, as Johnson would have termed them, are yet not more inane than the romances of the middle ages, which spread
wide

wide over Europe the system of chivalry, and thereby wrought a more powerful change on human manners than ever was produced by any one cause, the Christian religion alone excepted. 'Let any one who lists,' says a lively French author, 'make laws for a people, so I have liberty to compose their songs : ' a similarity of books paves the way for a similarity of manners ; and the veil of separation once rent, there is no saying how soon it may be altogether removed.

The possibility of a great change being introduced by very slight beginnings may be illustrated by the tale which Lockman tells of a vizier who, having offended his master, was condemned to perpetual captivity in a lofty tower. At night his wife came to weep below his window. 'Cease your grief,' said the sage, 'go home for the present, and return hither when you have procured a live black beetle, together with a little *ghee*, (or Buffalo's butter,) three clews, one of the finest silk, another of stout packthread, and another of whippcord ; finally a stout coil of rope.' When she again came to the foot of the tower, provided according to her husband's commands, he directed her to touch the head of the insect with a little of the *ghee*, to tie one end of the silk thread around him, and to place the reptile on the wall of the tower. Seduced by the smell of the butter, which he conceived to be in store somewhere above him, the beetle continued to ascend till he reached the top, and thus put the vizier in possession of the end of the silk thread, who drew up the packthread by means of the silk, the small cord by means of the packthread, and, by means of the cord, a stout rope capable of sustaining his own weight,—and so at last escaped from the place of his duress.

- ART. IV.—1. *Principles of Elementary Teaching, chiefly in reference to the Parochial Schools of Scotland ; in two Letters to T. F. Kennedy, Esq., M.P.* By James Pillans, F.R.S.E., Late Rector of the High School, and now Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh. 1828.
2. *Elements of Tuition. Part III. Ludus Lilerarius: The Classical and Grammar School ; or, an Exposition of an Experiment in Education, made at Madras in the years 1789-1796 ; with a view to its introduction into Schools for the higher orders of Children, and with particular Suggestions for its Application to a Grammar School.* By the Rev. Andrew Bell, D.D., I.L.D., &c., Master of Sherburn Hospital, Durham.

3. *A Letter to John Hughes, Esq., M.A., on the Systems of Education proposed by the Popular Parties.* By the Rev. John Phillips Potter, M.A., Oriel College, Oxford. 1828.
4. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Robert Peel, on the subject of the University of London.* By Christianus. 1828.
5. *Some Account of the System of Fagging at Winchester School; with Remarks, and a Correspondence with Dr. Williams, Head Master of that Public School, on the late expulsions thence for resistance to the authority of the Praefects.* By Sir Alexander Malet, Bart. London. 1828.

CURSED, say the Rabbies, be he who keepeth a pig, or who teacheth his son Greek! If Latin had been included in the anathema, many a poor boy in Christian countries might have wished himself a Jew, that so he might have come under the benefit of the saving malediction. The cruelty by which barbarous times are characterized, and which reaches far into more civilized ages, is not more strongly marked in the laws of every European people, than in the history of scholastic education.

It began in cloisters, and this alone might explain wherefore it was originally conducted upon a principle of severity. The children who were there brought up were devoted to a religious life; and whether this were to be secular or monastic, the first thing which the preceptors deemed necessary was to subdue the will, and break the spirit to the yoke of a rigorous discipline.

We continually read in our hagiologists of children running to the shrines of the saints, in the hope of there obtaining protection against the cruelty of their masters. A boy in that hope clung to the tomb of St. Adrian, at Canterbury; and the master, disregarding in his anger the sanctity of the spot, chastised him as he clung there: the first and second strokes were allowed to be given with impunity; but the offended saint stiffened the arm which was raised to inflict a third; and it was not until the master had implored forgiveness of the boy, and the boy had become his mediator with the defunct and beatified bishop, that the use of the limb was restored. Another miracle, which it would require a very different degree of credulity to believe, but which undoubtedly exemplifies the temper in which scholastic punishment was administered, is also related by Capgrave, in the legend of the same saint. The culprit ran to his shrine, calling upon him for help, and the master is represented as declaring in reply to these appeals, that even if Christ himself were to interfere in his behalf, the boy should not escape unpunished. A dove, beautifully white, is said instantly to have alighted upon the tomb, and by bending its head and fluttering its wings, as if in the attitude of supplication, to have disarmed the repentant

repentant pedagogue of his wrath, and made him fall upon his knees, and supplicate forgiveness for his own impiety. The friendly relation which St. Adrian held to the scholars of Canterbury, was filled by Queen St. Ermenilda, at Ely. ‘Do you imagine that St. Ermenilda is always to be your patroness when you have done wrong?’ said the schoolmaster, as he forced some of his boys from their place of refuge, and flogged them to his heart’s content (*usque ad animi satietatem verberat*); but in the ensuing night, the insulted saint appeared to him, and compressed his hands and feet more tightly than if she had fastened them with manacles and fetters; all power of motion was instantly taken from the contracted parts, till the boys, of whom it was now his turn to pray for forgiveness, had forgiven him, and then being carried as a penitent suppliant to the shrine, he was restored to the use of his limbs. In such miracles the manners of the times are truly represented, as in the drawings with which the manuscript of an old romance is illustrated.

It is one of the best things recorded of Archbishop Anselm, a man not otherwise remarkable for meekness of mind, or gentleness in his course of life, that he perceived the folly as well as the barbarity of this servile discipline, and remonstrated against it. A certain abbot, talking one day with him of the affairs of the monastery (Canterbury is very likely to have been the scene), asked him what could be done with the boys who were bred up there. ‘They are perverse, he said, and incorrigible; we never cease beating them day and night, and yet they are always worse than they were before.’ What, replied Anselm, do you never cease beating them? And what sort of persons do they turn out to be, when they are grown up? Stupid and brutal, said the abbot. ‘Then,’ answered Anselm, how well have you bestowed all your pains in education when you have educated human beings so as to make brutes of them! But what else can we do?’ said the abbot, abashed at the rebuke, and yet not made sensible that he had proceeded upon a wrong system. We use all means for compelling them to learn, and yet they make no proficiency. ‘For compelling them?’ repeated Anselm. ‘Tell me, I pray you, Sir Abbot, if you planted a young tree in your garden, and were presently to shut it up so closely on every side, that it could nowhere push out its branches, what sort of a sapling would it prove to be, when, at a year’s end, you came to set it free?—truly a worthless one, with crooked and intertangled boughs; and this from no fault except your own, in having so unreasonably cramped it. Certes it is just thus that ye are doing with your schoolboys. They have been planted as an oblation in the garden of the church, that they may grow there and bring forth fruit

fruit unto God. But you keep them under a perpetual constraint by fear, by threats and stripes, so that they are not allowed to enjoy any liberty. And, therefore, they who suffer under this injudicious oppression acquire such evil thoughts and desires, which grow up like thorns in their minds; and these they feed and cherish, till they have acquired such strength as to resist obstinately every means which you can possibly administer for correcting them. Hence it results, that because they never perceived in you anything of love—anything of compassion—anything of benevolence or kindness toward them, they can have no belief afterward of any thing good in you, but are persuaded that whatever you did proceeded from hatred and malice: and the miserable consequence is that, as they grow in years, their dispositions being thus contorted, and rendered prone to evil, suspicion and hatred grow with their growth. Having themselves never been trained by any one in true charity, they can never look upon others but with a downcast brow and an eye askant.’ It was the best sermon that ever Anselm preached,—one that entitles him to a far more honourable and endearing remembrance than any thing which is recorded of him in the civil and ecclesiastical history of England. ‘For God’s sake,’ he pursued, ‘tell me why it is that you treat them in this spirit of annoyance? Are they not human beings—are they not your fellow creatures? Would you that they should do unto you as ye do unto them, if your relative situations were changed, and ye were what they are? But admit that your intention is to form them to good manners by blows and stripes; did you ever know a goldsmith form a plate of gold or silver into a goodly shape only by hammering it? I think not, indeed! But how then? to the end that he may bring his plate into the form desired, he, with his instrument, gently presses it, and taps it gently, and carefully, and with gentle touches smoothes and shapes it; and so must ye, if ye desire to accomplish your boys in good learning, bestow upon them the alleviation and the aid of paternal compassion and kindness, as well as the use of stripes.’ The abbot was not yet convinced, but maintained his cause like a sturdy disciplinarian. ‘What alleviation?’ he asked, ‘what aid?’ ‘We endeavour to force grave and good manners upon them.’—‘*Bene quidem*,’ answered Anselm. ‘Bread, and any kind of solid food, is good and wholesome for those who are able to eat it; but take an infant from the breast, and give it him instead of his natural food, and you will see him choked by it, rather than comforted and delighted,—I need not tell you why. But hold you this for a truth, that as there is for the weak body and the strong their appropriate food, so is there for the weak and the strong mind. The strong mind delighteth in, and is nourished

nourished by solid meat, to wit, by patience in tribulation,—by not coveting other men's goods,—by turning one cheek to him that smites the other,—by praying for his enemies,—by loving those that hate him ; but he that is as yet feeble in the service of God needs to be fed with milk as a suckling,—that is to say, with gentleness,—with benignity,—with pity,—with cheerful encouragement,—with charitable forbearance,—and so forth. Adapt ye yourselves thus to the strong and to the weak, and by God's grace ye will, as far as in you lies, bring them all to the service of God.' It is to the credit of the abbot that he no longer resisted the force of this unanswerable reasoning, but groaned and said, Verily we have erred, and the light of discretion hath not shone in us ! And falling at Anselm's feet, he confessed his fault, and entreated pardon for the past, and promised amendment for the future.

This was a day to be marked with a white stone by the boys of that convent, so long, it may be hoped, as the abbot lived, and as the archbishop's lecture was remembered there. But this would not be long ; for severity belongs to the spirit of monastic discipline, and nothing is so liable to be abused as power : this is seen in mobs as much as in military despotism ; in planters, drovers, and ship captains, as well as in eastern sultans or Roman emperors,—in the great schoolboy, who is the tyrant of his fellows, as in Orbilius, and the long line of his successors in the same profession. When Almanzor exclaims, in the bombasted heroics of Dryden's tragedy, and Drawcausir repeats after him, in well-deserved burlesque, 'I can do all this because I dare ;' the well-known line expresses what is the actual feeling of those who, finding themselves possessed of power over their fellow animals or their fellow men, abuse that power, because they are under no human responsibility for its abuse, or are so far removed from responsibility that they think they may defy it. To what an extent the cruelty of scholastic discipline was carried in the middle ages, and at the restoration of letters, may seem scarce credible in these days of improved humanity,—for, God be praised, there is this improvement, however much we may have worsened, and are worsening, in certain other points. Most readers are acquainted with the complaint of poor Thomas Tusser, the unlucky, but good, honest, industrious, lively, pleasant author of our own homely Georgics :—

' From Paul's I went, to Eton sent,
To learn straightways the Latin phrase,
Where fifty-three stripes given to me,
At once I had ;
For fault but small, or none at all,

It came to pass, thus beat I was.
 See, Udall, see the mercy of thee
 To me, poor lad !'

Such severity, were it inflicted in these days, would deservedly bring infamy and ruin upon the inflictor ; and yet this was mild, in comparison to the barbarities described by Ravisius Textor, who in the early part of the same century was Rector of the University of Paris. He was a person of more erudition than taste, and of more oddity than genius ; but, what was far better for himself and for those under him, a right-minded, kind-hearted, good-natured man. His testimony is entitled to the more weight, because he was himself too much influenced by the spirit and the habits of the age to err on the side of indulgence ; for in one of his epistles he writes thus concerning the treatment of boys : ' If they offend, if they are detected in falsehood, if they slip from the yoke, if they murmur against it, or complain in ever so little a degree, let them be most severely whipt ; and spare neither the scourge, nor mitigate the punishment, till the proud heart shall evidently be subdued, and they shall have become smoother than oil and softer than a pumpkin. And if they endeavour by mollifying speeches to disarm the preceptor's anger, let all their words be given to the winds.' One who has written thus must, therefore, be an unexceptionable witness when he speaks of the cruelty practised upon schoolboys in the course of their education. In one of his poems, two schoolmasters are brought before Rhadamanthus for judgment, and the Judge of the Dead asks,

Quid prior hic sceleris fecit ?

LACHESIS.

Deforme relatu :

Affixit rigidis corpora verberibus.
 Hic juvenum scapulas mutilavit et ossa flagellis,
 Elicuit rivos sanguinis ex humeris,
 Nec timuit pedibus pueros calcare tenellos,
 Nec croceam manibus vellere cæsariem.

The preceptor cries for mercy ; but Rhadamanthus answers,

Sceleste,

Audebis veniam quærere ? perge miser !
 Clausus in obscura baratri fornace latebis,
 Fœda veneniferi membra trahent colubri.
 Persephone hunc rapias tortorem, ac igne peruras ;
 Verbera quæ pueris intulit, ipse ferat.

The other schoolmaster is sent to Elysium, Rhadamanthus telling him,

— tua te in pueros clementia salvum
 Reddit.

Elsewhere,

Elsewhere, in a prose dialogue between father and son, he describes these cruelties as being carried so far as actually to kill the victim.—And evidently there is no exaggeration intended. The good old rector describes an atrocious case which had actually occurred; and the habitual inhumanity practised in schools had made so strong an impression upon him, that he refers to it again and again in his writings. The men to whom children were committed for education, in those days, were under as little responsibility as planters and Guinea captains in the last generation. They were screened from it probably by conventual privileges, which were so great, and moreover so enormously abused, that offenders could be disposed of within the walls of a monastery so as never to be heard of more. And the children were none of them in a condition to look to their parents for protection; they were all of low degree; and, when once received into the school, were as little thought of by those who had disposed of them there, and probably as little cared for, as that eldest born of Madame de Sevigné's heartless daughter, who, before the winning years of her infancy were over, was placed in a nunnery, and destined to remain there till she should be carried from her cell to her grave! The children of the gentry and of the higher families were never educated at school: they were trained to arms, and to the manners of their station; but in such proud and contemptuous ignorance as to be unfit for any office in the state wherein any knowledge of letters should be required. This continued to be the custom even after the encouragement to learning which was given at the courts of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

‘Is there never a nobleman to be a Lord President,’ said Lattimer the martyr, ‘but it must be a prelate? Is there never a wise man in the realm to be a Comptroller of the Mint? I speak it to your shame! If there be never a wise man, make a water-bearer, a tinker, a cobbler, a slave, or a page, Comptroller of the Mint: make a mean gentleman, a groom, a yeoman, or a poor beggar, Lord President! Thus I speak, not that I would have it so, but to your shame, if there be never a gentleman meet nor able to be Lord President. For why are not the noblemen and young gentlemen of England so brought up in the knowledge of God, and in learning, that they may be able to execute offices in the commonweal? . . . Therefore, for the love of God, appoint teachers and schoolmasters, you that have charge of youth; and give the teachers stipends worthy their pains, that they may bring them up in grammar, in logic, in rhetoric, in philosophy, in the civil law, and in that which I cannot leave unspoken of, the Word of God.’

And in another sermon he says, ‘Read the chronicles—ye shall find sometimes noblemen's sons which have been unpreaching bishops

bishops and prelates, but ye shall find none of them learned men.'

As the low condition of poor children left them wholly at the mercy of their monastic teachers, so the inordinate power which thus originated was checked when the sons of wealthy tradesmen and of the gentry and higher orders began to receive a scholastic education. Still there remained incentives to an undue severity; and these arose partly from a mistaken principle, and partly from the imperfect state in which the art of tuition then was and long continued to be—even, indeed, (though not without many and gradual improvements,) to our own days. Little did King Solomon apprehend, when his unfortunate saying concerning the rod fell from his lips, that it would occasion more havoc among birch trees than was made among the cedars for the building of his temple, and his house of the forest of Lebanon! Many is the phlebotomist who, with this text in his mouth, has taken the rod in hand, when he himself, for ill teaching, or ill temper, or both, has deserved it far more than the poor boy who, whether slow of comprehension, or stupified by terror, has stood untrussed and trembling before him. But the theory that severity was indispensably required had been formed to justify the practice—as theories never will be wanting in support of any practice, however preposterous and unjust—and then the practice must be continued to support the theory! Boys were flogged, not for any offence which they had committed, not for anything which they had done or left undone, not for incapacity of learning or unwillingness to learn, but upon the abstract principle that they ought to be flogged—and that, upon the authority of the wisest of men, the child would be spoiled if the rod were spared! '*Quam multa felicissima ingenia perdant isti carnifices,*' says Erasmus, '*indocti—sed doctrinæ persuasione tumidi—morosi, vinolenti, truces, et vel animi gratiâ cædunt; nimirum ingenio tam truculento, ut ex alieno cruciatu capiant voluptatem. Hoc genus hominum lanios aut carnifices esse decuit, non pueritiæ formatores.*' Erasmus thus described the pedagogues of his age as he knew them to be. The theory of the abstract utility of flogging had been tried upon him by a master with whom he was a favourite, who had conceived just hopes of his promising abilities and disposition, and yet thought proper to flog him, for no other reason than to see how he would bear the humiliation and the bodily pain. The sense of injustice, which is far more intolerable than either, was not taken into the account by this good-natured man! '*Objecit commissum,*' says Erasmus, '*de quo nec somniaram unquam, ac cecidit.*' The experiment was not made upon a vile body, or a vile mind, and its effect was, that it had nearly broken the boy's health and spirits, and given him a loathing for those studies wherein he became so eminent. He

relates

relates an atrocity of the same kind (it deserves no milder qualification), of one whom he does not indeed name, but who is believed to be Colet, the dean of St. Paul's, a good as well as a munificent man ; and, strange as it may seem, said by Erasmus himself to have delighted in children with a natural and Christian feeling : nevertheless he thought no discipline could be too severe in his school, and whenever he dined there, one or two boys were served up to be flogged for the dessert.* On one such occasion, when Erasmus was present, he called up a meek, gentle boy of ten years old, who had lately been earnestly commended to his care by a tender mother, ordered him to be flogged for some pretended fault which the child had never committed, and saw him flogged till the victim was fainting under the scourge ; ' not that he has deserved this,' said he aside to Erasmus, while this was going on, ' but it is fit to humble him !' These indubitable facts may render credible the commencement of Robert the Devil's career, as related in the romance ; and the story of the schoolman, whom the boys put to death with their penknives.

As it was deemed impossible that the course of education could be carried on without free use of the rod, the principle could not be changed in the case of royal pupils, but the practice was whimsically adapted to the use of courts, and princes were provided with whipping-boys (literally so called), as part of their establishment, in whom they were, for any offence or default of diligence, to be whipt by proxy. Here, however, and in the higher schools, that mitigation of school discipline began which has continually been promoted by the increasing humanity of general manners. Dr. Parr was the last learned schoolmaster who was professedly an amateur of the rod ; and in that profession there was more of humour and affectation than of reality, for with all his habitual affectation and his occasional brutality, Parr was a good-natured, generous, warm-hearted man : there was a coarse husk and a hard shell, like the cocoa nut, but the core was filled with the milk of human kindness. Charity-schools seem to have been the last places in which the old system of barbarity was retained : it kept its place there, because the masters were generally taken from a grade in life to which the humanizing influence of improved society had not descended ; and because the children, having no natural protectors at hand, or in a condition to protect them, were at their mercy. Such men, soured by circumstances, with no prospect of bettering their condition, no liking for their employment and no fitness for it—compelled in desperate drudgery to teach, while they

* *Nunquam agitatat convivium apud gregem suum, nisi quemadmodum comedæ eceunt in lætam catastrophem, ita post cibum sumptum unus aut alter protraheretur virgis lacerandus, et interim sæviebat, et in immeritis, ut assuescerent plagis.*

were utterly ignorant of the art of teaching—seem too often to have taken what Barrow calls ‘a rascally delight’ in inflicting pain upon others, as if to get rid of discontent by indulging anger and malignity, and by the exercise of tyrannical power to indemnify themselves for the slavery of their hopeless occupation. The abuses of this kind in the Protestant charter-schools, which were brought to light by the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, might excite a wish that, as the Court of Equity was originally instituted for the purpose of administering relief in cases where the law failed to provide a remedy, so there were a court of criminal justice by which condign punishment might be awarded for such offences as now, through the defects of law, escape with impunity.

It is worthy of observation that while boys were treated with such unnatural severity in the monastic schools, and those which growing out of those old establishments were conducted upon the old principles, the system of education pursued in nunneries seems, on the whole, to have been mild, benignant, and, as far as the fatal errors and abuses which are inseparably connected with such institutions could allow, judicious. This difference might be expected to arise from the tenderness of the female character. The nuns, to whose charge children are committed, have in that charge some substitution for nearer and dearer ties,—it is the only channel in which their human affection may freely flow. There are, probably, no other schools in which the children are so happy, because of the kindness with which they are treated, and because also of the share to which they are admitted in the business of the little community, and the interest which they are taught to feel in its concerns, and in the flocci-naucities to which so much importance is attached in that elaborate superstition. There is likewise the further and weighty reason, that girls have no difficulty in learning, and because no difficulty, therefore no disinclination to learn, everything which is included in the course of such an education. Whatever they are taught is easy and of obvious utility. Very different has it been with the poor little lords of the creation in the method of tuition which was prepared for them! The old grammars have an emblematical print, in which the tree of learning is represented as an apple-tree, from which the boys are filling their satchels with fruit;—to have made the emblem just, it should have been a crab-tree, the boughs thorny, and the fruit austere and sour. ‘If all malicious fiends and men,’ said the master of a grammar-school,* ‘were met in consult to contrive a way to learning, of endless trouble to the master, and vexatious toil to the scholar, they could not have

* Samuel Hoadly,

found one that would be admitted to use, worse than we have.' It was well for the boys under him that the strong and apparently impatient feelings of this preceptor expended themselves upon the grammar, instead of visiting upon them the vexation which he derived from its manifold and preposterous imperfections.

Let us not, however, hastily condemn the grammar, *quam solum Regia Majestas in omnibus scholis docendam præcepit*, as if it were as preposterous as it appears to be upon cursory inspection, and as common experience might seem to show that it has been in practice found to be. The preface to Lily's Grammar has been ascribed, upon insufficient authority, to Cardinal Wolsey; if it were, indeed, his, it would be far more creditable to his abilities and sound judgment than any other document which remains of them. In that preface, or rather epistle to the reader, some of the surest principles of tuition are clearly enounced. 'Nothing,' it is there said, 'can surely be ended, whose beginning is either feeble or faulty; and no building be perfect whenever the foundation and groundwork is ready to fall, and unable to uphold the burden of the frame.' The necessity of making the scholar learn thoroughly what he is taught step by step, is fully stated and enforced. It is especially recommended, that the boy be made perfect in the nouns and verbs, 'not by rote but by reason,' before he proceeds further; and he is required to be more cunning in the understanding of the thing, than in the rehearsing of the words,—(a maxim this upon which Dr. Vincent acted,—there are still many who, when they read this, will remember how frequently he used to say that he had rather a boy should give him a reason than a rule.) About a quarter of a year was deemed sufficient for this, or little more for a boy of ordinary capacity, under a painful and diligent teacher. This being done, and the concords mastered with the same care, 'plain and sundry examples, then, and continual rehearsals of things learned, and especially the daily declining of a verb, and turning *him* into all fashions, shall make the great and heavy labour so easy and so pleasant for the framing of sentences, that it will be rather a delight unto them that they be able to do well, than pain in searching of an unused and unacquainted thing.' They were no longer to proceed in learning the rules as they lie in the grammar, but to begin upon some easy hook, and be made acquainted with the rule as the example occurred, care being taken that the instruction should be perfect as it proceeded, and that the boy never advanced a step without feeling his footing firm. They were to learn but little at a time, and never be idle in school. Thus expressly are some of the leading principles of the new school laid down in Lily's grammar :

grammar: so that, in fact, many things which might be likely to provoke opposition as innovations, appear, when investigated, to be in the spirit, and even, according to the letter of that system which was digested by some of the ablest and most learned men of a learned age.

One thing more must be remembered in order to form a clear judgment of the system which Henry VIII. established in all grammar schools. Latin was to be taught colloquially—not as a dead language. It was by help of ‘some use of speaking, which must necessarily be had,’ that the boy was to be ‘brought past the wearisome bitterness of his learning.’

Et quoties loqueris, memor esto loquere Latine

is a law delivered by Lily himself among his *Monita Pædagogica*. Whoever has observed with what facility children in a foreign land acquire a foreign language, will at once perceive how much boys must insensibly have learned from one another when this rule was observed, and how soon, with this assistance, the regular part of the language would almost insensibly be rendered familiar, as it is in learning a mother-tongue. No one has informed us at what time this practice fell into disuse; nor when the further and greater departure from the original system took place, in consequence of which boys were carried on straight through the grammar, and made to proceed, as soon as they had done with the accidence, into those didactic poems, the most rueful of their kind, in the composition of which Lily and Robinson must have tortured their brains, as much as poor lads have been tortured at the other end in the desperate business of committing them to memory. Instead of firm ground here, they had to make way ‘through straight, rough, dense, or rare,’ ‘treading the crude consistence,’ ‘floundering in it, and ‘nigh foundered at every step.’ They were perplexed and confused with strange intricacies of speech, uncouth and elliptical constructions—

‘Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things—
Abominable, inutterable.’

Technical helps to memory, and as such very useful ones, such verses unquestionably are; and the more they rhyme and rattle—the more jingle there is of sound or sense—the crisper the collocation of words, and the more whimsical the juxtaposition, the better may the end be answered, for the more tenaciously they are retained. But it was never intended by the authors of the old grammar that the memory should be crammed with such an olla podrida, till there was an appetite for it—till it could be digested and assimilated as wholesome food. The man who read through Bailey’s Dictionary with virtuous perseverance, and could not tell
what

what the book was about when he came to the end of it, did not act more unreasonably in commencing his task than those school-masters who set their boys upon learning the grammar thus. It is inconceivable how any children should have been able to pick out the meaning of such verses, or any masters to flog it into them, while there was no 'construing' annexed to the book. The necessity of such a construing was so evident, that written helps of this kind appear to have been provided, till at length a certain William Haines (of blessed memory for his pains !) published such a version, 'being thereunto importuned by many.'

Haines's useful performance seems from that time always to have been bound up with the grammar; *prosodia* and *figura* being construed and sold severally; from whence it appears that those portions were not generally taught. The grammar kept its ground by prescription, long after the injunction for its exclusive use had become obsolete; and, so late as 1765, when the patent was purchased by Buckley and Longman from the family of the Nortons, and the new patentees set forth an improved edition, they thought it advisable to keep an edition in the old form still on sale. But about this time prescription itself was beginning to give way, and grammars appeared in abundance. The Eton, as the clearest and best simplification of Lily, prevailed very extensively over all others. As this was the simplest, so was the Westminster the most complicated and the worst. That of Christ's Hospital was, perhaps, as good as any of its kind: it has the fault of not presenting the accidence to the eye in a manner which shall be readily and at once intelligible (a great fault); and it has the further fault of comprehending too much, for before a boy could possibly obtain knowledge enough to make use of half the book, the other would have been thumbed to pieces, and the whole worn out in the process. It contains, also, much which might have been left in the dictionary; for what have boys to do with such terms as Polysyndeton, Asyndeton and Parelcon, Diasyrmus, Synæciosis, Oxymoron and Antanacsis, and other such throat-choking and teeth-breaking nugacities of hyper-grammatical and ultra-crudite absurdity!

Wesley, who had a clear, strong, single sight, and went straight to the mark in everything, composed a Latin grammar for his school at Kingswood, comprising the accidence with the sum and substance of the *Propria quæ maribus*, *Quæ genus*, *As in præsentî*, Syntax, and Prosody, in somewhat less than two duodecimo sheets. Wesley did everything in haste, or he would have done this better; this, however, was more simple and compendious than any that had preceded it. The most curious that has ever appeared is entitled 'A Critical Latin Grammar, containing clear and distinct

tinct rules for boys just initiated, and notes explanatory of almost every antiquity and obscurity in the language, for youth somewhat advanced in Latin learning.' The author (a singular, simple-hearted, and very learned man, whose name has become deservedly great in his posterity) complained of the obscurity in old grammars, the want of philosophy in them, and the perplexity which was thus occasioned to the learner; and to remedy this in part, he new-named the tenses, calling them the present-imperfect, preter-imperfect, present-perfect, preter-perfect, future-imperfect, and future-perfect, and apologized for not arranging them in more appropriate order—because, on this point, he thought it advisable to keep an agreement with other grammars. 'Antiquity,' he said, 'pleads also for the present names of the cases, in opposition to reason, and prevails'—wherefore he did not attempt to change them; nevertheless, he gave the names by which reason and he would have had them called—if the still, small voice of reason and a country school-master might have hoped to be heard: these names were the prior case, the possessive, the attributive, the posterior—(no new case in schools, though it was not one in which his boys often found themselves, for he, God bless him! was a good, easy man)—the interjective, and,—*Di boni!* the quale-quare-quid-ditive case—a word for which Jeremy Bentham might have almost forgiven him his faith as a clergyman.

But whatever simplification was made in the old grammar, the method of teaching continued, till our own days, to be what Professor Pillans calls mechanical rather than intellectual. Milton complained that we did 'amiss to spend seven or eight years in scraping together as much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year;' and he might have added—as is in one year forgotten by the greater number of those who have thus imperfectly acquired it. What was amiss in Milton's time has not been amended. It is observed by Paley that, at our public schools, 'quick parts are cultivated, slow ones are neglected.' The remark will hold good of all large schools, and of the large majority of smaller ones as well; and the reason wherefore there should be this general failure—wherefore so very few are made scholars so as to retain in after life the scholarship which they have acquired in boyhood—is, that few are under the necessity of keeping up their knowledge of this kind, few have the opportunity of exercising it, and fewer still the inclination. Of this, both boys and masters are, each in their station, sensible. The boy, unless he is destined for one of the learned professions, or has a disposition for learning, persuades himself that learning can be of no use to him; that he has been sent to school because it is the custom, and because his father was there before

before him; but that, as soon as he shall have left school, he may forget his Latin and Greek, as he very well knows his father has forgotten them, and as it is the custom to do. Thus the whole thick-head family, and a great proportion, also, of those with better wits, who are born to fine linen and the silver spoon, feel, think, speak, and act accordingly; and thus, it should be added in justice to all parties, it is generally expected by their parents that they should act. The old pedagogues made it a matter of conscience to flog into their scholars all that could be flogged into them, because the success of those boys in after life was to depend upon their acquirements. But this motive for severity ceased to exist as soon as the wealthy and well-born sent their sons to receive a learned education at school, instead of placing them as pages in the houses of the great. The motives for rigorous discipline were thus taken away by the same cause which imposed upon it a salutary and needful restraint; and masters then, acting according to the spirit of the times, bestowed their careful culture there alone where it was aptly and cheerfully received; contented themselves towards the rest with the perfunctory performance of the school routine, and so 'let Gryll be Gryll.' Thus it has come to pass that our great schools have, in every generation, sent out a few sound scholars, while the many have been floated up from remove to remove, and form to form, as the locks were opened, till they have found themselves as high in the school as it was intended they should go, without having made any exertion to get there, and with what may truly be called a *minimum* of knowledge acquired on the way.

But hence has arisen the great evil of great schools. The heart and mind can as little lie barren as the earth whereon we move and have our being, and which, if it produce not herbs and fruit meet for the use of man, will be overrun with weeds and thorns. Muley Ismael, a personage of tyrannical celebrity in his day, always employed his troops in some active and useful work, when they were not engaged in war, 'to keep them,' he said, 'from being devoured by the worm of indolence.' In the same spirit one of our Elizabethan poets delivered his wholesome advice,

Eschew the idle vain,
Flee, flee, from doing nought!
For never was there idle brain
But bred an idle thought.

And in the scheme of tuition which Colet and his coadjutors digested, when they set forth their grammar, 'although, it was said, that the scholars should learn but little at once, it is not meant that when the master hath heard them awhile, he should let them alone, (for that were mere negligence for both parties,)

but I would,' says the author of the epistle, 'all their time they be in school, they should never be idle.' 'The common maxim,' says Professor Pillans, 'that idleness is the parent of mischief, is no where better exemplified than in a school; and the best receipt for correcting evil habits where they exist, and still more for preventing the growth of them, is to keep the mind perpetually, agreeably, and usefully employed.'

This is one of the many just observations in the very sensible Letters upon the Principles of Elementary Teaching, by the late Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, who is now Professor of Humanity in that University. These letters are 'chiefly in reference to the Parochial Schools of Scotland.' The new system of education appears to have made little progress in those schools. When Dr. Bell put the Madras Report into the hands of his countrymen, some thirty years ago, he said to them, 'Except you mend your scholastic discipline, there will be no need for your going across the Tweed; for the English children, many of whom were not at all taught before, are now learning their A B C sooner and better than yours!' Professor Pillans proclaims aloud to his countrymen, that this warning has not been taken; that those children are not taught to understand what they read; that the masters endeavour only 'to give the pupil, 'as speedily as possible, mechanical dexterity in reading, without wasting time, or distracting his attention with the sense of what he reads;' that 'the old and inveterate practice is to read the Bible straight forward from the beginning of Genesis;' that if the master resolve to introduce a ^{own} ^q ^{of} ^{than} ¹ ^{from} ^{the} ^{scriptures,} 'parents exclaim against the iniquity and serving one part of God's word better than another;' and that ⁱⁿ ^q ^{they} ^{deviate} ^{from} ^{this} ^{straightforward} ^{course,} it is only 'to ⁱⁿ ^q ^{out} ^{some} ^{chapter} ^{of} ^{proper} ^{names} ^{by} ^{way} ^{of} ^{puzzle,} or ^{as} ^a ^{proof} ^{of} ^{skill} ^{and} ^{proficiency,}—the beginning of the tenth chapter of Nehemiah, one which contains a choice Hebrew *Propria quæ maribus*, being very commonly chosen for this wise purpose.

In this part of his book the professor complains that the parochial teacher is, in many instances, worse paid 'than the hard-handed peasant who drives the plough, or breaks stones on the highway; but increase of salary,' he says, 'without security for increase of fitness, would only add to the number of schools, which might, with more propriety, be called slaughter-houses of intellect than places of public instruction.' He advises, therefore, that some means should be devised by which the necessary increase of salary, instead of being given in fixed sums, and to all indifferently, should be allocated in proportions corresponding, as nearly as possible, to the respective merits of the teachers.

• If

‘If the whole increase of emolument, then, is to be in the shape of addition to the fixed salary, is there not, I would ask, a chance, or rather, taking human nature in the gross, is there not a strong probability of its operating as a sedative instead of a stimulant? There are many, very many teachers, on whom, I feel assured, it would act beneficially, in prompting to greater exertion. But it would be much too sanguine a calculation to expect that this result should be general, while there are whole classes of schoolmasters, on whom such increase of fixed income would have just the opposite effect. There is one class, for example, and it is a reproach to the country it should be so numerous, who, being depressed beneath their level in society by the force of circumstances, and not aware of the capabilities of their profession, live under feelings embittered by disappointment. Giving up all hope, at last, of rising to a station which the liberal studies of their youth had taught them to anticipate, they fall into a state of torpor and apathy, from which it is almost impossible to rouse them. They are men of frugal habits, and have few physical wants; and, being sure of their salary,—and aware, too, that a certain proportion of children will always frequent the parish school, be it ever so indifferently taught,—they abandon the field of competition to a needier rival, and barter the difference of income between the fullest and thinnest attendance, for the enjoyment of a careless and somnolent existence. All bad habits gain strength by indulgence; and none more certainly and rapidly than laziness: augmented salary, it is therefore to be feared, would increase the comforts of such men, without adding to their activity and usefulness. There is another class of schoolmasters, with a greater flow of animal spirits, but with equal dislike of professional labour, or what they contemptuously and ignorantly call the drudgery of teaching, who unite in their own persons two or more of the offices of precentor, session-clerk, taker-up of the militia and population lists, and, it may be, land-measurer and cattle-dealer; and thus contrive to make up, along with their salary, an income of which the entire school-fees form but a small part, and the difference between the extremes of attendance but a trifling item. Such men have a strong temptation to regard their primary duty in the light of a subordinate concern, and to do just enough of it to fulfil the letter of the law, while they violate its spirit. To them a simple increase of salary will doubtless be most grateful; but it is not so clear that it will increase their efficiency in school. On the contrary, in this, as in the former class, it is far more likely to operate as a bounty on neglect of duty, than as an excitement to the better discharge of it.

‘The answer to all such objections is, that these consequences cannot, at the worst, last above one generation: but I confess myself unable to see by what process schoolmasters are to become better teachers by being better paid, unless they have at the same time a better professional education.’—*Pillans*, p. 102.

The professor pronounces a high and well-deserved eulogium upon Mr. Wood, the Master of the Edinburgh Sessional School,

whose manner of teaching, he says, steadily by him pursued, 'at a sacrifice of time and toil almost unexampled,' 'has produced, and is producing, an incalculable amount of private happiness and public good.'

'Instead, then, of using printed grammars, Mr. Wood conveys all the grammatical knowledge intended by *vivâ voce* communication;—always adhering strictly to his great principle of leading the child's understanding to gather knowledge for itself, rather than compelling him to receive it from another, made up and ticketed. "John strikes the table:" such a sentence being proposed to the child, he is invited and led by easy steps to discover that *John* and *table* denote a person and a thing; is told that these, and every other word that does so, are *names*; and is taught to call them so whenever he meets with them. He is then asked, what else there is in the sentence: and with a little assistance, he will find out, and express,—or, at all events, he will perfectly comprehend, and remember when you tell him,—that there is also the act of *striking*; and whether "John strikes the table," or "John eats the apple," or "John robs the nest," or John, or any body else, does any thing whatsoever, there is still some *act* done or suffered, which binds or ties the *names* together, and without which there is no sense worth putting into words. The term denoting this act, being indispensable to any complete sentence, may be called, by way of eminence, the *word*; for we will not yet trouble the boy with *verb*, any more than with *noun*, lest he forget, under cover of these new terms, all that he has been told. This will suffice for a first lesson in grammar. A second will direct his attention to such sentences as, "John eats a *sweet* apple," or "strikes a *hard* table;" and by the like familiar questioning, the boy will be brought acquainted with a set of words that are *added* to *names*, to tell something more about them than their mere existence, that is, to express their qualities; and these we shall for the present call *adnames*. After practising on this second lesson, and setting the boy to hunt *names*, *words*, and *adnames*, in his reading-book, we may proceed thus: "When John had bought the cake, John cut the cake, and John gave a bit of the cake to John's brother." Every boy will feel the clumsiness of this sentence, and will, by the help of ear and habit, alter it to, "When John had bought the cake, *he* cut *it*, and gave a bit of *it* to *his* brother." Fix his attention on the words, *he*, *it*, *his*; and he will already have a good notion of the nature and use of the *forname*:—*pronoun* will come in good time long afterwards.

'A child trained and exercised in this way, is very soon prepared to understand and distinguish the remaining parts of speech: but if he should never go farther at school than these four parts of speech, and some notion be given in the same easy way of *number*, *case*, and *gender*, and of the *times* of the verb, he will have enough for the ordinary purposes of the labouring classes, and a great deal more than nine out of ten acquire, of those who have been dragged through all the rules of declension, conjugation, and syntax, as they are given in the

the ordinary grammars. He will have materials of thought, valuable in themselves, and prompting to more thought.'—*Pillans*, p. 125-128.

But the most important part of the professor's book is that wherein he speaks of the reformation in scholastic discipline, which has been begun, and which he has the merit of having introduced into the High School at Edinburgh.

'There is a spirit, however, abroad, which appears to me to leave it no longer doubtful, that—like other great truths which have long been making their way silently in the minds of men, and are only now beginning to affect the councils, and advance the prosperity of nations—the superiority of the intellectual method of teaching, will be not only, ere long, universally acknowledged, but the practice it recommends as generally adopted. A revolution in school discipline is in progress, the tendency of which is, to substitute mental activity and agreeable excitement, in the place of the languor, weariness, and aversion to all things scholastic, which have hitherto been the most striking features of our country schools. Those among the teachers who have wisdom to discern the signs of the time, and to anticipate its slow results in their practice, are sure not only to rise in professional reputation, and have the first chance of promotion, but to contribute towards raising the character and condition of their order.

'It is fortunate, indeed, that, little as the doctrines I have been propounding are yet understood or received, examples can be produced, sufficiently numerous, and of long enough standing, to remove all doubt as to their practicability. I might appeal to what was done in the High School of Edinburgh, during my own rectorship, towards giving a taste and love for the business of school, by the simple expedient of cultivating the understanding somewhat more than the mere memory of words.'—*Pillans*, pp. 14, 15.

His first principle, 'that a child on being taught to read should be taught at the same time to understand what he reads,' belongs exclusively to primary schools; his second and third, to schools of every description: the second is, 'that corporal punishment is not be resorted to till every other method of correction has failed,' or as he says he ought, perhaps, more broadly to have stated, because it is his decided opinion, 'that corporal punishment should never be used in schools,'—never admitted but as a corrective of moral delinquencies. The third and last principle which he lays down, is 'that the office and duty of a public teacher is so to arrange the business of his school, and the distribution of his time, that no child shall be idle.'

'The problem which the schoolmaster has to solve is, so to employ a given time with any number of pupils, that none shall be idly or unprofitably employed, during the smallest portion of that time. The solving of this problem, unattainable as it may appear to many, will be admitted by all to be desirable. None will deny that it is well to aim

aim at it; and that the schoolmaster is to be preferred who makes the nearest approximation to the solution. Now, I have no hesitation in declaring, that by far the most effectual, I should rather say, the only way in which this can be done, is by employing the *monitorial method*, or, as it is sometimes called, the method of mutual instruction, (*l'enseignement mutuel*.) Without entering into the question about priority of invention, and superior excellence, once so warmly agitated between the partisans of Bell and Lancaster, it is enough for my purpose to state, that the characteristic feature of the monitorial system, is the employment of the scholars to teach one another. It is not meant, of course, that the ignorant are to instruct the ignorant, but that those of superior talent and acquirement should be employed, under the direction of the master himself, to superintend the less advanced, and bring them up to the point which they themselves have reached. These monitors, selected by the master (as it is his interest they should be) from the best scholars and fittest to be teachers, are made the channels of communication, so to speak, between him and his pupils; and thus, to follow out the metaphor, instead of one great and almost overwhelming current being directed, at long intervals, on a limited portion of the soil, while the rest is left dry, it is conveyed and circulated in smaller, but more fertilizing streams, numerous enough to keep the entire surface at all times in the most wholesome and productive state. By the simple contrivance of training the ablest boys to communicate instruction, in the way required, to certain portions of the rest, over whom they are appointed inspectors, and for whose improvement they are responsible, the master, as it were, multiplies himself. He obtains, in this way, a set of assistant teachers, who, being of his own training and entirely under his control, are far more efficient than any he could hire; and with this difference also in favour of the plan—an important one where economy is so much to be studied—that he makes the aid, which, in the case of hired assistants, he must pay for, itself a reward and distinction to deserving pupils, and consequently a spur to emulation and generous ambition.

While, however, I put forward economy as one of the advantages of this method, I must protest against a notion very generally entertained, even by the friends of monitorial discipline in Scotland, that its cheapness is its only, or at least its greatest, recommendation; that it is, in truth, no more than an imperfect substitute for a superior method, to be resorted to—and for nothing beyond elementary instruction—only in the case of those children whose parents can afford no other. On the contrary, I maintain that the applying the superior knowledge of the abler and more advanced pupils to the instructing of the rest, which is the vital principle of the monitorial system, is a *better* method as well as a cheaper; that it developes, in its application to the minds of the young, new principles of action, and new motives to exertion, peculiarly adapted to operate upon them; that it infuses fresh life and spirit into the business of learning,—banishing languor and listlessness, and substituting cheerful labour and love of study
for

for weariness and an unnatural dislike of instruction; and lastly, that it is equally applicable to small schools as to large, and to many of the highest branches of education as to the lowest.'—*Pillans*, pp. 41—44.

'I might illustrate and confirm these views, by referring to the evidence I had of their correctness, in teaching Greek, the higher branches of the Latin classics, and ancient geography, in the High School of Edinburgh. Foreign though such details be to your usual avocations, it might not be without interest to you, to trace the successive steps by which I felt my way in the application of the monitorial arrangements, till they led, among other agreeable results, to the total abolition of corporal punishments for the last seven or eight years of my rectorship; the average number of pupils being, throughout that time, not less than 225, all taught without any assistance but that of my own monitors, and all at a time of life when boys are generally, but very unjustly, supposed to be most unmanageable.'—*Pillans*, pp. 47, 48.

The professor has excited no small degree of hostility against himself, among his own countrymen, by the exposure which he has made of the unskillful mode of teaching in their parochial schools; they have suspected that there is a snake in the grass; and certainly there is (to say the least) a reprehensible incautiousness in the Letter which he has printed from one of his disciples, who tells him he is *happy to say*, that in the school under his care both the Proverbs and the New Testament have been discontinued as regular school-books. The professor has our cordial agreement in the principles which he lays down as the foundation of all good teaching, though we do not consider it so necessary, as he appears to do, that the teachers should begin by questioning children concerning their five senses, and leading them, 'in the very threshold of education, to apprehend the nature and use of those organs of sense by which the materials of all knowledge are acquired.' But, though entirely according with him in his opinion as to the manner in which education ought to be conducted, and in the maxim, that the first books which are put into the hands of children should be adapted to their capacity;—though we perceive, as clearly as he can do, how preposterous it is to make a child read over, in Nehemiah's list, the names of those Jews who signed the covenant,—we must, nevertheless, say,—and it is our duty to say,—that it is neither wise, nor fitting, nor seemly in a Protestant school,—nor consistent with the principles upon which such schools were established, and are (we trust in God!) to be maintained, that the New Testament should be discontinued as a school-book.

But let this pass: the expression we will believe was merely incautious, used hastily by one, who in the ardour of his zeal for intellectual education, had for the moment ceased to bear in mind, that education, to be what it ought, must be religious also. A
North

North Briton who, in the early part of the last century, published some 'Proposals for the Reformation of Schools and Universities, in order to the better education of youth,' has said that 'all along, from their first going to school, till they leave the university, the students ought carefully to be taught and instructed in the principles of religion; nothing being more certain than that, where there is not a well-directed conscience, men are rather the worse than the better for being learned in any science.'—It is a weighty and a wise remark. The professor was so likely to excite hostility, that he 'should have carefully avoided anything which might even seem to place his opponents in the right. He has a good cause, and he is able to maintain it. But he might have maintained it quite as well, and with more satisfaction to himself, if he had been more ingenuous, and given honour where honour is due. He has not remembered Pindar's words,—

"Απαιδ' εὐροντος ἔργον.—*Olymp.* xiii. 24.

'These principles,' says the Professor, 'appear to me so much in the nature of axioms on postulates too obvious not to be taken for granted in all discussions on practical teaching, that in proceeding to state and illustrate them, I run some risk of incurring the charge of dealing in palpable truisms. My apology is, that I have found them, almost universally, either unknown and never thought of, or disputed and misunderstood, and at all events, disregarded in the actual business of teaching.'—p. 7.

Twice in the book Professor Pillans mentions the name of Dr. Bell;—once in a passage which has already been quoted; the second time is where, in eulogizing Mr. Wood, he 'will not stop to inquire how far we are to regard him as the inventor of a new method, or only as the improver of a practice previously introduced into the schools of Dr. Bell.' How happens it that in these letters there should be no other notice of that name?—How happens it that the Madras system should never in a single instance be mentioned, nor otherwise alluded to than in these passages?—that system which was recommended by its inventor in 1797, 'not only to charity and free schools, but to the generality of public schools and academies';—that system, begun and perfected in the Male Asylum, at Madras, the official and authenticated account of which was published, in order 'that further and similar trials might be made, and the success in every instance ascertained by experience';—that system in which every principle upon which Professor Pillans proceeded, when he reformed the High School at Edinburgh, is explicitly laid down? The professor says, 'We cannot too soon revert to that agreeable and philosophical notion of a school which the ancient Romans seem to have had when they named it *Ludus Literarius*.' How could
Professor

Professor Pillans have penned that sentence without remembering that Dr. Bell had reverted to this 'agreeable and philosophical notion of a school,' and had in consequence given the title of *Ludus Literarius* to that volume of his Elements of Tuition which relates to classical schools? The Rector Emeritus of the Edinburgh High School may have cause to say with the Latin Father,—*'Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixissent!'* for everything which he has said upon the principles of Elementary Teaching, had been said before him; everything which he has done in carrying those principles into practice, had been done before him. Let us render to him the justice which he has not rendered to another;—he has said it well,—excellently well; and we verily believe, that what he did was, in like manner, excellently well done; and we recommend his book heartily and earnestly to his countrymen, as being well entitled to their most serious consideration. But all has been said and done before. The system upon which he proceeded had been laid down as a system by Dr. Bell, and step by step thoroughly explained; the principles which he inculcates, had been by Dr. Bell inculcated as principles; and though the professor says he had found them 'almost universally either unknown and never thought of, or disputed and misunderstood, and at all events disregarded in the actual business of teaching,' they were, nevertheless, when he wrote these Letters, so far known, so far thought of, so far understood, and so far regarded, as to be the system and principles upon which all the national schools in England—some thousand in number—were established and conducted, as well as all those other schools in which the same system prevails, and to which that system has given birth, though the name of an impudent pretender is in them attached to it.

Nor was the system confined to English schools at the time when Professor Pillans perceived its utility, and introduced it at Edinburgh with such sound judgment and deserved success:—

'I must add,' says Dr. Bell, in his *Ludus Literarius*, 'April 6, 1815, as this sheet is going to press, that I have this day attended the annual examination of the Charter-House School, in the presence of Dr. Fisher, Master of the Charter-House, &c. &c. &c., by the chaplains of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury: that the three upper forms, taught, as well as the rest of the school by monitors, were examined in the higher Greek and Roman classics; and that every member of these classes proved himself fully master of every book which he had read. The examination altogether was in the highest degree satisfactory to the examiners, and most gratifying to my feelings.'

How is it, then, that in these Letters upon the Principles of Elementary

Elementary Education, wherein the professor contends against old authorities, he has not availed himself of the modern authorities in his favour, and of the recent precedents which might so powerfully avail him in his meritorious endeavours for the removal of existing prejudices? He is too just to detract from the merits of another: why has he not been generous enough to acknowledge them? Wherefore this *altum silentium* as to the origin of the system—the source from which he derived it—the individual to whom this country and the world are indebted for it, and to whom also he individually is beholden for the success which has attended his own endeavours—the good which he has had the happiness to effect by them—the honour which has rewarded them—and more gratifying than all honours, the gratitude which he knows that he has deserved by them? There are persons whom this significant silence may gratify; but the professor might have called to his remembrance what Tacitus tells us of Junia's funeral, when those of her deceased ancestors, whose effigies were not carried in the procession, were, for that cause more than all the others, brought to the minds of the spectators.

There is no enmity, no rivalry, no ill will between the two established churches of Great Britain. Time and God's blessing upon both have healed the old wounds. Both are Protestant, both tolerant, and the ministers of both are fellow-labourers in the ministry of love. Professor Pillans urges his countrymen to reform their parochial schools, and by such reformation render them more efficient. His exhortations would not have come with less weight had he represented that the system which he advises them to adopt has received the authentic sanction of the Church of England, and that, under the highest auspices of that church, a National Society has been formed for extending it, as the best means for training up the rising generation, so as to make good men, good subjects, and good Christians. Nothing could be more likely to overcome the distrust which is not unreasonably entertained by a sober people when any great alteration in established usages is proposed, than the proof which would be thus offered them that they are only called upon to adopt better means for effecting what is already their object,—for to this end the parochial schools were instituted. Professor Pillans should have referred his countrymen to Dr. Bell's Manual for the details of the new system of education, as practised in the schools of the National Society, without any of the mummeries which have been added to it by quacks and pretenders, for the sake of disguising its origin. The amiable Mr. Wood has not improved upon it by introducing the game of *crambo*; and the Rector Emeritus has fallen short of it, since the law, that every boy should find his own level at every step of his progress, has never yet

yet been acted upon in the High School. It is the great defect of that seminary, and of all those throughout Scotland formed on its plan, that the boys take places in their own form only, and rise from form to form in a body, instead of individually, each as soon as he is prepared for the advance. Mutual instruction, or what the Professor calls the monitorial system, is the principle of the New System,—this, and that whatever is learnt be learnt thoroughly, are its fundamental laws; and this principle, and these laws, are applicable to schools of every kind. The Scottish nation may with a proud, but proper satisfaction, partake of its extended benefits, because the honour of the discovery is their own; for, as we are indebted to Scotland, in the person of James Watt, for the steam-engine, so are we in that of Dr. Bell, for an engine not less powerful in the moral and intellectual world.

The general application of this system to classical schools, is the great step which is now desiderated in education; and the proposed establishment of the King's College in the metropolis, of which a school, it has been judiciously determined, is to form a part, affords a most advantageous opportunity for its introduction. It is a system which effects, certainly and by gentle means, the end which the old system has very generally failed of effecting, even when the most rigorous means were used. Colet and Lily, and their coadjutors, when they composed their grammar, admitted (as has already been shown) and recommended almost every maxim of the new school. They perceived, also, that in no other way can a boy so much improve himself, as by instructing others: this is Lily's own saying,

*Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,
Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.*

But they thought only of using it as an auxiliary practice, advising boys readily to ask such aid, and readily to grant it:

*Qui dubitat, qui sæpe rogat, mea dicta tenebit;
Is qui nil dubitat, nil capit inde boni.*

*—socios, quoties te cinque rogabunt,
Instrue, et ignaros ul mea vota trahere.*

Failing thus to discover that a school might be conducted with unerring certainty, however great its numbers, by the moving principle of mutual instruction, they left their scheme imperfect. A few boys in every generation, who were rendered diligent by their own love of learning, or by the sense of duty, became good scholars; and, in former times, some learning was unmercifully flogged into a few more; though, where one idler was reformed by severity and terror, ten, with better inclinations and slower capacity,

city, were stupified, or incurably disgusted; but the great majority acquired no more Greek and Latin in the course of ten years' schooling, than they lost as soon as they entered upon the business of life,—often, indeed, upon the intermediate stage. For the Universities admitted them, no matter how ignorant they might be; and, till within the present generation, dismissed them as ignorant, at the end of the regular term, as they came—the little which was learnt at school being, in those days, commonly unlearned at college. Some of those persons, by whom the great improvement which has, in this respect, taken place at Oxford, was brought about, are yet living to witness the success, and enjoy the well-merited reward of their exertions. A further improvement has been proposed, which, if it be effected, (as we trust it will,) must, in its immediate consequences, influence the schools. It is proposed that young men, before they are admitted at college, should undergo a public examination, whereby it may be ascertained whether or not they come properly prepared from school. The private examination at the different colleges cannot answer this purpose; for, if this were in every instance more than perfunctory, it could hardly be that the standard of proficiency should be the same in all; and more than perfunctory it cannot be expected to be, where personal solicitation must so often be employed, and personal considerations, and personal feelings, must in so many cases unavoidably interfere. The proposed measure would relieve the tutors, and heads of houses, from the painful alternative in which they are now too often placed, of admitting young men who are evidently not qualified by their attainments, or rejecting them for insufficiency; and it would carry some degree of amendment into the stationary colleges which still disparage the University. But, in the public and other great schools, the effect of such a measure would immediately be felt; efficient instruction would be indispensable there, as soon as it was understood that without it no youth could be admitted at college; to produce this they cannot have recourse to the old Busbeian, Udalian, and Coletine system of severity; they cannot, if they would, and they would not if it were in their power, which, in the present state of public opinion, it is not, and which it never ought to be. They must, therefore, resort to the new system; and together with the idleness that now prevails, they will go far toward getting rid of the mischief and the tyranny which are practised there, the latter being a great, and crying, and abominable evil.

'The noble impulse of Christian charity in the founding of grammar schools,' says Dr. Knight,* 'was one of the providential ways and means for bringing about the blessed Reformation; and it is, therefore, observable that, within thirty years before it, there were more grammar

* Life of Dr. John Colet, p. 90.

schools erected and endowed in England, than had been in those hundred years preceding. And after the Reformation was established, the piety and charity of Protestants ran so fast in this channel, that, in the next age, there wanted rather a regulation of grammar schools, than an increase of them!

In the present age, colleges are wanting; and no sooner has the want been felt and acknowledged (which it was when peace was concluded) than measures have been taken for supplying it. Cambridge, where the means of accommodation were more confined than at Oxford, has nearly doubled its buildings during the last ten years. But no enlargement of the existing Universities can possibly keep pace with the increase of population at its present rate, and with the more than proportionate increase of educated persons. A third University is wanted; and the project of establishing one in London was brought forward by Mr. Campbell, the poet; to that gentleman the merit of the project is unquestionably due, let the demerit of the scheme, which has been engrafted on it, rest where it may.

Some scheme of this kind was thought of in the days of the Protectorate; but the better project of founding a college at Durham failed, and this was not attempted; the times were too unsettled, and it was certainly considered, in that age, that young men might with less danger be brought together, for the purpose of pursuing their serious studies, anywhere than in a corrupted metropolis. Randolph expresses this opinion in his *Muses' Looking Glass*.

• ' I will straightway build
A free-school here in London—a free school
For the education of young gentlemen,
To study how to drink and take tobacco,
To swear, to roar, to dice, to drab, to quarrel.
'Twill be the great gymnasium of the realm,
The Phrontisterium of Great Britany;
And for their better study, I will furnish them
With a large library of draper's books.
• —'Twill put down Bodley and the Vatican.'

But even at that time the schools of law were necessarily in London, because the courts were there; and for a similar reason the schools of medicine must ever be where the students may at all times have opportunity of seeing, in all stages, the bodily evils which flesh is heir to. Now also, in addition to the students for these professions, there are young men far exceeding in number the aggregate of both, who, either by birth or by their vocation, are already domesticated in London, and for whom opportunities of collegiate instruction ought to be provided. The metropolis,
it

it should be remembered, comprises, at this time, about a thirteenth of the whole population of this island; and frightful as the mass of wickedness and miserable destitution which it includes may well appear to every thoughtful and religious mind, it is certain that the proportion of persons who desire instruction, and whose circumstances may allow them to seek after the higher kind of instruction which colleges are intended to bestow, is greater there than upon the general average of the nation.

Let us not be afraid of over-educating the people; there is no possibility of educating them too much if they are educated rightly. If the foundation is properly laid in religious principles, it is then as impossible that a man, whatever may be his condition in life, can be too learned and too wise, as it is for him to be too healthy, too active, and too strong. In proportion as he acquires a love of knowledge, will he cease to be attracted by meaner things; in proportion as he attains wisdom, will he be more fully sensible of his duties toward God and man, and better disposed, and, under certain circumstances, better able to perform them, if he has been instructed in them duly, and betimes. That a little learning is a dangerous thing, is indeed an old truth, which has acquired a new and fearful importance in these days; but a little learning every one will and must have, and the only way of averting the danger is, by providing them with all facilities for acquiring more. Why is it that self-taught men are generally so presumptuous, but because they have not learnt enough to know how little they have learnt, and how much there is of which they are ignorant? '*C'est la profonde ignorance,*' says La Bruyère, '*qui inspire le ton dogmatique. Celui qui ne sait rien croit enseigner aux autres ce qu'il vient d'apprendre lui-même: celui qui sait beaucoup, pense à peine que ce qu'il dit puisse être ignoré, et parle plus indifféremment.*' But it is as possible to raise the standard of knowledge in a community, as it is to raise the standard of comforts, and there is not the same danger in raising it; for in the one case uneasy desires and habits of imprudent expenditure may be produced, but with the other the means, of enjoyment are imparted, and that enjoyment is the only one in the indulgence of which there can be no excess, and from which no evil can arise.

This point will not be contested*. Neither is it a question of dispute

* We have no wish to unsay anything of what we ventured to put forth on the subject of the Mechanics' Institutes, when they were in their infancy; nor have we at present anything to add. But we cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of calling attention to a little tract which, published in a remote and obscure village, might not otherwise, notwithstanding all its merits, come under the observation of many of our readers. We allude to the 'Third Report of the Mechanics' Institute of Dunbar:' this includes, among other things, an Address lately delivered by the President and Patron of the Association

dispute whether the metropolis is the most convenient place that could be chosen in which to establish a third university. The colleges erected and to be erected in London, cannot but have the effect of rendering such an institution less wanted in the rest of England;* neither could the foundation of one in the north lessen the necessity for these colleges in London, where the circumstances of the age require them. If the metropolis be, as certainly it is, the most unfitting place to which young men could be brought for collegiate education, who should be under no other restraint than the little which any collegiate discipline, consistent with the usages and spirit and feelings of this nation, can apply, it is as certainly the fittest place in which those who are already domesticated there can receive the education which it is now proposed to offer them,—the only place in which the greater number of them can receive it, and the most convenient for all, all things considered.

Mr. Campbell launched his project just when the tide which there is in the affairs of men, served for floating it, and bearing it out successfully. Great credit is due to him, and will be given to him, for the beneficial design, the good which it has produced, and which it is likely to produce. But it would have indicated more knowledge in the founders of the Gower-street College, if they had given it any name rather than that of the London University, an appellation not less inappropriate than it is arrogant. They might have learnt what a university is from a very learned writer, to whose authority, on the score of his opinions, the most liberal of the liberals would not demur, and to whose thorough benevolence—let us be permitted to say—we bear a willing, a respectful, and a friendly testimony. Mr. Dyer, in his ‘ Dissertation upon the Privileges of Cambridge,’ has shown that ‘ schools and universities are different institutions,’ and that the difference lies in these particulars :—

‘ Any one may raise or found a school ; and this, according to the success of the teacher, and number of scholars, may flourish or fade away, so that the school may die with the master, or his learning may, according to circumstances, travel with him from one place to another. A university, on the other hand, besides being a *generale studium*, in reference to literature, as Dr. Caius explains it, has its settled endow-

Association, Captain Basil Hall, R.N., which appears to us to be worth all that has as yet been printed in relation to the purposes and prospects of these institutions. Were they so fortunate, in general, as to find such presidents, there would indeed be little reason for contemplating their spread with any feelings but those of unmixed satisfaction.

* Perhaps some of our readers may not know that a munificent lady in Yorkshire has recently offered to subscribe 50,000*l* towards the endowment of an university in that county, and that a Noble Earl has professed his willingness to give a similar benefaction. These princely examples will no doubt be followed ere long, and the scheme completed—though we have some doubts whether the site of the new university for the north would be best selected in Yorkshire.

ments, its public laws, its distinct officers, and established magistrates, its regular degrees and privileges, its permanent rector, or chancellor, combining, among us, together various smaller corporations, or colleges, in one larger † corporation, and all (dropping now the papal claims) under the sanction of the royal authority.' 'Universities are what Sir Edward Coke calls all corporate societies in general, "creatures of the crown," by which he means what Fortescue intends by a politico-regal king, such as is owned by the common law of England.'

And Hobbes's definition of these peculiar institutions, Universities, is, that they are 'schools for the sciences in general, and especially for divinity.' There was therefore a curious and threefold impropriety in assuming the title of University for a *single* college, which the *crown* had not created, and from which the science of *divinity* was specially to be excluded! Any set of men might as well affect to constitute themselves a corporation in an unchartered town, as these persons to set up a University!

'Words,' however, as one of our wisest authors has remarked, 'govern the generality of the world, who seldom go so deep as to look into things; and impostors well know how likely their cause is to succeed if their terms are but once admitted.' It cannot be necessary to declare that, in applying this apt quotation, no application of an offensive term is intended. The persons by whom the scheme of the Gower-street college was digested put forth no false colours for their design. That the scheme, as originally framed, would have tended to loosen and dissolve the ties by which

* This just distinction is made by M. Crevier, in his *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*.

† Sir William Buck, according to Mr. Dyer (Dissertation on the Privileges, &c., vol. i., p. 382,) 'has claimed the title of University for the city of London, so describing it after divers ancient writers, and not figuratively, but literally and in full force. Our four inns of court, with the lesser inns appertaining to the Court of Chancery, he designates as colleges, in the former of which lectures were delivered and degrees conferred. Gresham College, too, no less than other more ancient schools and foundations, he calls, in like manner, colleges, their conformity to colleges in discipline and rules being more apparent formerly than now, "for seeing," to use the writer's own words, "that not only those arts which are called liberal, but also all, or the most part of all, other arts and sciences, proper and fit for ingenious and liberal persons, were and are in this city, professed, taught, and studied," he thought the city of London (though its several colleges had not the common bond of a chancellor) was justly entitled to the name of a university, *cum privilegio regis*.' And this Mr. Dyer thinks 'agreeable to English principles.' Certain, however, it is, that the city of London has never assumed this title, and, probably, for these plain reasons: that the inns and colleges are not united in one corporation; that although degrees are conferred there in law, they are not in divinity, the study for which universities were specially endowed; and that although the royal sanction has been granted to each separate establishment, it has not been granted to them collectively as constituting altogether an university. The assumption, therefore, of this title for the Gower-street College is as egregiously improper as it is presumptuous. Mr. O'Connell has just as much right to institute an Order of Knighthood, as this Council to erect a University: the one is not more an assumption of sovereignty than the other.

men are attached to the constitution of these kingdoms, we know; and that it was intended so to do, we believe; but no imposition was practised or attempted—there was no hypocrisy in the movers and managers of the design. 'John Wilkes was no impostor'—neither were they. Many of them thought the end at which they aimed meritorious; they whose intentions were most malignified could put forth an immediate good as their motive, and, by the prospect of that good, many were influenced who had nothing further in view. These latter persons belong to the great class who are led by words: all that glitters is gold with them, and whatever is called liberal, passes for liberality. It is a good thing to provide opportunities of liberal instruction for the youth of the metropolis, who would not otherwise be enabled to obtain it: the more facilities the better. But if religious instruction be not included in the course of such an education, it is a grievous defect—a culpable omission; and if it be avowedly and systematically excluded, then, indeed, none but they who are hostile to all religion, or indifferent to any of its forms, can fail to perceive that the consequences of such an exclusion must be injurious, and that the intention was evil.

This subject has been treated with great ability in the Letter to Mr. Peel, by the writer who calls himself Christianus:—

'Professors are to be appointed on every other branch of useful knowledge; lectures are to be given in all the sciences, in Greek and Roman literature, in moral and political philosophy, in jurisprudence, in medicine, in history ancient and modern; in every subject which commonly forms a part of general or professional education; but the topic of revealed religion is studiously, absolutely, and avowedly omitted. I think it right, in order to avoid even the appearance of misrepresentation, to state thus early, that the founders of the institution explain in their prospectus the reasons of this omission. They explain that it arises, not from choice, but from necessity; not from indifference to the importance of the subject, but from the inability to devise any plan, by which instruction in religion can be made consistent with the admission of persons of all religious persuasions to the advantages of the institution; and they expect that all necessary instruction in religion will be supplied by the parents or guardians of the young men who are placed there as students. This part of their statement I propose shortly to consider a little more at large. At present, I merely mention the *fact*, that in this institution, destined to be a great national institution, and bearing the imposing name of the London University, Christianity is entirely omitted; no instructions are to be given on its evidences or its doctrines, no religious services are to be performed within its walls. In fact, it would appear that the Bible is to be as much an unknown book, and the Christian religion an unknown subject, within the precincts of the University of London,

as would be the case in an university founded at modern Constantinople, or as would have been the case in one established at ancient Rome.'—pp. 5, 6.

'Hitherto our nation has borne the character of a religious and a moral nation. However we may have had, and may still have, to deplore individual instances of departure from religious principles and practices, yet we have lived as a Christian people; our laws are founded on Christianity, our youth have been bred in Christian principles. In our legislature, in all our great public institutions, in all our forms and modes of life, we have hitherto paid attention to the decencies of religion, we have shown that we feel the weight of Christian obligation. Why then is this ill-omened separation now, for the first time, to take place? Why, for the first time since we became a Christian nation, are we called upon to witness an attempt to conduct systematically the education of our youth, on the principle of the entire omission of all instruction in that holy religion which we publicly profess.

'It surely will not be pretended that the case of the College of Surgeons, or of any of the institutions which have been formed for lecturing on chemistry, electricity, geology, and other similar subjects, is analogous to the case before us. In these instances no pretension is made to conduct the education of youth on a general system; it is merely intended to supply advantageous instruction for particular professions, and to afford to those who may have a desire and taste for improvement in useful knowledge, means of information on some particular branches. In the instance of the London University, on the other hand, the name of an university is assumed.' By this very name, in the common and known acceptation of it, pretension is made to educate youth generally, to form their minds to all useful and valuable knowledge; and still one branch is omitted, the most useful, the most valuable, the most important of all; that which ought to be the first thought of, the most dwelt upon, the last neglected. If no pretension had been held forth of affording a *system* of general education; if the institution had been termed, not an university, but simply a college for lectures on particular branches of learning, as classical literature, chemistry, or mathematical science, the omission of theology would not have been noticed in the same degree, and the objection now urged would have had small foundation. It is to the exclusion from a *system* of education, of that which is the most important part of all education, and which ought to be made the ground-work of the whole, that the objection applies; and applies, as I must contend, with a force and weight which ought to be generally felt.

'But, in the next place, independently of the *novelty* of this feature in the New London University, no considerate person can doubt that the tendency of this very important omission will be, if the Institution should grow to the magnitude and influence which are contemplated by the projectors, to lead to a general laxity of religious principles, and indifference to Christian duties. The reasons (whether valid or not) given for the omission of theology from the topics of instruction, would

would be known only to a few; but the fact itself would be borne upon the surface, would be obvious to every eye, and exhibited in the daily practice.'—pp. 8—10.

These excellent remarks are abundantly justified by that statement on the part of the council of the—so by them called—London University, which called forth the animadversion:—

'It is a fundamental principle of the University of London,' says the statement, 'that it shall be open to persons of all religious denominations; and it was manifestly impossible to provide a course of professional education for the ministers of religion of those congregations who do not belong to the established church. It was equally impossible to institute any theological lectures for the instruction of lay students of different religious persuasions, which would not have been liable to grave objections; still less was it practicable to introduce any religious observances that could be generally complied with. The religious education of the pupils, therefore, will be left to domestic superintendence—being the same provision which at present exists for that important object, in all cases except those of under-graduates at Oxford and Cambridge, during their residence in college. The council had many long and anxious deliberations upon this subject, which they felt to be of paramount importance: but they found it impossible to unite the principles of free admission to persons of all religious denominations, with any plan of theological instruction, or any form of religious discipline; and they were thus compelled by necessity to leave this great and primary object of education, which they deem far too important for compromise, to the direction and superintendence of the natural guardians of the pupils.'

'Thus,' says Christianus, 'by their own admission, while the founders of this institution establish a university for the systematic education of youth, they establish it on a plan which compels them, by necessity as they profess, to omit "the great and primary object of education." They acknowledge that their plan of education is essentially defective, they themselves having knowingly and designedly created that necessity through which it becomes so! They allow religion to be the great and primary object of education. Had it been the purpose proposed by them to impede the growth of sound religious principles, and to diminish the influence of Christianity on the practices of men, I see not how they could have adopted, consistently with any hope of carrying the smallest portion of public opinion with them, a more effectual expedient than that which they propose. But how they can have committed the very great oversight of proposing to the public the entire omission of all religion in their system of education, at the very time when they allow and feel it to be "the great and primary object of education," it remains for them to explain.'

Thus forcibly has the author of this very able letter—a letter which has happily proved as influential as it deserved to be—commented upon the radical defect of the Gower-street College. And,

indeed, the unfitness of the name, which the founders of that college, with as little modesty as propriety, arrogated for their institution, is not more remarkable than the errors and fallacies of their statement—fallacies so gross, that it is surprising they should have been hazarded, and errors so palpable, that their own subsequent practice has directly contradicted them. In leaving the religious education of the pupils unprovided for, they have left it, they say, to domestic superintendence, being the same provision for that important object which exists in all cases, except those of under-graduates at Oxford and Cambridge; that is, except in—the only cases which are parallel! ‘It was impossible,’ they say, ‘to institute any theological lectures for lay-students of different religious persuasions which would not have been liable to grave objections.’ But wherefore should it be impossible? The Methodists of every description, the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Baptists, differ not in doctrine from the church of England; and a full course of religious instruction might be completed, without touching upon the points at which either of these sects starts off into their paths of separation. It may be questioned whether even the Quakers would find anything in such a course of instruction which should prevent them from partaking in its advantage; on the contrary, we believe that they might attend such a course, and be as entirely satisfied with it, as a well-grounded churchman may be when he peruses the very learned and excellent work of Mr. John Joseph Gurney upon the Evidences of Christianity. There remain then the Roman Catholics, the Socinians, and the few wilder sects, who, because of their extravagance, or the paucity of their numbers, certainly were not considered when the scheme of the Gower-street college was digested—such as the Swedenborgians, the followers of Joanna Southcott, and the seventeen, or score, or four-and-twenty members of the Walkerite church. As for the Roman Catholics, they understand too well the policy as well as the plain duty of training up youth in the way wherein it is intended that they should go, to co-operate in a scheme of education from which religious instruction is excluded. It is also to be observed, that whatever relates to the evidences either of natural or revealed religion, is as needful for them as for us; and might be addressed to students, whether of the Romish or Reformed Churches, without compromising any principle, or offending the feelings of either party.

Was then this tender regard for religious scruples confined to the Socinians? Were it so, we might in that case say with *Jeremy Taylor*, that ‘if that which offends the weak brother is to be avoided, much more that which offends the strong.’ But it is said that the liberality of intention extended beyond these borderers,

derers, these who inhabit the debateable ground. It is said that, during a late administration, a wish was entertained by the head of that administration, to give the sanction of government to the Gower-street College, if it could be done consistently with what he felt due to the religion of the nation, as well as to his own opinions, which were consistent upon that point. An interview, it is said, took place accordingly between one of his friends, high in office, and certain persons with whom the arrangements of the new college rested; the want of religious instruction in their scheme was complained of, and it was asked whether some concession might not and ought not to be made, to the proper and very general feeling which this remarkable omission had excited. Supposing that for the sake of comprehending all denominations, it might be expedient not to conduct their scheme of education upon the principles of the established religion, what objection could there be to the use of Paley's *Natural Theology* in their course of study? It was admitted that this might be done. The next step was then tried; might not his *Evidences* also be introduced? No, it was replied, this was impossible; it would give offence to the Jews!

Woe be to this Christian nation, if we are influenced by such considerations! But let us not be mistaken: if there be any people whose religious persuasions deserve to be treated with respect as well as tenderness, it is the Jews, our elder brethren, though, by their own awful act and deed, disinherited. We owe to them, more than to the Greeks and Romans,—oh how infinitely more!—and they are our perpetual witnesses till the promises for which we both are looking shall be fulfilled. If their own usages were such as might render such an accommodation practicable, it would be desirable—not on the cold grounds of general liberality, but for Christian feeling, in acknowledgment of their close relationship, and for our faith's sake, that they should be admitted into all our seminaries, and that that part of the course of tuition which is rightly considered to be its great and primary object, should, in their case, be dispensed with, because of the veil which is upon their hearts. But this, if their customs made it possible, would not be more becoming, than it is preposterous to pretend that, in tenderness for their unbelief, we should renounce the duty of making Christian instruction an essential part of education in a Christian state.

But the directors of this institution have, in a certain degree, shown themselves open to conviction. In their statement they pronounced it impossible to introduce any religious observances that could be generally complied with; and it has since been found expedient that a counter-declaration should be put forth by
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their professors, in which the public were assured that a place of worship was provided for the students. It was 'manifestly impossible,' said the statement, 'to provide a course of professional education for the ministers of religion of those congregations who do not belong to the established church.' But that this object has been *possibilitated*, must be understood from a resolution recently past,—

'at a meeting of the committee of deputies from the several congregations of Protestant dissenters in, and within twelve miles of London, appointed to protect their civil rights, William Smith, Esq., M.P., in the chair: Resolved, that in filling up the nominations for the ten shares, in the University of London, held by this deputation, the preference be given in the first place to students for the ministry appointed by the committee: and that whenever there shall not be sufficient students for the ministry to receive the vacant nominations, the preference be given to the sons of dissenting ministers.'

This we find in the *Times* newspaper, and upon the wrapper of the *Evangelical Magazine*. Here then is a second *Impossible vencido*, as in the construction of a Basque grammar! The third impossibility, that of making religious instruction an essential part of their course of education, has not yet been removed; but its removal is called for, and loudly, by persons who admire the liberal principle of general admission, but have not been persuaded that, because the principles of the national church are, in deference to the Roman Catholic and Unitarian dissenters, not to be inculcated there, in like deference to Jews, Sceptics, and Sadducees, (not to use a more startling appellation,) no religion whatever is to be taught. A writer in a recent newspaper, who admires what he calls the noble fundamental principle, and is, he says, perfectly aware that in order to preserve it inviolate, no particular system of religion should be taught, asks nevertheless

'does it follow that all religious instruction must be utterly excluded? This,' says he, 'is a startling question, and the state of public opinion on the subject, the anxiety it has spread through a large portion of the community, and, it may be added, the prejudice to which it has given birth, threatening serious injury to the reputation of the establishment, clearly demand that this matter should not be lightly passed over, nor hastily determined.' - 'Even on the lowest ground of argument,' he proceeds to say, 'it might fairly be questioned, whether an exposition of the evidence and obligations of natural religion and of Christianity, and a recommendation of the best writers on these topics, could with any propriety be omitted in a course of liberal education. But I appeal to those who are governed by higher considerations: I appeal to the eminent and enlightened persons to whom this establishment owes its origin and formation, and whose well-known devotedness

votedness to the cause of public improvement gives assurance of their readiness to listen to any suggestion connected with its advancement: I call upon them to rescue the character of a great institution from unmerited suspicion and obloquy; I call upon them to withstand the blighting influences of a cold and heartless scepticism, which, implanting nothing in the mind, can produce nothing but the extinction of its best hopes and efforts.'

In the same newspaper which contained this just and forcible appeal, it was asserted that the projected King's College is 'the offspring and imitation of the London University.' Precision of language it would not be reasonable to require in the hasty composition of a daily journal; and in certain journals, it would be still less reasonable to look for any particular regard to truth: the disregard to it in this instance is only particular, because it is particularly absurd. The King's College would not indeed have been projected at this time, unless Mr. Campbell and the other promoters of the institution in Gower-street had led the way. Needful measures of this kind are like wholesome laws, more frequently in their design remedial than preventive,—projected for necessary defence, rather than conceived in the spirit of prospective wisdom; they are commonly brought forward to correct some evil, or counteract some mischief that is in progress. In this sense, the one college may be said to have been the offspring of the other, and therefore Mr. Campbell is to be thanked not only for the good which he designed, but for that which he had not designed to do. But so far is the plan of this King's College from being in imitation of the institution in Gower-street, that it has been formed in direct opposition to it, because of the 'suspicion and obloquy' which the professed and systematic exclusion of all religious instruction has (as the admirer of that scheme, in its other parts, declares) brought upon it; and we will add, most justly. For however the mischief of the first irreligious principle may be done away by now including a dissenting academy in its amended scheme, the suspicion was deserved, and the obloquy of the intention must remain.

The newspapers have reported a notable speech made lately by a certain Reverend Mr. Fox upon a notable occasion,—that of the dinner given to Mr. Shiel, in testimony of approbation (on the part of the diners) for his great exertions in inflaming the Irish people, and bringing Ireland to the very brink of a civil war. He touched upon the endowments of the Established Church, and said that 'King's College could not reconcile these things to the march of intellect, or it would be the Devil's College if it did.' He spoke of the Brunswick Clubs in Ireland, which the incendiary harangues of such demagogues as Mr. Shiel, their menaces, and the display
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of an organized, disciplined, officered, and regimented force, rendered necessary, on the part of the Protestants, for self-preservation. 'If the King's College,' he said, 'should rival the sister establishment, he trusted it would not be in the anatomical department, by giving the Irish Catholics to be carved down by the Cumberland sword as subjects.' The wit, the truth, the decency of such language, require no comment; they were suited to the occasion and the company, however unbecoming the profession of the speaker. To what denomination of Dissenters he belonged is of little consequence; for it would be unjust to consider him as representing his sect or his congregation, or as appearing in any character but his own. But when such speeches are made and reported, it is proper that they should sometimes meet with the sort of animadversion that they deserve.

'When Foxes preach, good folks beware your geese,' says an old poet in proverbial verse. This Fox, however, was not in his preaching attire; nor in any dissembling mood: it was a bold Fox, who waxed wanton when full fed, and barked and showed his teeth; and having charged his tail with as much as it could carry, whisked it about in full feter, with ostentatious offensiveness—*Qui quæ vult dicit, quæ non vult audiet.*

Had the King's College been in imitation of the Gower-street establishment, it would not have provoked these after-dinner effusions of factious fanaticism; nor would it be regarded, as it now is, by those who are attached to the constitution of these kingdoms, as an institution which the circumstances of the age have rendered necessary, and which, as we tender that constitution, and desire that its blessings should be transmitted to our posterity, we are called upon to encourage, and each in his sphere to promote. The Gower-street Council have, indeed, shown some deference to general opinion; and, in consequence of the disapprobation which their scheme called forth from all who had any serious sense of religion, they have to a certain degree modified it, so far, indeed, that it is, as we have seen, now considered to be a fit seminary for dissenting ministers of various denominations. Whether this experiment may answer better than it has done at Belfast, time will show. But, even when thus amended, the scheme is not in accord with the institutions of the country, nor with the feelings of the English people. It is at variance, too, with one of the plainest principles of sound policy, which is, as was expressed by Montesquieu, *que les lois de l'éducation doivent être relatives aux principes du gouvernement.* A greater than Montesquieu laid down the same maxim two thousand years before him: *Οτι μὲν οὖν τῷ νομοδότην μάλιστα πραγματευτέον περὶ τὴν τῶν νέων παιδείαν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμρισηγήσῃ.* Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ γιγνόμενον τοῦτο, βλάπτει τὰς πολιτείας.

πολιτείας. Διὲ γὰρ πρὸς ἑκάστην πολιτεύεσθαι. What was wisdom in the days of Aristotle has not ceased to be wisdom now. In these things, as in matters of faith, we may say with the Frenchman, Duguet, '*Il peut se faire qu'il y ait des erreurs anciennes, mais nous ne connoissons pas des vérités nouvelles.*' If we would train up our youth to be good subjects as well as good men and good Christians; they must be trained in the principles of the church and of the state, our two-fold constitution. Let them be made to understand those principles in time, and they will be armed against the errors of the age; let them be thoroughly imbued with them, and they will have a sure preservative against the pestilence that now walketh at noon-day. So far, indeed, is the King's College from being an imitation of the *soi-disant* London University, that it has been instituted in direct opposition to the fundamental principle of that academy. The excellent persons by whose exertions it has been founded have proceeded upon these axioms in policy—that religion ought to be an essential and primary part of education, and that the religion to be inculcated should be that of the national church.

So good an opportunity as is now afforded, by the establishment of the King's College, for improving our system of public education, adapting it to the altered circumstances of the nation, and making it more efficient to the end for which it was originally designed, has not before occurred. There is a passage, as truly philosophical as it is eloquent, in Dr. Phelan's History of the Policy of the church of Rome in Ireland, which is most appropriate to this place.

'We can discover,' says this most valuable writer, 'without recurring to the voice of Revelation, that there is some mighty confluence of destinies, to which the whole human race is necessarily on its way: in the most permanent societies and most tranquil seasons a process is carried on which tends to separate man from his institutions—as, in the lapse of ages, the fixed stars themselves have deserted their primeval signs. To look, therefore, to the past alone, is the error of a schoolman, who renounces the world of living realities, and sojourns in the shadowy regions of his own abstractions. To watch and to provide for those silent influences which time is continually shedding; to correct irregularities, some as they arise, others in their causes; to make every new measure a liberal analogy from the past, and a safe precedent for the future, and thus, while the parts are in unceasing flow, to secure the continued stability of the system;—these are the noblest cares of a statesman—the cares which approach nearest to the plastic energy of Providence, "reaching mightily from one end to the other, and sweetly ordering all things."'

Greater changes have taken place in no single age than are at this time in progress; and the revolutions in which empires, kingdoms

doms or republics, are made and unmade, and political constitutions rise and burst like bubbles upon a standing pool, when its stagnant waters are disturbed by a thunder-shower, are not the most momentous of those changes, neither are they those which most nearly concern us. The effects of the discovery of printing could never be felt in their full extent by any nation, till education, and the diffusion also of a certain kind of knowledge, had become so general, that newspapers should be accessible to every body, and the very lowest of the people should have opportunity to read them, or to hear them read. The schoolmaster, it has been said, is abroad! It was said in a tone and temper implying that, in the opinion of the speaker, certain of our institutions had as much to apprehend from the progress of popular education, as the Roman Catholic religion has to fear from the circulation of the Scriptures. The schoolmaster, indeed, is abroad, and we would have him so; though the enemy is abroad also, who, while men were sleeping, has sown tares among the wheat. The maxim that it is politic to keep the people in ignorance, will not be maintained in any country where the rulers are conscious of upright intentions, and confident likewise in the intrinsic worth of the institutions which it is their duty to uphold, knowing those institutions to be founded on the rock of righteous principles. They know, also, that the best means of preserving them from danger is so to promote the increase of general information, as to make the people perceive how intimately their own well-being depends upon the stability of the state, thus making them wise to obedience. Sir William D'Avenant, who lived in an age little favourable to the principles of free government, saw this truth distinctly.

'The received opinion that the people ought to be continued in ignorance,' said he, 'is a maxim sounding like the little subtlety of one that is a statesman only by birth or beard, and merits not his place by much thinking. For ignorance is rude, censorious, jealous, obstinate, and proud; these being exactly the ingredients of which disobedience is made: and obedience proceeds from ample consideration, of which knowledge consists: and knowledge will soon put into one scale, the weight of oppression, and, in the other, the heavy burden which disobedience lays on us in the effects of civil war: and then, even tyranny will seem much lighter, when the hand of supreme power binds up our load, and lays it artfully on us, than disobedience (the parent of confusion) when we all load one another, in which every one irregularly increases his fellow's burden to lessen his own.'

Had the English, and Scotch, and Irish people been sufficiently instructed to have understood this truth a few years before this thoughtful writer published his elaborate poem, from the preface to which this passage is extracted, they would not have been made

made to feel it in bitterness during the miserable years of rebellion and anarchy. But, if it be sound policy in an arbitrary government to provide for the instruction of a nation, much more must it be so in a land where the principles of the government are just, and its practice beneficent.

But in proportion as education becomes more and more general, it necessarily becomes more important that it should be conducted upon Christian and constitutional principles. In proportion, too, as information is diffused among all classes, it becomes essential not merely to the well-being but to the stability of the state, that the education of the higher classes should be rendered more efficient; and that they should take with them from our public schools and universities something more than the manners and spirit, and that sort of knowledge of the world which they cannot help acquiring there. For it is not to the hereditary nobility alone that considerable political power,—actual power as well as influence,—is intrusted by our practical constitution. Country gentlemen, and in a less degree those who are born to an inheritance of commercial wealth, have their share of this power, and are born also to the responsibilities and duties which power of any kind brings with it. Now it is for the general good, even more than for that of the privileged classes themselves, that their privileges, power, and influence should be preserved; but this cannot be, unless the possessors show themselves worthy of the advantages which they enjoy, and able to defend and to maintain them. In a country like this, the constitution cannot be kept together by the attraction of cohesion: assailed it is, and shaken it may be, by some hurricane of popular opinion raised by political jugglers, who, like Lapland witches, 'can sell a storm for a dollar, which for ten thousand they cannot allay.' Whatever is for the general good, whatever is just and reasonable, will ultimately stand: but unless they who shall be depositaries of this power, when the storm rages, are so qualified as to make it manifest that it is for the general good, and therefore reasonable and just and necessary that they should continue in their hereditary station, they must fall. It is no wisdom to dissemble this; the way to overcome danger is to provide against it, and expect it, and meet it resolutely.

The inequalities of European society, when they were marked by stronger lines of demarcation than at present, were kept up by means that deserve to be called nefarious. There were enactments to preclude men of servile birth from the pursuit of letters without special permission, and for restraining the children of agricultural labourers from learning a trade. War being the business of the age, the high born were carefully trained to
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all those exercises which could improve their bodily strength, and enable them with most skill to make use of it : they went into the field cased in armour, and with every possible advantage of weapons, while the common soldiers had little to protect them, and were exposed upon every desperate service which their lords had not courage to undertake. Gunpowder, learning, a better sense of honour, and a growing sense of humanity, have long since put an end to this iniquity. But what was attempted and effected in those days by wicked means, must now be brought about by righteous ones. Some advantages, more than those of estate, the influential classes must continue to preserve, or they will cease to be influential; the power with which they are now intrusted, and which may best and safest be intrusted to them while they are worthy of the trust, will assuredly be wrested from incompetent hands. They must improve their favourable circumstances of fortune to their intellectual advancement; they must keep pace with the age, not in its frivolities, its accomplishments, and refined elegancies alone, but in sound knowledge. But, in order to maintain this relative superiority, they must begin in time: schools and universities must be made what they ought to be, and no longer considered as places through which indeed it is necessary to pass in the routine of a liberal education, but where it is not necessary that any thing should be thoroughly learnt, or that they who are not ambitious of the prize should do any thing more than walk over the course. .

There are two obvious defects in our system of education; the first and most important is, that the instruction to which it is confined, is in the great majority of cases so imperfect, that youth go to college with the faint intention or forlorn hope of learning there what they have failed to learn at school: the second is, that the course itself is not sufficiently comprehensive. The Greek and Latin must always form the basis of a generous education; those languages which, as Hobbes says, 'have put off flesh and blood, and are become immutable;' and, which in a certain sense, may be said to have put on immortality. Some few years ago, there appeared in one of our monthly journals a proposal, that seeing schools for the instruction of the common people were about to be opened all over Europe, which must consequently give a new impulse to the public mind, analogous to the introduction of printing,—a new and rational alphabet should be adopted, and all elementary books printed in it; and the advantage to be derived from this was stated to be, that it would '*at once obliterate all extant literature*, and enable the rising generation to use epurated editions of all standard books!' *Hæc serîo quemquam dixisse summa hominum contemptio est*: seriously however it was said; and

and there are march-of-intellect men among us fanatical enough to wish that it were done. Men of this stamp, as well as some of the untaught, the ill-taught, and the self-taught, would willingly have the dead languages buried if they could; and if extant literature were as destructible now, as in the age of the Saracen conquests, Omar would have ready imitators whenever opportunity occurred. But there is a reasonable objection against the great expenditure of time employed in learning, or in not learning these languages; and that objection would be obviated if it were shown by experience, that in the years allotted for schooling, there is abundant time for learning them, and for whatever else it can be expedient or desirable to learn in that stage of our growth; this, too, by a method as easy both to pupils and teacher, as it is effectual and sure,—a method as well devised for bringing into action the intellectual powers and improving them, as the best regulated gymnastic exercises are for increasing agility and strength. Professor Pillans will vouch for the efficacy of this method; the details have long been before the public in the third part of Dr. Bell's *Elements of Tuition*; a series of elementary books, compiled upon the principles of that work, is all that is wanting; and if this system be established in the school of the new King's College, its beneficial effects will be felt as well in the Universities as in that College. Other schools must adopt the method of intellectual tuition, or they will lose their place in public estimation,—mere prescription will not support them there; and when that method is adopted, the course of instruction will become as efficient for all, as it now is for the few who apply themselves diligently to their studies, and those few may be carried much farther in the same time. There will be time for algebra and mathematics, time for the modern languages, time for any special pursuit, without overtasking the mind, or wearying it: for whatever is learnt, being learnt thoroughly, step by step, the progress becomes as easy and as pleasurable as it is certain. Long ago it was wittily said, that there is no royal road to learning, but, thanks to Dr. Bell, there is now a macadamized one.

The school, both in itself, and as preparatory to the college course, is a most important part of this very useful design. In the Belfast Institution (where the experiment of disregarding the religious opinions of the Professors has been tried and been proved injurious) the schools have answered well, and in a very short time defrayed their own expenses. This of the King's College being situated in the metropolis, it is likely that a great proportion of the scholars will be day boys; and nothing can, in our judgment, be more desirable than that boys, while they have all the advantages at school which can be derived from wholesome and well-regulated emulation,

emulation, and from free intercourse with their fellows, should continue to enjoy the moral benefits which are only to be had at home. In the Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, upon the Belfast Institution (an institution highly useful and honourable to that great town), it appears that the persons whom they examined laid great stress upon the moral advantages of home education: the opinion, indeed, was expressed with regard to colleges and not to schools, but it related to persons young enough to be called thoughtless boys; and it may be questioned whether, for such boys, schools, as they are, do not afford as many opportunities for evil as are found at universities. Some evils of their own they have; and one has been brought before the public at this time by Sir Alexander Malet, in a temperate and gentlemanly manner, which must win respect even from those who may differ from him upon the point in question. It is not necessary to deliver an opinion upon the circumstances which have called forth the pamphlet, and which have attracted considerable attention; the case itself is of less consequence than the general system of fagging which is thus brought under review. We know not either when or how this abominable practice grew up in our schools; nor how schoolmasters, who ought to have considered it a most important part of their duty to cultivate good inclinations and correct evil ones in the pupils committed to their charge, should have suffered boys to establish among themselves the law of the strongest, and reduce tyranny to a system. It could not have existed, at least in its present form, when it was customary for a boy to take to school with him a lad of his own age in the capacity of a servant. In those days something of the same kind of tyranny, which is now exercised over juniors at school, was practised upon freshmen at college; it has long ceased in the universities, and much longer it cannot be permitted to continue in schools. There is nothing to be said in defence of the system which might not be applied in defence of the slave-trade, or the Turkish despotism; and it is to be hoped that public opinion will put it down before some flagrant case of brutality shall call for a public example. A great national good will be effected if, in a school which must necessarily become, in no ordinary degree, an object of general attention, we should see those improvements introduced, which render the progress of the scholars easy and certain, and those abuses precluded which corrupt the disposition and harden the heart.

The scheme of the new college is not yet before the public; but we hope that a certain course of study may be prescribed for every student, comprising those things which are the foundation of all solid learning. There will be abundant time for collateral and
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professional pursuits. The Swedes have a good regulation, by which every young man who graduates at Upsal is required to produce a printed dissertation in Latin, upon some topic of national antiquities. If more attention were paid, during education, to our own history, men would not be betrayed so easily as they now are into political errors and delusions: there would be less of contented ignorance—less of pragmatism and sciolism.

Some good may be expected from the fair rivalry between the King's College and the Gower-street one. They are already mutually beholden to each other. King's College will owe its existence to the earlier institution; and to the announcement of the later one it is owing that the irreligious principle of the Gower-street scheme has been abandoned. There is room for both. The dissenters and the absenters, and those who are of any denomination which ends in *ist* or in *arian*, will properly encourage the college in which any religion may be taught, or none; and some will prefer it for considerations of local convenience or personal predilections. But upon all who are attached by feeling and principle to our free constitution in church and state—emphatically free in both; upon all who know and can justly appreciate how happy it is for them to have been

‘born under good stars,

Where what is honest they may freely think—

Speak what they think, and write what they do speak’—

upon all such the King's College has a strong and paramount claim, being founded in support of those principles which have made England what it is, and the English what they are.

The city of London (let us be permitted to add) could not do a more fitting thing than to convert the Gresham lectureships into fourteen scholarships for this college, retaining the name and reserving the right of presentation. A bounty which is at present useless would thus be rendered efficient, and to the very end which was intended by Gresham himself. An act of parliament would be necessary; and the annexations would of course take place as the lectureships became vacant.

ART. V.—*Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo.* By the late Captain Clapperton, of the Royal Navy. To which is added, *The Journal of Richard Lander, from Kano to the Sea-coast, partly by a more Eastern Route.* With a Portrait of Clapperton, and a Map of the Route. London. 4to. 1829.

A NARRATIVE of travels into regions of the earth hitherto unexplored, while it is sure to awaken curiosity, must be dull indeed, and its author destitute of the talent of common observation,

servation, if it fail to communicate new and amusing information. The posthumous Journal of the late lamented Clapperton, which contains a copious detail of occurrences, mingled with lively sketches of the scenery of a country untrodden by Christian foot, and of the manners and customs of tribes of people entirely unknown, will not disappoint the expectations of the reader in this respect ; while regret and sympathy will be strongly excited by the sufferings, the unkind treatment, and the untimely fate, of a brave, straightforward, and kind-hearted officer, who, at the very outset of the journey, had the melancholy misfortune of burying the only two companions joined with him on an expedition full of interest and enterprise. Thus left alone, and in a state of great debility himself from disease, he boldly pushed forward, determined, should life remain, to accomplish, as far as human means would admit, the object of his mission.

When Denham and Clapperton returned from their successful mission into the central parts of Northern Africa, the latter brought back a letter from Bello, the Sultan of the Fellans, or Fellatas, resident at Soccatoo, addressed to the King of England, in consequence of conversations that had passed between him and Clapperton. In that letter the sultan proposed three things ;—the establishment of a friendly intercourse between the two nations, by means of a consul, who was to reside at the *seaport* of Raka ;—the delivery of certain presents described, at ~~the~~ port of Funda, supposed to be somewhere near Whidah ;—and the prohibition of the exportation of slaves, by any of the Houssa merchants, to Atagher, Dahomey, or Ashantee.

On the arrival of Clapperton in England, Lord Bathurst, then secretary of state for the colonies, conceived these proposals to afford a fair opportunity for endeavouring to carry into effect objects of such considerable importance ; and Clapperton immediately volunteered his services on the occasion. He had arranged with Bello, that his messengers should, about a certain time, be at Whidah, to conduct the presents and the bearers of them to Soccatoo. Clapperton was allowed to take with him, on this novel and hazardous enterprise, two associates ; one of whom was Captain Pearce, of the Navy, an excellent draughtsman ; and the other, Dr. Morrison, a surgeon in the navy, well versed in various branches of natural history ; and, at his particular request, a fellow-countryman, of the name of Dickson, who had served as a surgeon in the West Indies, was added to the list.

These gentlemen, with their servants, embarked on His Majesty's ship *Brazen*, on the 25th August, 1825, and arrived off Whidah on the 26th of the following November. Mr. Dickson, for some reason or other, landed at Whidah, and proceeded, in company

company with a Portuguese, of the name of De Sousa, to Dahomey, where the latter had resided for some time. Here he was well received, and sent forward, with a suitable escort, to a place called Shar, seventeen days' journey from Dahomey, where he also arrived in safety, and thence proceeded, with another escort towards Youri, but has not since been heard of. The Brazen proceeded with the rest to the river Benin, or Formosa, where they met with an English merchant of the name of Houtson, who advised them by no means to think of proceeding by that river, as the king bore a particular hatred to the English, for their exertions in putting a stop to the slave-trade; nor did he (Mr. Houtson) know how far, or in what direction, that river might lead them. He recommended Badagry as the nearest and most convenient spot to proceed from, with safety, into the interior; and offered to accompany them to a certain distance, which offer was accepted.

It appears that their inquiries at Whidah after Bello and his messengers were entirely fruitless; and equally so as to Funda or Raka—names never heard of on that part of the coast. It is now known that these places are near two hundred miles inland, and that Raka is not even on the banks of any river; and that neither of them were then under the dominion of Bello.

On the 7th December they commenced their journey from Badagry, accompanied by their servants, and a Houssa black, of the name of Pascoe, who had been lent from one of the king's ships to accompany the late Belzoni as interpreter. Clapperton was attended by his faithful servant, Richard Landers, to whose care and discretion we are entirely indebted for the materials which compose the present volume. For a short distance they proceeded in canoes to a place, where a great market is held, called Bawie. The banks of the creek are represented as low, and covered with reeds; and from the following sentence we are persuaded that this is the spot, where the seeds of those diseases were sown, on the very first night of their journey, which speedily proved so fatal to a part, and eventually to the whole, of the company:—‘The morning thick and hazy; and, *though sleeping close to the river, in the open air*, for the first time since we have been on shore, we did not hear the hum of a single mosquito.’ How an old naval surgeon, and two experienced naval officers, could commit such an imprudence, in such a climate, is to us most surprising, when most dreadful consequences are well known to have almost invariably resulted from such a practice in tropical climates. The next night (the 9th), *they again slept in the open air, in the market-place of Dagmoo*, a large town where they might have had as many houses as they wanted. On the 10th, Clapperton was seized with fever

and ague. On the 12th, Dr. Morrison was attacked with fever. On the 13th, Captain Pearce was severely indisposed; and, on the 14th, Richard Lander was taken ill. On the 23rd, Dr. Morrison, after being carried in a hammock to the distance of about seventy miles, finding himself worse, requested to return to a town called Jannah; and Mr. Houtson accompanied him. The next day, one of the servants died; and, on the evening of the 27th, Captain Pearce breathed his last. 'The death of Captain Pearce,' says Clapperton, 'has caused me much concern; for, independently of his amiable qualities as a friend and companion, he was eminently fitted, by his talents, his perseverance, and his fortitude, to be of singular service to the mission; and, on these accounts, I deplore his loss as the greatest I could have sustained, both as regards my private feelings and the public service.'

The following morning, the remains of this lamented officer were interred in presence of all the principal people of the town. The grave was staked round by the inhabitants, and a shed built over it. An inscription was carved on a board, placed at the head of the grave, by Lander—'I being unable,' says Clapperton, 'to assist, or even to sit up.' Two days after this, Mr. Houtson returned, with the information of Dr. Morrison having died at Jannah, on the same day as Captain Pearce, where he had his remains decently interred—the people of the town attending the ceremony.

These unfortunate officers had been conveyed thus far, about seventy miles, in hammocks, by the people of the country; every where experiencing the kindest attentions, lodged in the best houses, and supplied with every thing that the country afforded. Clapperton was able occasionally to ride on horseback, and sometimes to walk; but greatly debilitated, and not free from fever. He describes the country between Badagry and Jannah, the frontier town of the kingdom of Yourriba, as abounding in population, well cultivated with plantations of Indian corn, different kinds of millet, yams, and plantains, wherever the surface was free from dense forests. Every where on the road the party was met by numbers of people, chiefly women, bearing loads of produce on their heads, always cheerful and obliging, and delighted to see white men, frequently singing in chorus, holding up both hands, and clapping them as tokens of joy, as they passed along, and whole groups kneeling down, and wishing the travellers a good journey. Towns and villages were very frequent; and some of the former were estimated to contain from eight to fifteen thousand souls. At Jannah, the crowds were immense, but extremely civil, and highly amused to see white men.

'In the evening Mr. Houtson and I took a walk through the town:

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we were followed by an immense crowd, which gathered as we went along, but all very civil; the men taking off their caps, the women kneeling on their knees and one elbow, the other elbow resting upon the hand. In returning we came through the market, which, though nearly sunset, was well supplied with raw cotton, country cloths, provision, and fruit, such as oranges, limes, plantains, bananas; and vegetables, such as small onions, chalotes, pepper and gums for soups: also, boiled yams, and *accassons*.* Here the crowd rolled on like a sea, the men jumping over the provision baskets, the boys dancing under the stalls, the women bawling, and saluting those who were looking after their scattered goods, yet no word or look of disrespect to us.—p. 12.

Of the honesty of the black population of the kingdom or province of Badagry, Captain Clapperton gives the following testimony:—

‘I cannot omit bearing testimony to the singular and perhaps unprecedented fact, that we have already travelled sixty miles in eight days, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing so much as the value of a shilling, public or private; a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty in the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government which could not have been supposed to exist amongst a people hitherto considered barbarians. Humanity, however, is the same in every land; government may restrain the vicious principles of our nature, but it is beyond the power even of African despotism to silence a woman’s tongue: in sickness and in health, and at every stage, we have been obliged to endure their eternal loquacity and noise.’—p. 13.

The people of Jaunah are ingenious as well as industrious. They are excellent carvers in wood: all their doors, drums, and wooden utensils, being covered with figures of men, snakes, crocodiles, &c. Numerous looms were in operation—sometimes eight or ten in one house; their cotton-cloths good in texture, and some of them very fine. Their looms and shuttles are described as being on the same principle with the common English loom, but the warp seldom more than four inches in width. They have abundance of indigo, of an excellent quality. The women are generally the dyers, and boys the weavers. They also manufacture a tolerable kind of earthenware.

The old *caboceer*, or chief of the town, was delighted to see the strangers; assigned them good lodgings; and sent thither hogs, ducks, pigeons, plantains, yams, and whatever the place would afford; while his numerous wives, about two hundred, welcomed them with songs of joy. On being informed that an Englishman had only one wife, he and the whole crowd, particu-

* Paste of pounded Indian corn, wrapped in a particular leaf.

larly his wives, laughed immoderately. The old gentleman wore a rich crimson damask robe and a red velvet cap; but during the ceremony of reception he changed his dress three different times, each time increasing the splendour of his appearance.

‘The whole court, which was large, was filled, crowded, crammed, with people, except a space in front where we sat, into which his highness led Mr. Houtson and myself, one in each hand, and there we performed an African dance, to the great delight of the surrounding multitude. The *tout ensemble* would doubtless have formed an excellent subject for a caricaturist, and we regretted the absence of Captain Pearce to sketch off the old black caboceer, sailing majestically around in his damask robe, with a train-bearer behind him, and every now and then turning up his old withered face to myself, then to Mr. Houtson, then whisking round on one foot, then marching slow, with solemn gait, twining our hands in his—proud that a white man should dance with him. We gave in to the humours of the day, and thus “cheered we our old friend, and he was cheered.”’—pp. 14, 15.

The approach to Emmadoo is described as extremely beautiful, through a long, broad, and majestic avenue of trees, at the end of which a stockade, eighteen feet high, with a wicker gate, and another of the same kind, at the distance of a hundred paces, defend the entrance of the town. The surface of the adjoining country is broken into gentle hills and dales, a small stream of water running through every little valley. At Afoora the granite formation began to shew itself. The town of Assulah is surrounded with a wall and a ditch, and may contain six thousand people. Assouda, another walled town, had about ten thousand inhabitants. At both the party was abundantly supplied with provisions; and regaled with dancing and singing the whole night, by the apparently happy inhabitants.

The appearance of the country improved as our travellers advanced; they had now reached the mountainous range, the width of which is stated to be about eighty miles. The highest point would appear not to exceed two thousand five hundred feet at that part where the travellers crossed them; and the road, by the edge of the hills and through the valleys, not more than one thousand five hundred. The valleys were planted with cotton, corn, yams, and plantains; and on the tops and hollows of the hills were perched the houses and villages of the proprietors of these plantations. The town of Duffoo in these mountains is said to have a population of fifteen thousand souls; and Chiadoo, seven thousand. On departing from the latter, Clapperton was attended by the chief, and an immense train of people, of all ages and sexes, with drums, horns, and gongs, making a strange discord when mingled with the agreeable voices of the women.

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The highest summit of these mountains is between Erawa and Chaki.

The road through this mountain pass was grand and imposing, sometimes rising almost perpendicularly, and then descending in the midst of rocks into deep dells; then winding beautifully round the side of a steep hill, the rocks above overhanging us in fearful uncertainty. In every cleft of the hills, wherever there appeared the least soil, were cottages, surrounded by small plantations of millet, yams, or plantains, giving a beautiful variety to the rude scenery. The road continued rising, hill above hill, for at least above two miles, until our arrival at the large and populous town of Chaki, situated on the top of the very highest hill. On every hand, on the hills, on the rocks, and crowding on the road, the inhabitants were assembled in thousands; the women welcoming us with holding up their hands and chanting choral songs, and the men with the usual salutations and every demonstration of joy. The caboceer was seated on the outside of his house, surrounded by his ladies, his singing men and singing women, his drums, fifes, and gong-gongs. He is a good-looking man, about fifty years of age, and has a pleasing countenance. His house was all ready for us; and he immediately ordered us a large supply of goats, sheep, and yams; pressing us strongly to stay a day or two with him. He appeared to consider us as messengers of peace, come with blessings to his king and country. Indeed a belief is very prevalent, and seems to have gone before us all the way, that we are charged with a commission to make peace wherever there is war; and to do good to every country through which we pass. The caboceer of this town indeed told us so; and said he hoped that we should settle the war with the Nyffee people and the Fellatah; and the rebellion of the Housa slaves, who have risen against the king of Yarriba. When I shook hands with him, he passed his hand over the heads of his chiefs, as confirming on them a white man's blessing. He was more inquisitive and more communicative than any one whom we have yet seen. He sat until near midnight, talking and inquiring about England. On asking if he would send one of his sons to see our country, he rose up with alacrity, and said he would go himself. He inquired how many wives an Englishman had? Being told only one, he seemed much astonished, and laughed greatly, as did all his people. "What does he do," said he, "when one of his wives has a child? Our caboceer has two thousand."—pp. 24, 25.

The town of Koosoo, at the northern termination of the mountains, is stated to be the largest that our traveller yet had seen, and supposed to contain twenty thousand inhabitants. Next to it was Yaboo another large town, and then Ensookosoo, between which and the former is a beautiful plain, well cultivated and studded with a number of Fellatah villages, whose inhabitants are living here, as they do in most parts of Soudan, a quiet and harmless pastoral life, unmolested by the black natives, and not interfering

interfering with any of the negro customs. From hence to the capital of Yourriba, which is named Eyeo, or Katunga, many of the villages were deserted, and the towns, more or less, in ruins, from the incursions of the more warlike Fellatahs of Soccatoo, and the insurrectionary slaves of Houssa, who had laid waste the country. Town followed town in quick succession, but all of them had suffered from the recent incursions.

The approach to the town of Tshow was through a beautiful valley, 'planted with large shady trees and bananas, having green plots and sheets of water running through the centre, where the dingy beauties of Tshow were washing their well-formed limbs, while the sheep and goats were grazing around on the verdant banks.' This picture of repose is stated, however, to be frequently disturbed by inroads from the neighbouring kingdom of Borgho, the natives of which are described as thieves and plunderers; and as our traveller was now close on its borders, he thought it necessary to brush up his arms. In the evening, however, a chief, with a large escort of horse and foot, arrived from Katunga, to conduct him safely to the king. They were so numerous that they ate up all the provisions of this small town; 'every corner was filled with them; and they kept drumming, blowing, dancing, and singing all night.' On leaving this place, 'the road through which we passed was wide, though woody, and covered by men on horseback, and bowmen on foot. The horsemen armed with two or three long spears hurrying on as fast as they could get us to go; horns and country drums beating and blowing before and behind; some of the horsemen dressed in the most grotesque manner; others covered all over with charms. The bowmen also had their natty little hats and feathers, with the jebus, or leathern pouch, hanging by their side. These men always appeared to me to be the best troops in this country and Soudan, from their lightness and activity. The horsemen, however, are but ill mounted; the animals are small and badly dressed, their saddles so ill secured, and the rider sits so clumsily on his seat, that any Englishman, who ever rode a horse with an English saddle, would upset one of them the first charge with a long stick.'—p. 84.

They soon arrived at the gate of Katunga, which is said to be delightfully situated at the point of a granite range of hills: a band of music accompanied them, followed by an immense multitude of men, women, and children. They proceeded about five miles in the city before they reached the residence of the king, who was seated under a verandah, with two red and two blue umbrellas, supported on long poles held by slaves. The chiefs were observed to be holding a parley with the king, which Clapperton conjectured to relate to his being desired to perform the usual ceremony of prostration.

“I told

“ I told them,” says he, “ if any such thing was proposed, I should instantly go back ; that all the ceremony I would submit to would be to take off my hat, make a bow, and shake hands with his majesty, if he pleased.” This being granted, ‘ We accordingly,’ says our author, ‘ went forwards ; the king’s people had a great deal to do to make way amongst the crowd, and allow us to go in regular order. Sticks and whips were used, though generally in a good-natured manner ; and I cannot help remarking on this, as on all other occasions of this kind, that the Yourribas appear to be a mild and kind people—kind to their wives and children, and to one another—and that the government, though absolute, is conducted with the greatest mildness.’

This ceremony of prostration before the king is required from all. The chiefs who come to pay their court, cover themselves with dust, and then fall flat on their bellies, having first practised the ceremony, in order to be perfect, before a large fat eunuch. There is something whimsical, we admit, in the comparison we are about to make ; but it really strikes us, that nothing is wanting at Katunga but the *yellow screen*, whose unexpected appearance occasioned some misgivings in Lord Amherst’s mind, to imagine the scene described by Clapperton to be laid in a provincial town of the Celestial Empire. The umbrellas—the negotiations for the ceremony—the rehearsal of it—the sticks and whips so good-naturedly laid across the shoulders of the crowd—are completely, and to the letter, Chinese ; and these heavenly people of the east are successfully imitated by the Yourribas of the west, in the extraordinary degree of politeness practised towards each other : ‘ when equals meet, they kneel on one knee ; women kneel on both knees, the elbows resting on the ground.’ Nor are these dingy people outdone by the Celestials in another respect : the accredited traveller is subsisted entirely at the expense of the sovereign—that is to say, of the public. He is also invited to theatrical entertainments, quite as amusing, and almost as refined, from Clapperton’s description, as any which his Celestial Majesty can command to be exhibited before a foreign ambassador. The king of Yourriba made a point of our traveller staying to witness these entertainments. They were exhibited in the king’s park, in a square space, surrounded by clumps of trees. The first performance was that of a number of men dancing and tumbling about in sacks, having their heads fantastically decorated with strips of rags, damask silk, and cotton of variegated colours ; and they performed to admiration. The second exhibition was hunting the *boa* snake, by the men in the sacks. The huge snake, it seems, went through the motions of this kind of reptile, ‘ in a very natural manner, though it appeared to be rather full in the belly, opening and shutting its mouth in the most natural manner imaginable.’ A running fight

fight ensued, which lasted some time, till at length the chief of the bag-men contrived to scotch his tail with a tremendous sword, when he gasped, twisted up, and seemed in great torture, endeavouring to bite his assailants, who hoisted him on their shoulders, and bore him off in triumph. The festivities of the day concluded with the exhibition of the *white devil*, which had the appearance of a human figure in white wax, looking miserably thin, and as if starved with cold, taking snuff, rubbing its hands, treading the ground as if tender-footed; and evidently meant to burlesque and ridicule a white man, while his sable majesty frequently appealed to Clapperton whether it was not well performed. After this the king's women sang in chorus, and were accompanied by the whole crowd.

The city of Eyeo, called in the Houssa language Katunga, has a thick belt of wood round the walls, which are built of clay, about twenty feet high, and surrounded by a dry ditch; they are fifteen miles in circumference, and are entered by ten gates. The houses are of clay with thatched roofs. The posts that support the verapdals and the doors are carved in bas relief, with figures of the boa killing an antelope or a hog, with warriors accompanied by their drummers, &c. It has seven markets, held every evening, in which are exposed for sale yams, corn, calavances, bananas, vegetable butter, seeds of the colocynth, goats, fowls, sheep, cotton cloths, and various implements of agriculture. The country produces small horses, but fine horned cattle, many of them with humps on their shoulders like those of Abyssinia; sheep, hogs, muscovy ducks, fowls, pigeons, and turkeys. They have various kinds of fruit, such as oranges, limes, and, so Clapperton says, pears and apples. The cotton plant and indigo are extensively cultivated; but the commerce with the coast is almost exclusively in slaves, which are given in exchange for rum, tobacco, European cloth, and cowries. This intercourse, which is constant, is entirely by land, either from Badagry, Lagos, or Dahomey. The price of a slave at Jannah, as nearly as could be calculated, was from 3*l.* to 4*l.* sterling; their domestic slaves, however, are never sold, except for misconduct. In fact, the whole population may be considered in a state of slavery, either to the king, or his caboceers. The features of the Yourriba people are described as being less characteristic of the negro than those of Badagry; the lips less thick and the nose inclined to the aquiline; the men well made, and of an independent carriage; the women of a more coarse appearance, probably from drudgery and exposure to the sun.

Though Clapperton remained at Katunga from the 23d January, to the 7th March, and though the river Quorra,—the mysterious

rious and mis-called Niger—was not more than thirty miles to the eastward, he was not able to prevail on the king of Yourriba to allow him to visit it; whenever he asked for permission to do so, he was always put off with some frivolous excuse; and in this, too, the old gentleman appears to have been as cunning and as cautious as a Chinese mandarin—observing at one time, that the road was not safe—at another, that the Fellatas had possession of the country; and what would the king of England say, if anything should happen to his guest? It was with some difficulty, after all, that Clapperton could prevail on him to let him depart on his journey;—offered, if he would stay, to give him a wife; of wives, he said, he himself had plenty—he did not exactly know how many, but he was sure that, hand to hand, they would reach from Katunga to Jannah.

On departing from Katunga for Kiama, a city of Borgho, Mr. Houtson took his leave of our traveller, and returned to the coast, where he shortly afterwards died. Clapperton continued his route among ruined villages, that had been sacked by the Fellatas. These marauders, it seems, have a mode of setting fire to walled towns, by tying combustibles to the tails of pigeons, which, on being let loose, fly to the tops of the thatched houses, while they keep up showers of arrows, to prevent the inhabitants from extinguishing the flames. Having crossed the river Moussa, a considerable stream which falls into the Quoria, an escort appeared to conduct our traveller to Yarro, the sultan, as they called him, of Kiama. They were mounted on remarkably fine horses, but were a lawless set of fellows, who plundered the villages as they went along, without mercy or remorse.

At Kiama he was well received by Yarro; who assigned him an excellent house, within a square inclosure, and sent him milk, eggs, bananas, fried cheese, curds, and *foo-foo* (paste of Indian corn). Shortly afterwards he paid him a visit, mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men, on horse-back and on foot; ‘and six young female slaves, naked as they were born, except a stripe of narrow white cloth tied round their heads, about six inches of the ends flying out behind; each carrying a light spear in the right hand.’ Each of these girls, on entering the door, put a blue cloth round her waist. Yarro promised our traveller every assistance, and kept his word. On taking leave, he remounted his horse, ‘the young ladies undressed; and away went one of the most extraordinary *cavalcades* I ever saw in all my life.’ Extraordinary indeed! The following is his account of a second visit—

‘After the heat of the day was over, Yarro came, attended by all his train. The most extraordinary persons in it were himself and the bearers

bearers of his spears, which, as before, were six naked young girls, from fifteen to seventeen years of age. The only thing they wore was a white bandeau, or fillet of white cloth, round the forehead, about six inches of the ends flying behind, and a string of beads round their waists; in their right hands they carried three light spears each. Their light form, the vivacity of their eyes, and the ease with which they appeared to fly over the ground, made them appear something more than mortal as they flew alongside of his horse, when he was galloping, and making his horse curvet and bound. A man with an immense bundle of spears remained behind at a little distance, apparently to serve as a magazine for the girls to be supplied from, when their master had expended those they carried in their hands.'—p. 72.

Here, as in other large towns, there were music and dancing the whole night; 'men's wives and maidens, all join the song and dance, Mahomedans as well as Pagans.' Female chastity, by our author's account, is little regarded.

'Yarro asked me if I would take his daughter for a wife; I said "Yes," after a great many thanks for my present. The old woman went out, and I followed with the king's head man, Abubecker. I went to the house of the daughter, which consists of several coozies, separate from those of the father, and I was shown into a very clean one: a mat was spread: I sat down; and the lady coming in and kneeling down, I asked her if she would live in my house, or I should come and live with her: she said, whatever way I wished: very well, I said, I would come and live with her, as she had the best house. She kept her kneeling posture all the time I was in the house.' p. 70.

Kiama is one of the largest cities in Borglio. Clapperton estimates it to contain, at least, 30,000 inhabitants; but, like the rest of the people of this kingdom, they are represented as great robbers. Yarro, however, behaved very well to our traveller, supplied him at once with horses and bearers, and advised him to go by Boussa, and not by Youri, as the latter was at war with the Fellatas. Profiting by this advice, he proceeded towards the former, and in the way, he fell in with a cofle or caravan from Ashantee and Gonja, on their road to Houssa.

'At 10 we fell in with the Houssa caravans. They occupied a long line of march: bullocks, asses, horses, women, and men, to the amount of a thousand, all in a line, after one another, forming a very curious sight; a motley groupe, from the nearly naked girls and men carrying loads, to the ridiculously and gaudily dressed Gonja traders, riding on horseback, some of these animals being lame, and going with a halt, and all in very bad condition. The poor girls, their slaves, are compelled to travel with a heavy load on their heads, yet are as cheerful and good-natured as if they were at home grinding corn in their own native country.'—pp. 75, 76.

At Wawa, another city of Borglio, our traveller was well and hospitably

hospitably received, the old governor of which told him, that every thing should be done that he wished. Being so near that part of the Quorra, where Mungo Park perished, our traveller thought he might get some information of this melancholy event.

‘The head man’s story is this: that the boat stuck fast between two rocks; that the people in it laid out four anchors a-head; that the water falls down with great rapidity from the rocks, and that the white men, in attempting to get on shore, were drowned; that crowds of people went to look at them, but the white men did not shoot at them as I had heard; that the natives were too much frightened either to shoot at them or to assist them; that there were found a great many things in the boat, books and riches, which the sultan of Boussa has got; that beef cut in slices and salted was in great plenty in the boat; that the people of Boussa who had eaten of it all died, because it was human flesh, and that they knew we white men eat human flesh. I was indebted to the messenger of Varro for a defence, who told the narrator that I was much more nice in my eating than his countrymen were. But it was with some difficulty I could persuade him that if his story was true, it was the people’s own fears that had killed them; that the meat was good beef or mutton; that I had eaten more goats’ flesh since I had been in this country than ever I had done in my life; that in England we eat nothing but fowls, beef, and mutton.’—pp. 84, 85.

At this place Clapperton had nearly, though innocently, got into a scrape with the old governor, by coquetting with a young and buxom widow.

‘I had a visit, amongst the number, from the daughter of an Arab, who is very fair, calls herself a white woman, is rich, a widow, and wants a white husband. She is said to be the richest person in Wawa, having the best house in the town, and a thousand slaves. She showed a great regard for my servant Richard, who is younger and better looking than I am: but she had passed her twentieth year, was fat, and a perfect Turkish beauty, just like a walking water-butt. All her arts were unavailing on Richard: she could not induce him to visit her at her house, though he had my permission.’—p. 81.

This widow, it seems, was not disposed to waste time by making regular approaches, like those by which Widow Wadman undermined the outworks of the unsuspecting Uncle Toby, but was determined to carry the citadel by storm.

• ‘The widow Zuma has been kind enough to send me provisions ready cooked, in great abundance, ever since I have been here. Now that she has failed with Richard, she has offered Pascoe a handsome female slave for a wife, if he could manage to bring about matters with me. Not being much afraid of myself, and wishing to see the interior arrangement of her house, I went and visited her. I found her house large, and full of male and female slaves; the males lying about the outer huts, the females more in the interior. In the centre of

of the huts was a square one of large dimensions surrounded by a verandah, with screens of matting all around except in one place, where there was hung a tanned bullock's hide; to this spot I was led up, and, on its being drawn on one side, I saw the lady sitting cross-legged on a small Turkey carpet, like one of our hearth rugs, a large leather cushion under her left knee; her goora pot, which was a large old-fashioned English pewter mug, by her side, and a calabash of water to wash her mouth out, as she alternately kept eating goora and chewing tobacco-snuff, the custom with all ranks, male or female, who can procure them: on her right side lay a whip. At a little distance, squatted on the ground, sat a dwarfish, hump-backed, female slave, with a wide mouth but good eyes: she had on no clothing, if I except a profusion of strings of beads and coral round her neck and waist. This personage served the purpose of a bell in our country, and what, I suppose, would in old times have been called a page. The lady herself was dressed in a white coarse muslin turban; her neck profusely decorated with necklaces of coral and gold chains, amongst which was one of rubies and gold beads; her eyebrows and eyelashes blacked, her hair dyed with indigo, and her hands and feet with heena: around her body she had a fine striped silk and cotton country cloth, which came as high as her tremendous breasts, and reached as low as her ankles; in her right hand she held a fan made of stained grass, of a square form. She desired me to sit down on the carpet beside her, which I did, and she began fanning me, and sent Hump-back to bring out her finery for me to look at; which consisted of four gold bracelets, two large paper dressing-cases with looking-glasses, and several strings of coral, silver rings, and bracelets, with a number of other trifling articles. After a number of compliments, and giving me an account of all her wealth, I was led through one apartment into another, cool, clean, and ornamented with pewter dishes and bright brass pans. She now told me her husband had been dead these ten years, that she had only one son, and he was darker than herself; that she loved white men, and would go to Boussa with me; that she would send for a malem, or man of learning, and read the fatha with me. I thought this was carrying the joke a little too far, and began to look very serious, on which she sent for the looking-glass, and looking at herself, then offering it me, said, to be sure she was rather older than me, but very little, and what of that? This was too much, and I made my retreat as soon as I could, determined never to come to such close quarters with her again.'—pp. 85, 86.

Wawa is said to contain from 18 to 20,000 inhabitants; it is surrounded by a good high clay wall, and dry ditch; and is described as the neatest, most compact, and best walled town between it and Badagry. The following, however, is no very flattering account of its inhabitants.

'The virtue of chastity I do not believe to exist in Wawa. Even the widow Zuma lets out her female slaves for hire, like the rest of the people of the town. Neither is sobriety held as a virtue. I never
was

was in a place in my life where drunkenness was so general. Governor, priest, and layman, and even some of the ladies, drink to excess. I was pestered for three or four days by the governor's daughter, who used to come several times in a day, painted and bedizened in the highest style of Wawa fashion, but always half tipsy; I could only get rid of her by telling her that I prayed and looked at the stars all night, never drank any thing stronger than *rou-in-zafir*, which they call my tea,—literally *hot water*: she always departed in a flood of tears. Notwithstanding their want of chastity, and drunkenness, they are a merry people, and have behaved well to me. They appear to have plenty of the necessaries of life, and a great many of the luxuries, some of which they would be better without—this being the direct road from Bornou, Houssa, and Nyffé, to Gonja, Dahomey, and Jannah.—p. 93.

They are, notwithstanding, said to be honest, cheerful, good-natured, and hospitable. The women good-looking, and the men strong and well made, partly Mahomedans and partly Pagans.

From hence, it was settled that our traveller should proceed across the Quorra, to a city called Koofu; but as Boussa was higher up the river than the common ferry of Comie, and he was determined to visit the spot where Muongo Park perished, the governor promised to forward his servant and baggage to the former place, where he was to meet them after his visit to Boussa. This town he found, on his arrival, to be situated on an island formed by two branches of the Quorra, the smaller and more westerly one named the Menai, which he crossed by a canoe, the horses swimming over. On waiting on the sultan, by whom, as usual, he was kindly received, his first inquiry was concerning some white men, who were lost in the river some twenty years ago, near this place.

‘He seemed rather uneasy at this question, and I observed that he stammered in his speech. He assured me he had nothing belonging to them; that he was a little boy when the event happened. I said I wanted nothing but the books and papers, and to learn from him a correct account of the manner of their death; and that with his permission, I would go and visit the spot where they were lost. He said no, I must not go; it was a very bad place. Having heard that part of the boat still remained, I asked him if it was so: he replied that such a report was untrue; that she did remain on the rocks for some time after, but had gone to pieces and floated down the river long ago. I said if he would give me the books and papers it would be the greatest favour he could possibly confer on me. He again assured me that nothing remained with him,—every thing of that kind had gone into the hands of the learned men; but that if any were now in existence he would procure them and give them to me. I then asked him if he would allow me to inquire of the old people in the town the particulars of the affair, as
some

some of them must have seen it. He appeared very uneasy, gave me no answer, and I did not press him further.'—pp. 100, 101.

Not satisfied with this, Clapperton returned to the subject:—

'The sultan, when I inquired of him again to-day about the papers of my unfortunate countryman, said that the late imam, a Fellata, had had possession of all the books and papers, and that he had fled from Boussa some time since. This was a death-blow to all future inquiries here; and the whole of the information concerning the affair of the boat, her crew, and cargo, which I was likely to gain here, I have already stated. Every one, in fact, appeared uneasy when I asked for information, and said it had happened before their remembrance, or that they did not see it. They pointed out the place where the boat struck, and the unfortunate crew perished. Even this was done with caution, and as if by stealth; though, in every thing unconnected with that affair, they were most ready to give me what information I asked; and never in my life have I been treated with more hospitality or kindness.'—p. 104.

The place where the vessel was sunk is in the eastern channel, where the river breaks over a grey slate rock extending quite across it. A little lower down, the river had a fall of three or four feet. Here, and still farther down, the whole united streams of the Quorra were not above three-fourths the breadth of the Thames at Somerset-house. On returning to the ferry, Clapperton found a messenger from the king of Youri, who had sent him a present of a camel.

'He said the king, before he left Youri, had shown him two books, very large, and printed, that had belonged to the white men that were lost in the boat at Boussa; that he had been offered a hundred and seventy mitgalls of gold for them, by a merchant from Bornou, who had been sent by a Christian on purpose for them. I advised him to tell the king, that he ought to have sold them; that I would not give five mitgalls for them; but that, if he would send them, I would give him an additional present; and that he would be doing an acceptable thing to the king of England by sending them, and that he would not act like a king if he did not. I gave him for his master one of the mock-gold chains, a common sword, and ten yards of silk, and said I would give him a handsome gun and some more silk, if he would send the books. On asking him if there were any books like my journal, which I showed him, he said there was one, but that his master had given it to an Arab merchant ten years ago; but the merchant was killed by the Fellatas on his way to Kano, and what had become of that book afterwards he did not know.'—pp. 122, 123.

Upon this, Clapperton sent a person with a letter to Youri—

'Mohamed, the Fezzanie, whom I had hired at Tabra, and whom I had sent to the chief of Youri for the books and papers of the late Mungo Park, returned, bringing me a letter from that person, which contained

contained the following account of the death of that unfortunate traveller: that not the least injury was done to him at Youri, or by the people of that country; that the people of Boussa had killed them, and taken all their riches; that the books in his possession were given him by the Imam of Boussa; that they were lying on the top of the goods in the boat when she was taken; that not a soul was left alive belonging to the boat; that the bodies of two black men were found in the boat chained together; that the white men jumped overboard; that the boat was made of two canoes joined fast together, with an awning or roof behind; that he, the sultan, had a gun, double-barrelled, and a sword, and two books that had belonged to those in the boat; that he would give me the books whenever I went to Youri myself for them, not until then.*—pp. 132, 133.*

The last account of this unfortunate traveller, is stated to be from an eye-witness.

'This evening I was talking with a man that is married to one of my landlady's female slaves, called her daughter, about the manners of the Cumbrie and about England; when he gave the following account of the death of Park and of his companions, of which he was an eye-witness. He said that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately just at the time that the Fellatas first rose in arms, and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them, not doubting that they were the advance guard of the Fellata army then ravaging Sou-dan, under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffé and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly coming among them. The number of persons in the boat was only four, two white men and two blacks: that they found great treasure in the boat; but that the people had all died who eat of the meat that was found in her. This account I believe to be the

* This is not exactly what the sultan says in his letter, of which the following is a translation by Mr. Salamé:—

'This is issued from the Prince or Lord of Yàoury to Abdallah, the English Captain, salutation and esteem. Hence your messenger has arrived and brought us your letter, and we understand what you write. You inquire about a thing that has no trace with us. The Prince or Lord of Boossy is older (or greater) than us, because he is our grandfather. Why did you not inquire of him about what you wish for? You were at Boossy, and did not inquire of the inhabitants what was the cause of the destruction of the ship and your friends, nor what happened between them of evil; but you do now inquire of one who is far off, and knows nothing of the cause of their (the Christians') destruction.

'As to the book which is in our hand, it is true, and we did not give it to your messenger, but we will deliver it to you, if you come and show us a letter from your lord. You shall then see it and have it, if God be pleased; and much esteem and Sàlâm be to you, and prayer and peace, unto the last of the apostles (MOHAMMED.)'

most

most correct of all that I have yet got; and was told to me without my putting any questions, or showing any eagerness for him to go on with his story. I was often puzzled to think, after the kindness I had received at Boussa, what could have caused such a change in the minds of these people in the course of twenty years, and of their different treatment of two European travellers. I was even disposed at times to flatter myself that there was something in me that belonged to nobody else, to make them treat me and my people with so much kindness; for the friendship of the king of Boussa I consider as my only protection in this country.'—pp. 134, 135.

This is by far the most probable, and all of them corroborate the story generally disbelieved at the time, which Isaaco brought back from Amadoo-Fatima. There is yet a chance, we think, though but a slender one, that the journal of Park may be recovered.

Clapperton found, on reaching the ferry at Comie, that so far from his baggage having gone on to Koolfu, it had been stopped at Wawa by the governor; and that, to his great surprise, the widow Zuma was at a neighbouring village, from whom he presently received some boiled rice, and a fowl, with an invitation to go and stop at her house. The governor's son informed him, that his baggage would not be allowed to leave Wawa, till the widow was sent back. 'What have I to do with the widow?' asked Clapperton. 'You have,' he replied, 'and you must come back with me and take her.' Clapperton, however, positively refused to have any thing to do with or say to her. His servant Richard at this moment returned from Boussa, whither he had followed his master, to acquaint him with the detention of his baggage; told him that it was owing to the widow's having left Wawa, about half an hour after he did, with drums beating before her, and a train after her, first calling at his lodgings before she waited on the governor; that she had given old Pascoe a female slave for wife, without the governor's permission; and that she had declared, she intended following him to Kano, from whence she would return to make war on the governor, as she had done once before.—'This,' says Clapperton, 'let me into their politics with a vengeance: it would have been a fine end to my journey indeed, if I had deposed old Mohamed, and set up for myself, with a walking tun-butt for a queen.' Clapperton, however, determined to go back to Wawa to release his baggage, and scarcely had he got there, when the arrival of the jolly widow was announced, whose appearance and escort we must let our traveller describe.

'This morning the widow arrived in town, with a drummer beating before her, whose cap was bedecked with ostrich feathers; a bowman walking on foot at the head of her horse; a train behind, armed with bows,

bows, swords, and spears. She rode a-straddle on a fine horse, whose trappings were of the first order for this country. The head of the horse was ornamented with brass plates, the neck with brass bells, and charms sewed in various coloured leather, such as red, green, and yellow; a scarlet breast-piece, with a brass plate in the centre; scarlet saddle-cloth, trimmed with lace. She was dressed in red silk trowsers, and red morocco boots; on her head a white turban, and over her shoulders a mantle of silk and gold. Had she been somewhat younger and less corpulent, there might have been great temptation to head her party, for she has certainly been a very handsome woman, and such as would have been thought a beauty in any country in Europe.'—pp. 113, 114.

The widow was summoned before the governor, went on her knees, and, after a lecture on disobedience and vanity, was dismissed; but, on turning her back, she shook the dust off her feet, with great indignation and contempt; and 'I went home,' says Clapperton, 'determined never to be caught in such a foolish affair in future.'

He now proceeded to the ferry, crossed the Quorra, which was about a quarter of a mile in width, running about two miles an hour, and from ten to fifteen feet deep. The canoes were about twenty feet long and two wide. He was now in the province of Nyffé; the country well cultivated, and the ant-hills near El Wata were the largest he ever saw, being from fifteen to twenty feet high, resembling so many Gothic cathedrals in miniature. In this part of the country, the natives smelt iron ore, and every village had three or four blacksmiths' shops in it. The houses are generally painted with figures of human beings, huge snakes, alligators, or tortoises. On arriving at Koolfu, our traveller took up his abode with a Widow Laddie, huge, fat, and deaf, very rich, sells salt, natron, *booza*, and *roa bum*, or palm wine. The *booza* is made from guinea corn, honey, Chili pepper, and the root of a coarse grass, and is a very fiery and intoxicating beverage. The whole night was passed in singing, dancing, and drinking *booza*. The women, too, dressed in all their finery, joined the men, danced, sang and drank *booza* with the best of them. These scenes are exactly similar to those which Burckhardt describes to have taken place among the bouza-drinkers of Berber and Shendy.

Koolfu is a sort of central market, where traders meet from every part of Soudan and western Africa. It is a walled town, with four gates, and may contain from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants, including all classes, the slave and the free, who live together and eat together without distinction, the men slaves with the men, and the women with the women; for, in the true

style of all orientals, the two sexes eat their meals apart, and never sit down to any repast together. They are represented as a kind-hearted people, and affectionate towards one another, but they will cheat, if they can—and who is there, we may ask, that does not, in the way of trade? From Koolfu to Kufu the country was woody, the trees along the path consisting mostly of the butter tree. The villages were numerous, and cultivation extensive; but so insecure did the inhabitants consider themselves, that every man, working in the fields, was armed to defend himself against the inroads of the Fellatas.

Zaria, the capital of Zeg-zeg, is a large city, inhabited almost wholly by Fellatas, who have their mosques with minarets, and their houses flat roofed. It is said to be more populous than Kano, a city which is estimated by Clapperton to contain from thirty to forty thousand inhabitants. Many of them are from Foota Bonda and Foota Torra, and seem to know and to have had dealings with the French and English on the coast, and, as our author says, have not improved by the acquaintance. The environs of this city are said to be beautiful—like some of the finest parts of England in the month of April, and grain and fruits of various kinds are cultivated both within and without the walls. The beauty and fertility of the country continued all the way to Kano, which our traveller entered on the 20th July, 1826.

Here Clapperton met his former friend and acquaintance, Hadje Hat Sala, who informed him of the state of the war between Bello and the Sheik of Bornou. Though still in bad health, he determined to proceed at once to Bello, and to leave his servant Richard and old Pascoe at Kano, under the protection of Hadje, who was authorized to grant them whatever money they might want. At Jaza he met his old friend the Gadado, or prime minister; who greeted him with great kindness; told him that Bello had received his letter from Koolfu, and had sent a messenger to conduct him to Soccatoo. It seems, however, that the gadado prevailed on him to remain for some time in Kano, where he was plundered of several articles, and, among others, of his journal and remark book, a circumstance which has occasioned an hiatus in his narrative from July to October, on the 12th of which month we find him, with a part of the Sultan's army, near Zurmie, on the borders of a large lake, or rather chain of lakes, on the plain of Gondamie, approaching nearly to Soccatoo.

‘ The borders of these lakes are the resort of numbers of elephants and other wild beasts. The appearance at this season, and at the spot where I saw it, was very beautiful; all the acacia trees were in blossom, some with white flowers, others with yellow, forming a contrast

trast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. I observed some fine large fish leaping in the lake. Some of the troops were bathing; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels, and asses: the lake as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, on its approach to the horizon, throws the shadows of the flowery acacias along its surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, the rude huts of grass or branches of trees rising as if by magic, every where the calls on the names of Mohamed, Abdo, Mustafa, &c., with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake, and its sloping green and woody banks.—p. 181.

He now learned from the gadado that the Sultan Bello was encamped before Coonia, the capital city of Goobur, which had rebelled against him, and which he was determined to subdue before he returned to Soccato. The Kano troops therefore moved forwards, and Clapperton along with them. They soon reached the main army; Bello received him most kindly; told him he had sent two messengers, one of whom went as far as Katunga; said he would receive the king's letter and present at Soccato, as he intended to make his attack on the city the following day. We cannot omit Clapperton's description of this curious assault.

' After the midday prayers, all, except the eunuchs, camel drivers, and such other servants as were of use only to prevent theft, whether mounted or on foot, marched towards the object of attack; and soon arrived before the walls of the city. I also accompanied them, and took up my station close to the Gadado. The march had been the most disorderly that can be imagined; horse and foot intermingling in the greatest confusion, all rushing to get forward; sometimes the followers of one chief tumbling amongst those of another, when swords were half unsheathed, but all ended in making a face, or putting on a threatening aspect. We soon arrived before Coonia, the capital of the rebels of Goobur, which was not above half a mile in diameter, being nearly circular, and built on the bank of one of the branches of the rivers, or lakes, which I have mentioned. Each chief, as he came up, took his station, which, I suppose, had previously been assigned to him. The number of fighting men brought before the town could not, I think, be less than fifty or sixty thousand, horse and foot, of which the foot amounted to more than nine-tenths. For the depth of two hundred yards, all round the walls was a dense circle of men and horses. The horse kept out of bow-shot, while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination, and kept up a straggling fire with about thirty muskets, and the shooting of arrows. In front of the sultan, the Zegzeg troops had one French fusil: the Kano forces had forty-one muskets. These fellows, whenever they fired their pieces,

ran out of bow-shot to load; all of them were slaves; not a single Fellata had a musket. The enemy kept up a sure and slow fight, seldom throwing away their arrows, until they saw an opportunity of letting fly with effect. Now and then a single horse would gallop up to the ditch, and brandish his spear, the rider taking care to cover himself with his large leathern shield, and return as fast as he went, generally calling out lustily, when he got among his own party, "Shields to the wall!" "You people of the Gadado, or Atego," &c., "why don't you hasten to the wall?" To which some voices would call out, "Oh! you have a good large shield to cover you!" The cry of "Shields to the wall," was constantly heard from the several chiefs to their troops; but they disregarded the call, and neither chiefs nor vassals moved from the spot. At length the men in quilted armour went up "per order." They certainly cut not a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun, their long quilted cloaks of gaudy colours, reaching over part of the horses' tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horse's armour was notched, or vandyked, to look like a mane; on his forehead and over his nose, was a brass or tin plate, as also a semicircular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear; and he had to be assisted to mount his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy; it required two men to lift him on; and there were six of them belonging to each governor, and six to the sultan. I at first thought the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines; but no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Coonia, and it did wonderful execution, for it brought down the van of the quilted men, who fell from his horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse's back at a miller's door; but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen. He had got two balls through his breast; one went through his body and both sides of the robe: the other went through and lodged in the quilted armour opposite the shoulders.—p. 185-187.

Nor must the services of the old picturesque nurse be overlooked.

The most useful, and as brave as any one of us, was an old female slave of the sultan's, a native of Zamfra, five of whose former governors she said she had nursed. She was of a dark copper colour. In dress and countenance, very like one of Captain Lyon's female Esquimaux. She was mounted on a long-backed bright bay horse, with a scraggy tail, crop-eared, and the mane as if the rats had eaten part of it; and he was not in high condition. She rode a-straddle; had on a conical straw dish-cover for a hat, or to shade her face from the sun, a short, dirty, white bedgown, a pair of dirty, white, loose and wide trowsers, a pair of Houssa boots, which are wide, and came up over the knee, fastened with a string round the waist. She had also a whip and spurs. At her saddle-bow hung about half a dozen gourds, filled

filled with water, and a brass basin to drink out of; and with this she supplied the wounded and the thirsty. I certainly was much obliged to her, for she twice gave me a basin of water. The heat and the dust made thirst almost intolerable.'—p. 188.

At the conclusion of this memorable battle, in which nothing was concluded, the whole army set off in the greatest confusion, men and quadrupeds tumbling over each other, and upsetting every thing that fell in their way. Clapperton made his way to Soccatoo, where he found the same house he had formerly inhabited prepared for his reception. Here, and in the neighbourhood, he resided nearly six months, in the course of which time he collected much information respecting the first irruption of the Fellatas, or Foulahs, from Foota Torra, Foota Jella, &c., on the western side of Africa, under Othman Danfodio, the father of Bello; the manner in which he succeeded in subjugating the greater part of Houssa; the manners of these Mahomedans; the state of society, of their agriculture, commerce, and manufactures: for an account of all which we must refer our readers to the volume itself, contenting ourselves with briefly running over the author's transactions with the present ruler, who certainly did not treat him with that kindness he had a right to expect, though some palliating circumstances may be pleaded in excuse, on account of the peculiar situation in which he was then placed with regard to the Sheik of Bornou.

A very few days after Clapperton's arrival in Soccatoo, he was visited by Sidi-Sheik, Bello's doctor, and one of his secretaries, who, after some preamble, told him, that by whatever road he might choose to return home, he should be sent, under an escort, —were it even by Bornou,—though it was right to inform him that, on his former visit, the Sheik of Bornou had written, advising Bello to put him (Clapperton) to death. This, Clapperton observed, was very extraordinary, after the kind manner in which the sheik had behaved to him, to the very last hour of his departure, and insisted on seeing the letter. For this purpose he lost not a moment in repairing to the gadado, who affected ignorance, and said there must be some mistake, as he was sure there was no such letter. The next day the gadado took him to the sultan, who told him that such a letter had certainly been written with the sheik's sanction, by Hadje Mohamed, who therein said he was a spy, and that the English had taken possession of India by first going there by ones and twos, until they got strong enough to seize upon the whole country. A few days after this it was announced to Clapperton that the sultan had sent for his servant and all his baggage to be brought from Kano to Soccatoo, and in a day or two afterwards Lander actually arrived with it. The next
step

step was to seize the baggage, under pretence that Clapperton was conveying guns and warlike stores to the Sultan of Bornou; and lastly, he ordered Lord Bathurst's letter to the sheik to be given up to him. This conduct of the sultan had such an effect on Clapperton's spirits, that his servant Richard says he never saw him smile afterwards; but he found it in vain to remonstrate. He told the gadado that the conduct of Bello was not like that of a prince of the Faithful; that he had broken his faith, and done him all the injury in his power. The gadado now assured him that not only the sheik, but the two hadjis of Tripoli, had written letters to Bello, denouncing him as a spy, and observing that the English wanted to take Africa as they had done India. 'I told the gadado they were acting like robbers towards me, in defiance of all good faith.' In short, their jealousy proceeded so far as to seize every thing that could be supposed to be any part of the present intended for the Sheik of Bornou.

Not long after this, intelligence was received at Soccatoo, of the total defeat of the Bornou army, which put the sultan in such good spirits, that he began to resume his former kind conduct towards Clapperton, discussing with him which would be the best and safest way for his return to England; but it was now too late; Clapperton's health had never been restored since the first night's fatal sleeping on the reedy banks of a stagnant ditch; and his spirits were now completely broken down by disappointment and ungenerous treatment. His journal about this time, the 12th March, terminates abruptly in the midst of conversation as to the best route to be taken homewards. The rest is supplied by his faithful servant, Lander,

On the same day it appears he was attacked with dysentery, which he told Lander had been brought on by a cold, caught by lying down on the ground which was soft and wet, when heated and fatigued with walking. 'Twenty days,' says Lander, 'my poor master remained in a low and distressed state. His body, from being robust and vigorous, became weak and emaciated, and indeed was little better than a skeleton.' Lander himself was in a fever, and almost unable to stir; but he was assisted in taking care of his master by Pascoe and an old black slave. Towards the beginning of April, Clapperton became alarmingly ill.—

'His sleep was uniformly short and disturbed, and troubled with frightful dreams. In them he frequently reproached the Arabs with much bitterness, but being an utter stranger to that language, I did not understand him. I read to him daily some portions of the New Testament, and the ninety-fifth Psalm, to which he was never weary of listening; and on Sundays added the Church Service, to which he invariably paid the profoundest attention.'—p. 273.

At length, calling honest Lander to his bed-side, Clapperton said—

“Richard, I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying.” Almost choked with grief, I replied, “God forbid, my dear master: you will live many years yet.” “Don’t be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you,” said he: “it is the will of the Almighty; it cannot be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my death; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents, send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the Colonial Office, and let him see you deposit them safely into the hands of the secretary. After I am buried, apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for your journey over the desert, and go in the train of the Arab merchants to Fezzân. On your arrival there, should your money be exhausted, send a messenger to Mr. Warrington, our consul at Tripoli, and wait till he returns with a remittance. On reaching Tripoli, that gentleman will advance what money you may require, and send you to England the first opportunity. Do not lumber yourself with my books; leave them behind, as well as the barometer, boxes, and sticks, and indeed every heavy article you can conveniently part with; give them to Malam Mudey, who will take care of them. The wages I agreed to give you my agents will pay, as well as the sum the government allowed me for a servant; you will of course receive it, as Columbus has never served me. Remark what towns or villages you pass through; pay attention to whatever the chiefs may say to you, and put it on paper. The little money I have, and all my clothes, I leave you: sell the latter, and put what you may receive for them into your pocket; and if, on your journey, you should be obliged to expend it, the government will repay you on your return.” I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, “If it be the will of God to take you, you may rely on my faithfully performing, as far as I am able, all that you have desired; but I trust the Almighty will spare you, and you will yet live to see your country.” “I thought I should at one time, Richard,” continued he; “but all is now over; I shall not be long for this world: but God’s will be done.” He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, “My dear Richard, if you had not been with me, I should have died long ago; I can only thank you, with my latest breath, for your kindness and attachment to me; and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want; but God will reward you.” This conversation occupied nearly two hours, in the course of which my master fainted several times, and was distressed beyond measure. The same evening he fell into a slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said he had heard distinctly the tolling of an English funeral bell. I entreated him to be composed, and observed that sick people frequently fancy they hear and see things that cannot possibly have any existence. He made no reply.—pp. 274, 275.

A few

A few days after this he breathed his last.* Lander immediately sent

* From a brief memoir of Clapperton prefixed to this volume, we learn that his grandfather and father were respectable medical practitioners in the county of Dumfries; that the traveller (born in 1788), being the youngest of a very large family, entered life in the merchant service, and was, in fact, *impressed* into a king's ship; that an uncle, a Captain of Marines, accidentally found out his situation, and, being a friend to his captain, Sir Thomas Livingston, immediately got him to be put on the quarter-deck, as a midshipman. He was one of the midshipmen sent, in 1814, to Plymouth, to learn the new sword-exercise of Angelo, and afterwards distributed through the fleet, to teach it generally. Clapperton, being a young man of Herculean strength and mercurial agility combined, was sure to distinguish himself in any such exercise: but it was by his gallant conduct in command of a small detachment, in Upper Canada, during Mr. Maddison's war, that he attracted the special notice of Sir E. Owen, who gave him an order as acting lieutenant, and subsequently interested the Admiralty in his favour. * An anecdote of his Canadian career is too beautiful to be omitted.

'In the winter, he was in command of a blockhouse on Lake Huron, with a party of men, for the purpose of defending it: he had only one small gun for its defence; he was attacked by an American schooner; the blockhouse was soon demolished by the superiority of the enemy's fire, and he found that himself and the party must either become prisoners of war, or form the resolution of immediately crossing Lake Michigan upon the ice, a journey of nearly sixty miles, to York, the capital of Upper Canada, and the nearest British dépôt. Notwithstanding the difficulty and danger attending a journey of such length over the ice in the depth of winter, the alternative was soon adopted, and the party set out to cross the lake, but had not gone more than ten or twelve miles, before a boy, one of the party, was unable to proceed from the cold; every one of the sailors declared that they were unable to carry him, as they were so numbed with the cold, and had scarcely strength sufficient to support themselves. Clapperton's generous nature could not bear the idea of a fellow-creature being left to perish under such appalling circumstances, for a dreadful snow-storm had commenced; he therefore took the boy upon his back, holding him with his left hand, and supporting himself from slipping with a staff in his right. In this manner he continued to go forward for eight or nine miles, when he perceived that the boy relaxed his hold; and on Clapperton ~~examining~~ ^{inquiring} the cause, he found that the boy was in a dying state, from the cold, and ~~he~~ ^{he} soon after expired. The sufferings of the whole party were great before they reached York; the stockings and shoes completely worn off their feet; their bodies in a dreadful state from the want of nourishment, they having nothing during the journey except one bag of meal. From the long inaction of Clapperton's left hand, in carrying the boy upon his back, he lost, from the effects of the frost, the first joint of his thumb,'—pp. vii, viii.

Being paid off in 1817, Clapperton returned to Scotland, and remained quietly with his family, amusing himself with rural sports, for three years; till accidentally meeting Dr. Oudney, on a visit to Edinburgh, in 1820, the first notion of an expedition to Africa was suggested to him. Weary of inaction, he eagerly offered to accompany Oudney, and the doctor, hearing from a mutual friend that in every variety of fortune Clapperton's courage and good temper might be relied on, and considering him, from the extraordinary vigour of his bodily frame and constitution, to be in a manner made for such purposes, the matter was soon determined. The rest of this gallant and gentle-hearted officer's story we need not recur to. The Scotch readers of this book will not fail to observe one particular of Clapperton's pedigree—viz., that his grandmother was a daughter of Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon; the officer by whom the soldiers that committed the massacre of Glencoe were commanded. General Stewart, in his history of the Highland regiments, tells a most woeful story of a Captain Campbell of this family, who, being in command, not many years back, where a deserter was under orders for execution, received a *reprieve*, but with strict injunctions not to produce it until the man was on his knees expecting the fatal discharge of muskets. Campbell, when the moment was come, put his hand into his pocket, to pull out the reprieve, but in his hurry he plucked out a white handkerchief along with it; the soldiers, taking this for the signal, fired, and the man fell to rise no more. Captain Campbell exclaimed 'The curse. of

sent to ask permission of the sultan to bury the corpse, and that he would point out the place where his remains might be deposited. Bello immediately ordered four slaves to dig a grave at the village of Jungavie, about five miles to the south-east of Soccatoo, whither the body was conveyed. When all was ready, 'I opened a prayer-book,' says this faithful servant, 'and, amid showers of tears, read the funeral service over the remains of my valued master. This being done, the union jack was taken off, the body slowly lowered into the earth, and I wept bitterly as I gazed for the last time upon all that remained of my generous and intrepid master.' He then agreed to give some of the natives two thousand cowries, to build a house four feet high over the spot, which they promised to do.

'I then returned, disconsolate and oppressed, to my solitary habitation; and, leaning my head on my hand, could not help being deeply affected with my lonesome and dangerous situation—a hundred and fifteen days' journey from the sea-coast, surrounded by a selfish and cruel race of strangers, my only friend and protector mouldering in his grave, and myself suffering dreadfully from fever. I felt, indeed, as if I stood alone in the world, and earnestly wished I had been laid by the side of my dear master: all the trying evils I had endured never affected me half so much as the bitter reflections of that distressing period. After a sleepless night, I went alone to the grave, and found that nothing had been done; nor did there seem the least inclination, on the part of the inhabitants of the village, to perform their agreement. Knowing it would be useless to remonstrate with them, I hired two slaves at Soccatoo the next day, who went immediately to work, and the house over the grave was finished on the 15th.'—pp. 277, 278.

Ten days after this, Lauder still being in a state of fever, the gadado and two others came with a commission from the sultan to search his boxes, as he had been informed they were filled with gold and silver; but they were surprised on finding that there was not money enough to bear his expenses to the coast. They took from him, however, two guns, some powder and shot, and some other articles, for the payment of which they gave him an order on Kano for a certain number of cowries. After this, the sultan, with some hesitation, allowed him to leave Soccatoo.

This mean conduct of Bello detracts sadly from that reputation which his treatment of Clapperton on his first visit to Soccatoo had gained for him in Europe. We blame him not for taking every precaution that no contraband of war should pass

of Glencoe is on my head'; and never lifted up his head again from that miserable hoir. There are many honest Highlanders at this day, who will think poor Clapperton's untimely and unmerited fate abundantly accounted for by his having the blood of Glendyon in his veins.

over to his enemy, more especially if he had the letters we have mentioned, and which we have not the least doubt he had received from that old rogue of Tripoli. Pressed as the sultan was, on the one hand, by the rebellious province of Ghoober, and on the other by the advance of the Sheik of Bornou; calling to mind probably the slave-hunting expedition in which Denham was engaged, and finding that arms were a part of Clapperton's present for the Sheik of Bornou, it is not surprising that his jealousy should have been awakened; though it was not necessary to accompany it with acts of robbery and brutality,—but Bello is an Arab, and the Arabs are, and always were, a cruel-hearted and treacherous race. It had long been the fashion to praise these people for the simplicity of their manners, and their hospitality to strangers: but what did it amount to? The stranger whom they had caressed, protected, and nourished, if observed to have any thing of value about him, they would way-lay and murder within sight of their habitation. Whether Bello ever had any intention to murder Clapperton can only be matter for conjecture, but he is strongly suspected of being instrumental to the death of the unfortunate Laing, concerning whose fate we have now received authentic information, which it may not be amiss to give in this place.

Our readers may recollect the doubts we entertained of the reported murder of Major Laing, and our opinion that the story arose from the circumstance of his being attacked, plundered, and severely wounded by the Tuaries. From those wounds we now know he recovered, and actually reached Timbuctoo, where he was well received by the governor, and remained five weeks, about the end of which time his host received and communicated to him an order from Laboo, the Sultan of Massina (Laing himself says Bello), that he should forthwith be sent away; and that three days after he had left the city, he was basely murdered by his conductor. The following letters, written by Laing himself, will be read with interest: the first gives an account of the attack of the Tuaries; the other is dated from Timbuctoo.

‘ *Blad Sidi Mahomed, May 10th, 1826.*

‘ My dear Consul,—I drop you a line only, by an uncertain conveyance, to acquaint you that I am recovering from my severe wounds far beyond any calculation that the most sanguine expectation could have formed; and that to-morrow, please God, I leave this place for Timbuctoo, which I hope to reach on the 18th. I have suffered much, but the detail must be reserved till another period, when I shall “a tale unfold” of base treachery and woe that will surprise you. Some imputation is attachable to the old Sheik (Babani), but as he is now no more, I shall not accuse him: he died very suddenly, about a month since.

‘ When

‘ When I write from Timbuctoo, I shall detail precisely how I was betrayed, and nearly murdered in my sleep. In the mean time, I shall acquaint you with the number and nature of my wounds, in all amounting to twenty-four, eighteen of which are exceedingly severe. I have five sabre cuts on the crown of the head, and three on the left temple—all fractures, from which much bone has come away; one on my left cheek, which fractured the jaw-bone and has divided the ear, forming a very unsightly wound; one over the right temple, and a dreadful gash on the back of the neck, which slightly scratched the windpipe, &c., &c. I am, nevertheless, as I have already said, doing well; and hope yet to return to England, with much important geographical information. The map, indeed, requires much correction; and, please God, I shall yet do much, in addition to what I have already done, towards putting it right.’

The sudden illness of Sidi Mahomed Mocktar, and subsequent death, and the expected return of his son, Sidi Mocktar, detained Major Laing two months longer at the place, from whence the foregoing letter was written; and he did not arrive at Timbuctoo till the 18th August, as appears from a letter to the Consul of Tripoli, of which the following is a copy.

‘ *Tinbuctù*, Sept. 21st, 1826.

‘ My dear Consul,—A very short epistle must serve to apprise you, as well as my dearest Emma, of my arrival at, and departure from, the great capital of Central Africa; the former of which events took place on the 18th ult.—the latter will take place, please God, at an early hour to-morrow morning. I have abandoned all thoughts of retracing my steps to Tripoli, and came here with an intention of proceeding to Jenné by water; but this intention has been entirely upset, and my situation in *Tinbuctù* rendered exceedingly unsafe, by the unfriendly disposition of the Foulahs of Massina, who have this year upset the dominion of the Tuaric, and made themselves patrons of *Tinbuctù*, and whose Sultan, Bello, has expressed his hostility towards me in no unequivocal terms, in a letter which Al Saidi Boubokar, the Sheik of this town, received from him a few days after my arrival. He has now got intelligence of my being in *Tinbuctù*; and as a party of Foulahs are hourly expected, Al Saidi Boubokar, who is an excellent, good man, and who trembles for my safety, has strongly urged my immediate departure; and I am sorry to say that the notice has been so short, and I have so much to do previous to going away, that this is the only communication I shall, for the present, be able to make. My destination is Sego, whither I hope to arrive in fifteen days; but I regret to say the road is a vile one, and my perils are not yet at an end; but my trust is God, who has hitherto bore me up amidst the severest trials, and protected me amidst the numerous dangers to which I have been exposed.

‘ I have no time to give you any account of *Tinbuctù*, but shall briefly state that, in every respect except in size, (which does not exceed

ceed four miles in circumference,) it has completely met my expectations. Kabra is only five miles distant, and is a neat town, situated on the very margin of the river. I have been busily employed, during my stay, searching the records in the town, which are abundant, and in acquiring information of every kind; nor is it with any common degree of satisfaction that I say my perseverance has been amply rewarded. I am now convinced that my hypothesis, concerning the termination of the Niger, is correct.*

• May God bless you all! I shall write you fully from Sego, as also my Lord Bathurst; and I rather apprehend that both letters will reach you at one time, as none of the Ghadamis merchants leave Timbuctù for ~~two~~ months to come. Again, may God bless you all! My dear Emma must excuse my writing. I have begun a hundred letters to her, but have been unable to get through one. She is ever uppermost in my thoughts; and I look forward, with delight, to the hour of our meeting, which, please God, is now at no great distance.

This letter was left behind at Timbuctoo, and appears to have been brought by the nephew of Babani, together with an important document in Arabic, of which the following is the substance:—

‘About a month after their safe arrival at Timbuctoo [Laing and young Moktar], the Prince of the Faithful, Sultan Ahmad Ben Mohammed Labo,† the lord and sovereign of all those countries, wrote a letter to his lieutenant-governor Osman, containing as follows:—

“I have heard that a Christian intends coming to you; but whether he has already arrived or not, I do not know. You must prevent him from arriving, if he has not reached you; and if he has, you must expel him the country in such a manner as to leave him no hope of returning to our countries, because I have received a letter from the tribe of Foodah, containing a caution against allowing Christians to come into the Mussulman countries in Foudan; which letter was written in the East, and contained an account of the mischiefs and impieties by which they have corrupted Spain and other countries.”

‘When Governor Osman received this letter, he could not but obey it. He therefore engaged a sheik of the Arabs of the desert, named Ahmed, son of Obeid-allah, son of Rehal, of Soliman Barbooshi, to go out with the Christian, and protect him as far as the town of Arwan. Barbooshi accordingly went with him from Timbuctoo; but, on arriving at his own residence, he treacherously murdered him, and took possession of all his property. This is within our knowledge—we who know the affair, and have seen the letter of the Prince of the Faithful, Sultan Ahmad Labo.’

The document is attested in Timbuctoo by fifteen signatures. The following examination, by the British consul, of Bungola,

* His notion was, that it terminated in the river Volta, which Clapperton has completely disproved.

† This person appears (Appendix, No. I.) to rule over Maséna, Timbuctoo, Jerri, Oonbori, and may be called Sovereign of the Gharb (West) in Soudan. He is a Fellata, to whom it is supposed Bello sent his instructions.

who represents himself as the servant of the late Major Laing, gives the catastrophe of this melancholy story.

‘What is your name?—Bungola.

‘Were you Major Laing’s servant?—Yes; (and he produced the following paper :)

‘Azoad, 2d July 1826.

‘I promise to pay the bearer, Bungola, the sum of six dollars per month, from the 15th Dec. 1825, till my return to Ghadamis; or, on the failure of that event, till the 15th Dec. 1826; previously deducting fifty dollars, which I paid for his freedom. A. GORDON LAING.’

‘Were you with Major Laing at the first attack?—Yes, and wounded.—(Showing his head.)

‘Did you remain with him at Mocktar’s?—Yes.

‘Did you accompany him from thence to Timbuctoo?—Yes.

‘How was he received at Timbuctoo?—Well.

‘How long did he remain at Timbuctoo?—About two months.

‘Did you leave Timbuctoo with Major Laing?—Yes.

‘Who went with you?—A kofle of Arabs.

‘In what direction did you go?—The sun was on my right cheek.

‘Do you know where you were going?—To Sansanding.

‘Did you see any water, and were you molested?—We saw no water, nor were we molested till the night of the third day, when the Arabs of the country attacked and killed my master.

‘Was any one killed besides your master?—I was wounded, but cannot say if any were killed.

‘Were you sleeping near your master?—Yes.

‘How many wounds had your master?—I cannot say; they were all with swords; and in the morning I saw the head had been cut off.

‘Did the person who had charge of your master commit the murder?—Sheik Burbasch, who accompanied the Reis, killed him, being assisted by his black servants, by swords, when asleep.

‘What did the Sheik then do?—He went on to his country. An Arab took me back to Timbuctoo.

‘What property had your master when he was killed?—Two camels: one carried the provisions; the other carried my master and his bags.

‘Where were your master’s papers?—In his bag.

‘Did you endeavour to preserve them?—I was so stunned with the wound, I never thought of the papers.

‘Were the papers brought back to Timbuctoo?—I don’t know.’

And this Arab thus deposes before the kadi of Tripoli:

‘Appeared before me, &c. &c., and maketh oath, according to the established form of the Mahomedan faith, Bungola, servant to the late Major Laing, who swears that he was with his master three days beyond Timbuctoo, and saw his master murdered, and that he actually saw the head separated from the body.

‘Signed, &c. in presence of his highness’s minister,

‘(Signed) H. D. GILES.’

Thus

Thus perished poor Laing, by the hand of an assassin, after being the first to accomplish an object, the attainment of which has long been considered as a desideratum in geography, and the pursuit of which has cost so many valuable lives ! But his death is still the more to be lamented, as the result of his successful enterprise is likely to be unavailing for the benefit of the living. There is, however, a faint hope that his journals may be recovered. An Arab, who carried a correct account of the murder to our consul at Mogadore, reported also, that a friend of his had books, not printed, but written, that belonged to the Christian, and thought he could get them, in which attempt we need scarcely say the consul gave him every encouragement.

We must now return to the poor desolate Lander, whose journal will be read with great interest. At first Bello seems to have made up his mind to detain him ; but on the representation of one of his officers, of the impolicy as well as injustice of such a measure, he let him go, but threatened to detain the old Houssa negro. At length, however, they proceeded to Kano, and striking off to the eastward of the former route, passed several towns, at all of which they were kindly received. At Damoy, Lander was told that a range of hills, which appeared in the east, was inhabited by the ferocious Yamyams, who were declared by all to be cannibals. We are not apt to give credit to what even the savages may say of another, especially when they tell of greater horrors as the unnatural propensity to devour human flesh, as Bello asserted to Clapperton, that he had seen a man must as a fact that these same people are in the country. I have no hope of so, we shall at least give his account of the letter he received from the Sultan allowing Christians to

“ The sultan said, it was strange what peonnan ; which letter was trict of Umburm, belonging to Jacoba, the count of the mischiefs and I did not think any people existed on them and other countries.” their own kind as food ; that certainly there, he could not but obey different parts of the world who eat their enemies of the desert, named he had seen them eat human flesh ; that on the human Barbooshi, to telling him of these people, he could hardly believe the town of Arwan. a Taurick being hanged for theft, he saw five of them but on arrival part, with which he was so disgusted that he sent them back to Jacoba soon after. He said that whenever a person complained of sickness amongst these men, even though only a slight headach, they are killed instantly, for fear they should be lost by death, as they will not eat a person that has died by sickness ; that the person falling sick is requested by some other family, and repaid when they had a sick relation ; that universally when they went to war, the dead and wounded were always eaten ; that the hearts were claimed by the head men ; and that, on asking them why they eat human flesh, they said it was better than any other ; that the heart and breasts of a woman were

were the best part of the body; and that they had no want of food, as an excuse for eating one another. Indian corn, millet, doura, and sweet potatoes, were in plenty; that both men and women went naked, though their houses were much neater and cleaner than those of the common people of Soccatoo; that, excepting this bad custom, they were very cleanly, and otherwise not bad people, except that they were Kaffirs; that he would make me a present of some of them to let the king of England see that such was the fact. I said, I would rather be excused taking them, as both the king and the people of England would be too much disgusted at seeing such a sight. You will see them, he said, when you go to Jacoba: he would write to the governor to show them to me when I went.'—pp. 250, 251.

At Fullindushee the inhabitants were all of them perfectly naked, disgusting in their manners, and filthy in their persons, but exceedingly artless and good-humoured; and Lander says they are a fine handsome people, bearing a strong resemblance to Europeans. He describes the vast and beautiful plain of Cuttup, near the river Coodoonia, to contain nearly five hundred villages almost adjoining each other. He mentions, among the numerous trees growing there, the plantain, the palm, and the cocoa-nut in great abundance; and, in his return to the northward, he passed large groves of cocoa-nut trees. We perfectly recollect that one of the strongest objections to the truth of Adams's narrative made by Sir Joseph Banks was, his mentioning cocoa-nut trees growing in the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo, Sir Joseph affirming that

'*He could not grow beyond a certain distance from the sea-coast.*
all with sword. among many instances, that we ought not hastily to
'Did the person ~~who~~ regarding Africa, which is not physically
der?—Sheik Burbasch, observation of Pliny, that '*Africa semper*
assisted by his black serva

'What did the Sheik theaving Dunrora, four armed men rode Arab took me back to Timbuctoo immediately return to the king of

'What property had ~~was~~ in vain, and he therefore complied camels: one carried ~~the~~ could. On his arrival the king told him and his bags.

'Where were ye of Funda, the latter of whom would certainly

'Did you end ~~him~~: as some compensation for the trouble and disappointment, he gave him a female slave for a wife, and a pack-bullock: to these Lander added a male slave, and a strong Yarrabee pony, which he purchased, and with the old Houssa interpreter, he once more set out on his journey to Badagry, by the way they had come from thence. The old king of Wawa was delighted to see him; wondered at his being alive after visiting the barbarous Fellatas; and deeply lamented the death of his master: said he must stay with him a few days 'to clean seven muskets and

and three pistols, which he afterwards told me belonged to the white men who were drowned at Boussa. They had the Tower mark on them.' From a mallam, or priest, Lander received the following account of Park's death, which is a curious corroboration of the other reports.

"You are not, Christian, the first white man I have seen. I knew three of your countrymen very well. They arrived at Youri at the fast of the Rhamadan (April). I went with two of them three times to the sultan. The person that appeared to be the head of the party made the sultan a valuable present on one of his visits, which consisted of a handsome gun, a cutlass, a large piece of scarlet cloth, a great quantity of beads, several knives, and a looking-glass. He was a very tall and powerful man, with long arms and large hands, on which he wore leather gloves reaching above the elbows. Wore a white straw hat, long coat, full white trowsers, and red leather boots. Had black hair and eyes, with a bushy beard and mustachios of the same colour. The sultan of Youri advised your countrymen to proceed the remainder of the way on land, as the passage by water was rendered dangerous by numerous sunken rocks in the Niger, and a cruel race of people inhabiting the towns on its banks. They refused, however, to accede to this, observing that they were bound to proceed down the Niger to the Salt Water." The old mallam further observed that, "as soon as the sultan of Youri heard of their death, he was much affected; but it was out of his power to punish the people who had driven them into the water. A pestilence reaching Boussa at the time, swept off the king and most of the inhabitants, particularly those who were concerned in the transaction. The remainder, fancying it was a judgment of the white man's God, placed every thing belonging to the Christians in a hut, and set it on fire." It is not a little remarkable that it is now a common saying, all through the interior of Africa, "Do not hurt a Christian, for if you do, you will die like the people of Boussa." The old man left me shortly afterwards; and I thanked him for his information thus voluntarily given.—pp. 316, 317.

This king of Wawa made him a present of a beautiful mare, and afterwards, the sultan of Kiama of a strong pony, and told him, that if his king wished to send any one to Bornou, he would conduct him thither by a safe route, without the necessity of going through the Fellata country. In short, throughout the whole journey from Kano to Badagry, he experienced nothing but kindness from the natives; but here he became an object of hatred to a nest of villainous Portuguese slave-dealers, who had nearly succeeded in destroying him.

"Three of the Portuguese slave-merchants residing at Badagry went to the king one day, and told him and his principal men that I was a spy sent by the English government, and, if suffered to leave, would soon return with an army and conquer their country. This the credulous

credulous people believed, and I was treated with coldness and distrust by the king and his subjects, who seldom came to see me. All the chief men at length assembled at the fetish hut, and, having come to a resolution that I was to drink a fetish, sent for me to appear before them. On my way five or six hundred people gathered round me, and I could proceed with difficulty. A great number of them were armed with hatchets, bows and arrows, and spears; and waited outside the hut till I came out. On entering, one of the men, presenting me with a bowl, in which was about a quart of a liquid much resembling water, commanded me to drink it, saying, "If you come to do bad, it will kill you; but if not, it cannot hurt you." There being no resource, I immediately, and without hesitation, swallowed the contents of the bowl, and walked hastily out of the hut, through the armed men, to my own lodgings, took powerful medicine and plenty of warm water, which instantly ejected the whole from my stomach, and I felt no ill effects from the fetish. It had a bitter and disagreeable taste, and I was told almost always proved fatal.

'When the king and chief men found, after five days, that the fetish had not hurt me, they became extremely kind, and sent me presents of provisions, &c., daily, and frequently said I was protected by God, and that it was out of the power of man to do me an injury.'—p. 326.

These Portuguese ruffians took every means of preventing him from communicating with his countrymen on the coast; but Captain Morris, of the brig *Maria*, hearing of his being at Badagry, kindly went himself from Whydah to fetch him away, and convey him to Cape Coast. 'Here,' he says, 'I gave my faithful slaves, Aboudah, Jowdie, and Pascoc's wife, their freedom, who testified their sorrow at my torture by heaping sand on their heads, and other marks of grief, peculiar to the African race. Col. Lumley generously promised to give them pieces of ground and a small sum of money, and I have no doubt they will do well.' From Cape Coast, Lander embarked in the *Esk* sloop of war, and arrived in England on the 30th of April, 1828.

We are now in possession of authentic materials to reform those gratuitous maps of northern Africa which are a reproach to the geography of the nineteenth century. For these materials we are mainly indebted to Denham and Clapperton, but chiefly to the latter, who has measured every degree of latitude from the Mediterranean to the bight of Benin, and of longitude from the lake Tsad to Soccatoo; and although he has left the termination of the Timbuctoo river, or the Quorra, still in a state of doubt, he has completely demolished every possibility of this being the Niger of Ptolemy, or of Pliny, or that great river of Herodotus, which is supposed to have stopped the progress of the Nasimones. There is not a trace, in history or in fact, of any of the Greek or Roman colonists of Africa having crossed the Great Desert, or of the latter having penetrated beyond Fezzan. It is most probable,

therefore, if any such river existed, that it was one of the streams issuing from the mountains of Atlas; perhaps the Tafilet, which runs easterly, and loses itself in the sands. The Niger of Edrissi and other Arabs of the middle ages, and of Park, is unquestionably the Quorra, though there is reason to believe that the Arabs, who make no use of water communications, considered this Timbuctoo river to be the same as the Yeou, flowing in one continuous course to the eastward,—an erroneous notion, which will explain, however, some part of the strange confusion made in African geography.

The doubt as to the termination of the Quorra is, whether, after its southern course as far as Funda, it penetrates the granite mountains, and is identical with the Fornosa of Benin; or, whether it turns off from thence to the eastward, and, under the name of Shary, falls into the lake Tsad. The evidence on both points is extremely vague, but we shall briefly state it.

And first as to Benin.* The caboccer of Chaki told Clapperton that the Quorra passed Jaboo, and entered the sea at Benin, but that it flowed over rocks (p. 25). At Ensookoosoo, he was told that canoes came up the river from Chekerie or Warrie, to Nyffé, and that they were ten days on the passage (p. 28). At Katunga, though so near to the river, he could learn nothing certain about it, and the king refused to let him go to it. 'At one time,' he says, 'it runs into the sea between Jaboo and Benin, and at another, that it passes Benin' (p. 46). The sultan of Boussa knew nothing of it, 'but he had heard people say that it went to Beni, which is the name they give to Bornou' (p. 103). The headman of the king of Nyffé told him, that 'the river was full of rocks and islands, nearly the whole way to the sea, which it entered at the town of Funda' (p. 116). At Tabra, he was told 'that the Quorra ran into the sea, behind Benin, at Funda' (p. 122). This is the sum of what Clapperton has collected, with regard to the Quorra entering the sea at Benin, or at Funda.

Next, as to its identity with the Shary. Denham, when on the Shary, learned that a branch of this river passed through the plain of Adamowa; and Clapperton understood at Soccatoo, from a Shea Arab, whose tribe resided on the banks of the Shary, that it passed the town of Adamowa; that it was there joined by a branch from the hills of Bobyra, and that further to the east, a large river called Asu, or Ashu, fell into it from the southern mountains. At Dunroa, Richard Lander says, 'About half a day's journey to the east, stood a lofty hill, at the foot of which lay the large city of Jacoba. Mahomet affirmed, that there is a river called Shar or Shary, about half a mile from that place,

* There is no authority, worthy the least regard, for placing Benin where it appears in the chart of Clapperton's book, which is at least three times farther up the country than our present information warrants. Its latitude is 6° 10' N,

which derives its source from the lake T'shad; and that canoes can go from the lake to the Niger, at any season of the year. The Shary empties itself into the Niger at Funda' (p. 297). The sheik of Ghadamis told the late Major Laing, from personal observation, that the Quorra was turned out of its southerly course, to the left, or eastward, by a chain of mountains; and the secretary or schoolmaster of Bello drew his chart in the same direction. Hornemann's testimony, obtained from a Maraboot, is very important: it states that the river seen by Park flows southward from Houssa; that it waters Nyffé and Çabbi; where it is called Julbi; that it runs eastward into the district of Bornou, where it takes the name of Zad; that in some parts of Houssa it is called Gaora (Quorra), or the great water. 'The breadth of the Zad' (he says) 'was given me for one mile (others said two); but in the rainy season, the breadth is said to be a day's journey. The Budamas always keep themselves in the middle of this stream; they are a very savage, heathenish nation.' *

These several notices strongly imply that the Quorra and the Shary are the same river, and that it is deflected from its southerly course somewhere about Funda, which place, owing, most probably, to the equivocal word *bahr*, has erroneously been assumed to be on the sea-coast. It is remarkable enough, that even Salamé, who understands both English and Arabic so well, cannot divest himself of the habit of translating that Arabic word into 'sea': the Bahr el Abiad, for instance, he translates the 'White Sea,' the Bahr el Azrek, the 'Blue Sea,' and he writes the *sea* of Cowarà r. Quorra. Hornemann was probably led into an error of a contrary kind, and talks of the *river* Zad, which should be the *lake* Zad; the size he gives to it, and the Budumas upon it, evidently point out the *lake*, and the *Biddoomas* of Denham who inhabit its islands. We are inclined, therefore, to consider the Quorra to empty itself into the Tsad; and we are supported in this opinion by one, who has done more for the elucidation of African geography, ancient as well as modern, from the slender materials he possessed, than any other human being—we need hardly mention Major Rennell—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—who now, in his 87th year, possesses in full vigour, for the happiness of himself and friends, all those intellectual faculties which have so eminently distinguished his long and useful life; who, suffering little short of martyrdom, from the frequent attacks of gout, still devotes hours and days to his favourite pursuit; uniting with his studies all the playfulness and vivacity of youth.†

The

* Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, vol. ii. p. 201, &c.

† This extraordinary and unequalled man, alive to all that is passing in the world, thus writes to a friend, on seeing the course of the Quorra, as laid down in the chart of Clap-

perton,

The difference of levels does not appear to present any difficulty. Barometrical observations carried into the heart of a country are not much to be relied on for ascertaining the elevation of that country above the sea. But supposing, in the present case, the instruments to have been correct, (which rarely happens with travelling barometers,) the level of the Quorra at the ferry of Comie would appear to be something higher than the level of the Tsad, as given by Doctor Oudney. It may be observed, that the whole of the interior of northern Africa is a succession of elevated table-lands, the steep sides of the surrounding mountains being westerly and southerly, while, interiorly, they present little or no declivity. From the summit of those passed by Clapperton, there was no descent to the plains beyond them, and the mercury appears to have descended, rather than to have risen, as far as the ferry of the Quorra; but we have little doubt the whole question will now be speedily decided, as Major Rennell says, by firing a shot from Fernando Po. Any single person with a few scissors, needles, and brass ornaments for the wives of Badagry, Yourriba, Kiama, Boussa, and Youri, would make his way without interruption, and from the last mentioned place to Bornou, avoiding altogether the Fellatas of Bello. The pastoral Fellatas are a harmless people. It is by means of single travellers that we shall eventually be able to settle the geography of northern Africa.

But, gentle and docile as the natives are now known to be, the period of their arrival at any considerable degree of civilization is, we fear, very distant, and not likely to be accomplished while the Fellatas keep possession of the most fertile portions of Soudan; and

perton. 'This river, like an eel, seems to slip out of our fingers, when we think that we have got the fastest hold of him. It would appear now, as if we had him in a kind of trap; perhaps a shot from Fernando Po, northwards, may find him in the *Sharec*. As both Bello, and the sheik of Gadamis, describe the Quorra as proceeding very much southerly, from the quarter opposite Sackatoo, and then to turn to the left or eastward, one can only conceive that the *Sharec* agrees to this description. The sheik, moreover, told Laing, that it was turned out of its southerly course to the eastward, by the chain of mountains which answer to those granite ones of Clapperton. With respect to the general subject of the *Niger*, ancient as well as the supposed modern one, and that of the middle ages, (Edrissi, &c.) I have now little doubt that its supposed continuous course was made up of *different* parts of *different* rivers, running nearly in the same general parallel (i. e. E. and W.), but never paid much attention to by travellers, in respect of their courses.' Resuming the subject, he again writes thus—

'I have gone over again the sketch of Mr. Hornemann, at p. 138 (*African Association*), as well as the intelligence contained in the pages following; and it there appears that the Mahrabot makes the Gaora (qu. Quorra?), p. 135, run into the river Zad, forming a continuation of the same river or water, under another name. Whether the informant meant to express a river, or Hornemann mistook a lake, intended by the other for a river (from the sameness of the word expressing both), I do not know. I should certainly suspect that a lake was intended, but not so understood; for in page 136, it is said, that "the *Budumas*, a very savage people, always keep in the middle of this stream" (the Zad); and as we know from Denham, &c., that these people inhabit the islands of the lake Zad, it can only apply to the lake, I think.'

while

while that greatest of curses, the slave-trade, is suffered to continue on the sea-coast. That pestiferous charnel-house of Sierra Leone, which the original speculators, under the specious name of philanthropists, pretended would effect so much for the civilization of the native Africans, has, in fact, been productive only of disease and death; the experiment of free negro labour and negro instruction has here wholly failed. This detestable spot has no one good quality to recommend it: as a naval station, it is perfectly useless; as a commercial depôt, utterly worthless; and to the poor negroes, it is more destructive than the slave-trade itself, about a third part of the many thousands captured and sent thither from that slave-dealing live in the bight of Benin, to be adjudged and liberated, being indeed liberated from all their sufferings by death on the long passage, or after being landed.* It was to remedy those evils that an establishment has recently been formed on that most beautiful, fertile, and magnificent of islands, Fernando Po; it is the favourable prospect that these evils will be remedied, that has caused so much jealousy, and so many false reports as to its unhealthiness, from the free negro-dealers of Sierra Leone. Instead of listening to them, let us hear what Captain Owen says, after a residence of ten months. We have before us a letter of the 23d September last, in which he writes thus:—

‘The health of our settlement has been as good as it would have been in any part of the world. *There has not been a single death for nearly four months*, out of a population of six hundred and fifty souls; and I have only to add, that nothing can exceed the good order and good disposition of *our little colony*, and that no spot in Africa is so eminently suited for a naval and commercial station.’

The deaths that occurred in the first five or six months were occasioned by ulcered legs got in clearing away the jungle, and, by the imprudent artificers, while in a state of fever, indulging to excess in ardent spirits; but the causes, and with them the melancholy effects, have ceased. The four months in which there were no deaths were those in the very midst of the rainy season, during which, it appears, the fall of rain did not average more than one hour in four and twenty, while, on the opposite shore of the continent, they were deluged with constant heavy rain. As a naval

* Take, as a specimen of this mortiferous paradise, an abstract from the ‘Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of Sierra Leone,’ ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, in May, 1827. From that Report it appears that, from the original settlement, in 1787, to the 23d February, 1826, the total number, of different descriptions, arrived as settlers in the colony was 21,944.

Of these, in April, 1826, there were remaining of the several classes as follows:—

Nova Scotians	578	} Total Settlers 21,944 Total in April, 1826 . . . 13,020 Decrease 8,924 station,
Maroons	636	
West Indians and Americans	141	
Discharged Soldiers . . .	949	
Liberated Africans . . .	10,716	

station, this island has an excellent roadstead, and a convenient place for careening ships; plenty of wood, clear water, and refreshments. Fruits of various kinds are found in a wild state in the woods, as are also the two valuable spices, the nutmeg and the clove; its yams are the finest in the world, and a native potatoe is no bad substitute for the common one; its forests abound with several species of trees, that are admirably adapted for naval purposes, and, among others, two or three of such magnificent dimensions as to serve for lower masts of ships of war, from first-rates down to sloops. The North Star frigate came to Fernando Po with her main and fore-mast rotten; they were replaced in twelve days with two that were growing in the woods on her arrival. A transport had also been supplied with a lower mast, and several merchants trading to the coast had touched for refreshments. In fact, Sierra Leone has already been abandoned as a naval station; and our cruisers on the coast would not look at it, if the commissioners for the liberated Africans were removed, as we trust they speedily will be, to Fernando Po, where it appears houses are ready for their reception.

As a commercial station, its advantages are already felt. Our trade to the bight of Benin is at all times subject to the caprice and extortions of the native black chiefs, at whose mercy the ships and their crews are placed, from the moment they enter any of the large rivers which discharge themselves into this gulf. By making Fernando Po the rendezvous for their ships, and a dépôt for their goods, and visiting the rivers in small craft, or decked boats, their commerce may be carried on not only without risk, but with great advantage, both as to profit and the preservation of life. When a road, now in progress, has been opened to the summit of the peaked mountain, which is ten thousand feet high, and every where clothed with verdure, any kind of climate may be had, from the equatorial to the temperate range of the thermometer, and every kind of fruit and vegetables raised, whether tropical or European.

Nor is this all. If it be considered as a matter which really interests the government and the people of England, (and who can doubt this?) that an efficient check should be put to the slave-trade in the very focus of that infamous traffic, (for stopping it altogether is out of the question,) the possession of Fernando Po, we do not hesitate to affirm, will do it more effectually than the whole squadron of men of war now employed on the station, and at a third part of the expense. We entirely concur with Captain Owen in opinion, that a couple of small steamers, armed with a few swivels, to run up the rivers and disperse any slaves that may be collected for embarkation, would soon drive away, also, the whole gang of negro-traffickers. In short, the whole line of coast
forming

forming the bight of Benin can be so effectually watched from Fernando Po, that no slave-vessel could well escape. Captain Owen, with his boats, has captured no less than five vessels and eight hundred slaves within a twelvemonth. It will be said, perhaps, that this efficient interruption would only drive the trade to some other part of the coast; admitting it to be so, the atrocious system could only be re-established at an enormous expense, and under increased difficulties; while our cruizers, being freed from watching the bight of Benin, would be enabled so much the more effectually to annoy the ruffians in their new haunts.

The destruction of the trade in this quarter could not fail to have the best possible effect in promoting the civilization of the most populous and fertile portion of northern Africa, to which the access, as we have now seen, is most easy. It is clear that foreign slavery would cease were there no longer a demand for its victims; and about as certain that the people would then turn their attention to the pursuit of agriculture, for which the country is so well adapted. Trade would extend itself to the coast, a constant intercourse would be established with the natives, and civilization go hand in hand, as it always has done, with commerce. The discovery of new countries and peoples would follow, and we should not much longer be ignorant of those regions of Africa, which are watered by so many immense rivers, whose streams are discharged into the bight of Biafra, immediately opposite to, and overlooked by, Fernando Po; such as the old and new Calabar, the Bonny, the Cameroons, and the Rio del Rey, whose sources are most undoubtedly not in Soudan, whatever may be the case with regard to the Formosa of Benin.

ART. VI.—1. *Observations upon the Power exercised by the Court of Chancery of depriving a Father of the Custody of his Children.* London. Miller. 1828.

2. *Observations on the Natural Right of a Father to the Custody of his Children, and to direct their Education.* By James Ram, Esq., Barrister at Law. Maxwell. 1828.

THE late decision in the Wellesley case, by the House of Lords, has finally settled a question in jurisprudence of the most interesting and important character, whether regarded in a legal or in a moral point of view. In both these respects we think its principles well worthy of being brought distinctly before our reader. In the Court of Chancery, and in the House of Lords, the important principles involved in it were necessarily much overlaid by the complicated details of evidence which formed the groundwork of the case, while—the case once proved in point of

of fact—the analogy of previous precedents was too close to leave much room for the discussion of the first principles of the jurisdiction, and still less of the great moral considerations with which it is connected. A few pages may, we conceive, be well occupied in presenting to the public, stripped of barren details, and, as far as possible, of technical learning, a view of the origin, principles, and tendency of a jurisdiction coming so home to the bosoms of men, and pressing so closely on the affections of nature, and the nearest ties of social life.

The legality of the jurisdiction exercised by the Court of Chancery as to guardianship over infants to any extent, and still more to the extent of depriving, for any cause, a living father of the custody of his children, having been impugned, we shall first lay before our readers a short view of the legal question; and we shall then offer some observations on the policy and wisdom of such a jurisdiction, supposing it to be, as it now unquestionably is, fully sanctioned by the existing law of the land.

The earliest notice of any jurisdiction of the kind is to be found in some legal authors, who speak of the power and the duty of the crown, as *parens patriæ*, to take care of those who cannot take care of themselves,—infants, idiots, and lunatics. Staundford (a Judge of the Common Pleas in the reign of Elizabeth, whom Lord Bacon calls ‘the best expositor of a statute that hath been in our law,’) says, ‘the king has the protection of all his subjects, and of all their lands, goods, and tenements: and so of such as cannot govern themselves, nor order their lands and tenements, his grace, as a father, must take upon him to provide for them, that *they themselves*, and their things, *may be preserved*.’* Fitzherbert (a learned Judge of the Common Pleas, in the reign of Henry VIII., who is quoted by Staundford) says, ‘the king is bound, of right, to defend his subjects, their goods and chattels, lands and tenements; and that every one is in protection of the king, who has not forfeited it by some offence.’† This jurisdiction, it is to be observed, could not fall within the province of either of the three great courts of common law, established in separate jurisdictions, since the reign of Edward I.; the King’s Bench, in its original constitution, being confined to criminal matters—the Common Pleas to suits between subject and subject,—and the Court of Exchequer to suits between the king and his debtors and accountants, and between one crown debtor and another. That this species of protective authority should not, in early, or in any times, be frequently put in requisition, is not surprising, when we consider the various other modes afforded by the law of providing guardians, in ordinary cases, for chil-

* Staundford’s Exposition of the King’s Prerogative, c. x., fo. 37.

† Fitzherbert’s Natura Brevium, fo. 232.

dren, and the extreme rarity of those circumstances which could call for the crown's extraordinary interposition. The principal mode of guardianship, from the conquest to the seventeenth century, was 'guardianship in chivalry,' which vested in the lord of the fee, when the feudal tenant was a minor, and in virtue of which such lord had the custody of the person of the tenant, and the enjoyment of his lands, till the age of sixteen, if a female,—or of twenty-one, if the tenant were a male. Besides this guardianship applying to all tenants of lands held by military service, the law also provided a 'guardianship in soccage,' in virtue of which every orphan tenant of land held in soccage, who was under fourteen, fell under the guardianship of his next relation, *not being his heir*, the guardianship enduring only till fourteen. A third species of guardianship was that of 'guardianship by nature,' which belonged only to the father or mother; and which, singularly enough, applied only to the heir apparent, (as a female, in strictness, can only be heir presumptive, it is doubtful whether it extended to any but males,) to the custody of whose person the father was, by the common law, entitled till twenty-one; while the younger children, inheriting nothing from the father, the law did not vest in him their guardianship during their minority. In virtue of this right, as guardian, the father could keep his eldest son against the guardian in chivalry, the latter having no right to the custody of the heir while the father was living; but, on the father's death, the lord of the fee was entitled to the custody of the successor till twenty-one, and he could not be detained from him by the mother or any other relation. There was also a right of 'guardianship by nurture,' applying only when there was no other guardian, and which belonged to the father or mother, and was independent of landed inheritance; whereas the guardianship in soccage only exists where the infant is tenant of lands in soccage.*

Thus, during the existence of military tenures, (that is, till the restoration of Charles II.,) every infant heir of a tenant by knight's service found a personal guardian in the lord of whom he held, if the father was dead, or lived till twenty-one under his father's protection, if the father lived. Infant heirs, in soccage, were protected till fourteen by their nearest relation, who could not inherit; while younger children, and those without lands, male and female, fell under the guardianship by nurture of their parents, till the age of fourteen, at which age the protection ceased. We are aware, indeed, that before guardianship in chivalry was swept away by the 12th Car. II., its application was frequently eluded by the various modes of preventing a *descent* from the ancestor to the heir—the lord, it is to

* Harg. Co. Litt. 88, ib. Bacon's Ab. tit. Guardian.

be observed, only becoming guardian in case of a *descent*.* In addition to the above modes of guardianship, guardians were also appointed, in particular places, according to special customs therein existing; such as the custom in the City of London, by which the corporation became the guardians of the persons and estates of orphans of freemen, and the peculiar customs of certain manors as to the guardianship of infant copyholders. Whether, during the long period from the establishment of the several courts in separate jurisdictions, down to the revolution, the power of the crown, as *parens patriæ*, was ever actually called into exercise to appoint guardians, in the few cases where the above institutions could not apply, or to controul the proceedings of any of these legal guardians, it is impossible now to discover. That it may have been exercised without leaving any traces is perfectly clear, when we consider that the records of the Court of Chancery scarcely extend higher than the latter end of the seventeenth century, while the writers above quoted, of the sixteenth century, appear to treat it as part of the prerogative vested in the sovereign.

It must be remembered that one large portion of the infants of rank and fortune in the kingdom, viz. all those holding of the crown *in capite*, were, for a century and a half antecedent to the first discoverable exercise of the Chancery jurisdiction under the superintendence of a special court erected for the purpose,—we mean the Court of Wards and Liveries. This court was created by statute in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII., and was only abolished on the general destruction of military tenures in the twelfth year of Charles II. The statute erecting the court, enacts, ‘that all wards, which the king’s highness now is or hereafter shall be entitled to, with their manors, lands, tenements, rents, remainders, and all revenues, issues, and profits of the same, and every part thereof which shall be or ought to be in the king’s possession, shall be in the order, survey, and governance of the said court, (called the “Court of the King’s Wards,”) and *its ministers*.’ Though certainly the language of this act is expressly confined to the king’s wards, by reason of tenure, and in no way relates to any jurisdiction over infants in general, yet the authority of this court has, by several high authorities, been mixed up with the general jurisdiction over infants vested in the crown as *parens patriæ*. Blackstone says, ‘upon the abolition of the Court of Wards, the care which the crown was bound to take, as guardian

* Feoffments to the heir in the ancestor’s lifetime, conveyances of the land to *uses*, and feoffments on condition to yield up the land to the heir at twenty-one, were the devices resorted to, in order to evade the oppressive evils of a system which gave the infants’ estate to be wasted by a stranger guardian, which often forced upon him an unsuitable marriage, and by the frequent sale of guardianships left him often under the personal authority of a stranger, without affection or fitness for his charge.

of its infant tenants, was totally extinguished in every *feudal view*, but resulted to the king in his Court of Chancery, together with the general protection of all other infants in the kingdom.* And no less an authority than Lord Somers uses the following language in the case of *Carey v. Bertie*,† in 1697. ‘In this court (of Chancery) there are several things that belonged to the king as *pater patriæ*, and fell under the jurisdiction of this court, as charities, infants, idiots; and afterwards such of them as were of profit and advantage to the king were removed to the Court of Wards, by the statute, but, upon the dissolution of that court, they *came back again to the Court of Chancery*.’ The opinion, therefore, of these two eminent men (in concurrence with the older doctrines of Staundford and Fitzherbert,) appears to have been, that antecedently to the erection of the Court of Wards, the king, by his chancellor, had exercised a protective jurisdiction over infants in general—that on the erection of the Court of Wards all such portion of the jurisdiction as related to wards in chivalry, over whom the king had a *profitable* guardianship, was transferred to that new court; and that on the abolition of the court in the 12th Car. II., this transferred jurisdiction reverted to the crown, to be exercised by the chancellor *along with the general jurisdiction over infants* at large. That their language clearly expresses an opinion that the general jurisdiction over infants was exercised by the crown prior to the existence of the Court of Wards, there can be no doubt: but we think it has been erroneously considered to imply an opinion, that this general jurisdiction was delegated to that court. We think it obvious, that the great lawyers quoted speak only of the guardianship over crown wards being given to the new court, and of this guardianship reverting, on the dissolution of the Court of Wards, to the king in chancery, to be exercised *along with the general jurisdiction* over infants. The latter jurisdiction is thus treated as having all along resided in the crown during the existence of the Court of Wards. The erection and abolition of the Court of Wards is, therefore, we conceive, wholly collateral to the question as to the existence of the general jurisdiction of the crown over infants. Its erection did not give this jurisdiction, nor could its abolition take it away,—and the only manner in which the existence of the Court of Wards bears on the question of the general jurisdiction is, that the existence of such a court of general superintendence over *all infants holding in capite of the crown*, may most materially help to account for the general power of the crown lying dormant, and for the absence of all evidence of its exercise until the abolition of the Court of Wards. Infants holding of the crown in capite formed, at

* Comm. vol. iii. p. 426.

† 2 Vern. p. 342.

that time, a very considerable portion of all the infants of the upper classes in the kingdom; and all these being provided for, and governed by the master of the Court of the King's Wards, the chancellor's jurisdiction as representing the *parens patriæ* would, as to them, be entirely needless and uncalled for.

Such is a short outline of the state of the law on the subject of guardianship, up to that period when the records of the Court of Chancery manifest its regular exercise of a jurisdiction over infants, in nominating guardians, in controlling the guardian appointed by the law or by the father, in superintending their property, directing their education, and controlling their marriages. * This jurisdiction was asserted and acted on in 1696, by Lord Somers in the case of *Bertie v. Falkland*;* by Lord Macclesfield in 1722, in *Eyre v. Countess of Shaftesbury*;† and also by the lords commissioners of the great seal, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, and Lord Raymond in the same case, after Lord Macclesfield's resignation, and in several cases before Lord Hardwicke, and in a variety of subsequent precedents. The above, however, were cases in which the parents were not living. The first case of the exercise of the jurisdiction when a parent was living, appears to have been that of *Lady Teynham v. Barrett*, in 1718, when Lord Macclesfield, on a petition on behalf of an infant child, deprived Lady Teynham, the mother, of the guardianship, principally on the ground of her being a Roman Catholic; and this judgment was confirmed, on appeal, by the House of Lords, no doubt whatever being cast on the jurisdiction of the court, or on its extending to deprive the mother of the guardianship.‡ This decision was the case of a mother, not that of a father. But when it is considered that, according to the rule of the common law, the widowed mother would be guardian by nature and by nurture of the infant, till the age of fourteen, it falls little short of asserting a principle equally applicable to the case of a father.

The next case was that of *Mr. Hopkins*, in 1732.§ The petitioner Hopkins was the brother of a rich merchant in London, who had taken the petitioner's three daughters to live in his house, and had died, leaving them large legacies payable at twenty-one, or in the event of their marrying with the consent of the executors. The testator died, and the executor continuing to reside in the house of the deceased, the three daughters of the petitioner lived with him. On the father petitioning to have his daughters delivered up to him, it appeared

* 2 Vernon's Rep. 342.

† 2 P. Williams's Rep. 118.

‡ 4 Bro. Parliam Cases, 302. This decision mainly turned on the penal laws at that time existing against the Roman Catholics, and, according to Lord Eldon's language in *Lyons v. Blenkin*, it is clear that such a decision could not now be made.

§ 3 P. Wms. Rep. 152.

that the testator had said he never intended that they should be educated by their father and mother, as they could learn nothing there but low life. Lord Hardwicke decided that the father was entitled to the custody of his children during infancy, and it could not be conceived, that because another thought fit to leave a legacy, though never so great, to a man's daughters, therefore he was to be deprived of the right of being their guardian. However he could not, on mere petition, without a suit, deliver over the infants; but if the father could obtain them without committing a breach of the peace, he might do so. His lordship then asked the eldest daughter, then in court, whether she was under any force, and where she would rather be; who replied, she was not under any force; and that though she had all imaginable duty for her father and mother, yet her uncle, the testator, having been so kind to her, by his will, she thought herself under an obligation to continue where he intended she should, and she thought it was his intention that she should continue in the house where he himself had placed her. Whereupon the lord chancellor dismissed the petition, but directed Mr. Hopkins, the executor, who had the young ladies in his custody, to permit their father and mother, at all seasonable times, to have access to, and see their children. This decision, in truth, turned on the circumstance of a petition not being the proper mode of proceeding; and it can by no means be inferred from it, that had a regular suit by bill been instituted, the lord chancellor would have deprived the father of his admitted right to the guardianship, on the mere ground of the donation in the uncle's will, unaccompanied by any condition as to the course of education, and of the eldest daughter's readiness to remain away from her parents.

No case appears afterwards to have occurred of the interference in the father's lifetime, till the year 1756, when the cases of *Blake v. Leigh*, and *Butler v. Freeman*,* came before Lord Hardwicke. In *Blake v. Leigh*, the father petitioned for the guardianship of the infant son, who was a ward of court, in a suit, regularly instituted, to confirm the grandfather's will, by which the infant acquired an estate. The grandfather, by his will, had appointed other persons guardians of his grandson, and on these persons declining to act, the father had assented to the nomination of a guardian by the master in chancery, besides taking a beneficial interest, himself, under the will. The court held, that although the grandfather had no right to appoint guardians for his grandson, yet the father, by accepting the benefit under the will, and seeking to have the trusts of the will in favour of his son executed, had consented to the conditions of the will, and waived his parental right. Guardians were ulti-

* Ambler's Rep. (2d Edit.) 301.

mately appointed of the father's nomination, no objection being made to them. In *Butler v. Freeman*, Lord Hardwicke held, that it was clearly a contempt, punishable by imprisonment, to marry a ward of the court without leave, although the father of the ward was living.—It is to be observed, that the father had not consented to the marriage, but, in fact, was the party petitioning against it, on behalf of his infant son. Whether the court would hold the marriage a contempt if the father consented, was not a point decided in the case, but there is no doubt, that, on principle, it would be so, though the court's proceedings would, doubtless, be influenced by that circumstance. Lord Hardwicke's language in this case shows strongly his opinion as to the nature and grounds of the jurisdiction :

‘ It is objected the plaintiff's father is alive, and therefore nobody can have the guardianship of him, by reason of the *patria potentia*, consequently this court has not, and if so, the court cannot interfere. But this court does not act on the ground of guardianship or wardship : the latter is totally taken away by the statute Charles II. ; and without claiming the former, and disclaiming the latter, the court has a general right delegated by the crown as *pater patrie*, to interfere in particular cases for the benefit of such who are incapable of protecting themselves. And it is no objection that the father of such persons is living ; for infants, in the life of their father, sue, in this court, by *prochein amy*, and defend by guardian. This court will protect the estate of the infant against the father, and prevent its coming into the father's hands. It is admitted, that the court has interfered where there has been a testamentary guardian. I see no difference between the cases : a testamentary guardian by statute has all the remedies at law which a father has.’

In the case of *Powell v. Cleaver*,* in 1789, an uncle had left a considerable fortune to his nephew, on the express condition that his executors should have the guardianship, tuition, and management of his person during his minority. The father, at first, assented to the son remaining under the guardianship of the executors, and himself received an annuity from them under the will ; but he afterwards removed him from the tutor appointed by the executors, entered him at Oxford, and applied to the executors for advances to meet his expenses, according to the will. On a suit being instituted to carry the general trusts of the will into execution, one question was, whether the father or the trustees were entitled to the guardianship. Mr. Scott (Lord Eldon), the counsel opposed to the father, simply contended, that the father could not claim the annuity given him by the will, without renouncing the guardianship of the children. Lord Chancellor Thurlow said,—‘ It is no where laid down that the

* 2 Brown's Chan. Rep. by Bell, 509.

guardianship of a child can be wantonly disposed of by a third person' (it is now clearly settled that it cannot :) 'the wisdom would be not to raise points on such a question, as *this Court will take care that the child shall be properly educated for his expectations.*' In the following year, Lord Thurlow acted on the principle thus laid down, in the well known case of *Cruise v. Orby Hunter*.* A petition was presented, stating Mr. Hunter to be an outlaw residing abroad and very embarrassed, and that his infant son was entitled in remainder to a considerable estate, and also to present maintenance, under the will of his grandfather; and praying that the father might be restrained from taking him abroad, or interfering in his education; and the affidavit imputing gross charges both to the father and mother, Lord Thurlow said 'he would not allow the colour of parental authority to work the ruin of the child;' and made an order that the father should be restrained from interfering with the management of the child without the consent of Lord Hawke and Mr. Adams, whom both parties allowed to be proper persons. The authority of this case, and that of *Powell v. Cleaver*, were recognized and acted upon in 1792, by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, Judges Eyre, Ashhurst, and Wilson, in the case of *ex parte Warner*,† in which a petition was presented on behalf of the four infant children of Warner, alleging that he was in Newgate for cruelty and breach of the peace against his wife, that he had no settled place of abode, and that they were advised that their present and future welfare would be materially injured in case their father should be permitted to use his paternal authority over them. Affidavits of relations stated him to be an unfit person to have the management of his children. The Lords Commissioners ordered that he should be restrained from removing them from the schools and situations where they were placed.

The case of *De Manneville v. De Manneville*‡ is remarkable, not only as confirming the doctrine of the former cases as to the jurisdiction of the court, but also as marking the distinction between the powers of the Court of King's Bench and of the Court of Chancery respecting parents and infants. In 1800, De Manneville, a French emigrant, married an English woman of some fortune, which was settled for her separate use during her life. Differences arose between the husband and wife, and the wife withdrew with her infant, and only child, to the house of a friend. On the child being sent to nurse, the husband obtained possession of it; but he being afterwards taken into custody, under the Alien Act, for some political cause, the wife regained the child. After

* Mr. Belt publishes this case from a note of Lord Colchester, in 2 Brown's Chan. Rep., 500.

† 4 Bro. Chan. Rep. 101.

‡ 10 Ves. Rep. 52.

his discharge the husband forcibly retook it from the house where the wife resided. Application was then made to the court of King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus to bring up the child, and deliver it to the mother, on the ground of an apprehension that the father would take it out of the kingdom. Had this apprehension appeared to be well founded, the court would have entertained the application; but this ground entirely failing, Lord Ellenborough said—

‘It lay on those, who applied for the writ, to show that the father was not entitled to the custody of the child. He is the person entitled by law to its custody. If he abuse that right, the Court will protect the child. But there was no pretence that the child had been injured for want of nurture, or in any other respect.’ *

The child was accordingly remanded to the custody of the father. The court of King's Bench, being invested with nothing beyond a strict legal jurisdiction to decide who legally had the right to the infant's custody, were bound to regard nothing except those causes which might exclude the father's right at law. Had the intention to take the child abroad been manifest, they would not have delivered it to the father, because the child, being a British born subject, (as every child born in England is,) could not by law be removed from its native land, especially by a father an alien enemy. Had the child's life or health been endangered by want of nurture in the father's custody, the court of King's Bench would never recognise a right in a father which went to endanger the actual existence of the child. But the child being no especial ward of that court, and that court possessing no general superintendence over infants, it was wholly out of its province to inquire into the fitness or unfitness of the father's custody, as regarded the moral welfare and education of the child. The Court of Chancery was then resorted to, the child being a ward of that court, in a suit instituted for protecting the property and executing the trusts of the settlement; and Lord Eldon, not seeing ground to remove the child altogether out of the father's controul, made an order, restraining him from taking it out of the country. In referring to the cases above noticed before Lord Thurlow, Lord Eldon thus expresses himself:—

‘But Lord Thurlow's opinion went upon this, that the law imposed a duty upon parents, and in general gives them credit for their ability and inclination to exercise it. But that presumption, like all others, would fail in particular instances; and if an instance occurred, in which the father was unable or unwilling to execute that duty, and, further, was actually proceeding against it, of necessity the state must place somewhere a superintending power over those who cannot take care of themselves, and have not the benefit of that care which is presumed to be generally effectual.’

* 5 East's Reports, 221.

In another passage, this great judge says—

‘ Since I have sat here, I removed a child from the father, upon considerations such as these: the father was a person in constant habits of drunkenness and *blasphemy, poisoning the mind of the infant*, and I thought it not inconsistent, with a due attention to parental authority so abused, to call in the authority of the king as *parens patrie*.’*

Lord Erskine, in 1806, exercised the same jurisdiction in the case of *Whitfield v. Hades*;† where, on a petition complaining of ill-treatment and cruelty of the father towards the infants, his lordship referred it to the Master to appoint a proper person to be their guardian. In 1817 the court deprived Mr. Percy Shelley of the custody of his children, on the ground of his avowed immoral and irreligious principles, and his profligate habits. It appeared that he had deserted his wife and cohabited with another woman; that he openly declared himself an atheist, that he had published a book, since his marriage, doubting the truth of the Christian revelation, and denying the existence of a God as creator of the universe, and that he intended to educate his children in his own principles. Lord Eldon said, on the subject of the jurisdiction,

‘ After the example of Lord Thurlow, in *Orby Hunter’s* case, I shall act upon the notion that the court has such jurisdiction, till the House of Lords shall decide that my predecessors have been unwarranted in the exercise of it. I consider this as a case in which the father has demonstrated that he must and does deem it to be a matter of duty, which his principles impose on him, to recommend to those whose opinions and habits he may take upon himself to form, that conduct, in some of the most important relations in life, as moral and virtuous, which the law calls on me to consider as immoral and vicious conduct,—which the law animadverts upon as inconsistent with the duties of persons in such relations of life, and which it considers as injuriously affecting both the interests of those persons and those of the community. I cannot, therefore, think that I should be justified in delivering over these children for their education exclusively to what is called the care to which Mr. Shelley wishes them to be entrusted.’‡

In the case of *Lyons v. Blenkin*, Lord Eldon held the jurisdiction to apply to a case of features entirely different. The father, Lyons, a dissenting minister, once a baptist, afterwards an unitarian, had permitted his three daughters to reside with their maternal grandmother for many years antecedent to her decease in 1816; the grandmother having agreed to maintain and provide for them. The expenses of their education were defrayed by her; and on her death she left them by will a considerable fortune, directing her daughter, their aunt, to act as their guardian, and to have full disposition over their education and property. In case of her daughter’s death, she appointed another person guardian in

* 10 Ves. p. 62.

† 12 Ves. p. 492.

‡ Jacob’s Rep. p. 267.

her place. After the grandmother's death the daughter married, and the girls being then of the ages of nineteen, fourteen, and twelve, the father applied to the Court of Chancery, that they might be taken from the aunt and delivered to him. Lord Eldon, after full deliberation, refused the prayer of the father, on the ground that the case fell within the principle—established by *Powell v. Cleaver*, and the former decisions—that if a relation gave a provision to a father's children, accompanied by a course of education pointed out by the will; and if the father assented to the children having the benefit of the provision, thereby relieving himself from the burthen of their maintenance and education, he must also be bound by the condition of the testator as to the prescribed course of education. There was no question that the grandmother had no authority to appoint a guardian by her will. And Lord Eldon also expressly threw aside all regard to the difference of religious principles, the father having turned unitarian, and the children having been educated as baptists. His lordship said—

‘ Though the testator could not impose the terms of appointing a guardian where the father was living, yet the father might, by his *consent*, enable the guardian to act, and by *his consent* it appears he has enabled the guardian to act, and by *such consent* these children have, with very little interruption, continued under the care and guardianship of the aunt. All their habits have been acquired under the roof of their aunt; all their connexions have been formed under their aunt; and it appears to me that the father has so far *given his consent* to this course of education as to preclude him from saying that he shall now be permitted to break in and introduce a new system of education, which cannot be consistent with the system to which they have been habituated, and where so much depends on the quantum of supply for the purpose, which the discretion of this lady may lead her to allow, if the *testatrix has left her the discretion of regulating the means* for their education.’*

Such were the decisions of the Court of Chancery on this delicate subject previously to the time when the case of Mr. Wellesley's children came before it. The facts belonging to this case are so fresh in the recollection of most persons, and are of so painful and revolting a nature, that we shall allude to them with as much brevity as is consistent with the object of clearly exhibiting the grounds of the judgment. Mr. Wellesley married Miss Tybney Long in March, 1812, and under their marriage settlement acquired a life interest in estates of almost 40,000*l.* per annum, with the exception of 13,000*l.* per annum settled on Mrs. Wellesley, as pin-money. In 1822 they went to reside at Naples, where they renewed their acquaintance with a Mrs. Helena Bligh, formerly known to them, and who arrived with her husband in that city. On the 31st July following, Mrs.

* *Jacob's Reports*, 270, *in notis*.

Bligh quitted her husband's house, in consequence (according to general rumour) of an illicit intercourse subsisting between her and Mr. Wellesley. Lord and Lady Maryborough, Mr. Wellesley's parents, endeavoured, at Mrs. Wellesley's desire, to detach their son from the connexion which he had formed; but their efforts failing, Mrs. Wellesley wrote to him, declaring that the treatment she had for many months received from him had been such as she could no longer submit to; and that she was resolved to separate from a husband 'who, in conduct, had already abandoned her.' Shortly afterwards she returned to England, with the purpose of living separate from him; and, with his consent, the two sons and one daughter, the issue of the marriage, accompanied her. Fearing that attempts would be made to take possession of the children, and carry them abroad, she caused a bill to be filed in chancery, with a view to make the infants wards of the court. She also caused a suit for a divorce to be commenced against her husband. On the 12th of September, 1825, Mrs. Wellesley died, having, a few days before, enjoined her sisters, the Misses Long, to resist every attempt which Mr. Wellesley might make to remove the children. After her death the infants remained under the care of their aunts. Mr. Wellesley, at that time residing in France, repeatedly applied to the Misses Long for the custody of the children, with which application they refused to comply; and in their refusal they were sanctioned by the approbation of the nearest relations, as well on the father's as on the mother's side. Mr. Wellesley applied to the Court of Chancery, but his application failing, on the clear ground of his residence abroad, he came to England in December, 1825, and presented a petition to the court, stating that he had returned with the intention of permanently residing in this country, and had taken a suitable residence for himself and his children; and praying that the infants might be delivered to his custody. A voluminous mass of affidavits was filed in support of and in opposition to this petition. The petition was opposed on the ground of Mr. Wellesley's general conduct, as displayed in his behaviour to his wife, in his connexion with Mrs. Bligh, continuing up to the hearing of the cause, in the immoral example and precepts which he had given his children when under his care—on the last injunction of their mother, not to suffer him to have the custody—on the absence of any testimonies of his own family that he was a fit person to be their guardian, coupled with unequivocal indications of his father's opinion, to the contrary. Lord Eldon, after hearing with unwearied patience every statement that could in any degree bear upon the question, pronounced an elaborate and luminous judgment against Mr. Wellesley's petition, and in favour of the counter-petition on behalf of the

the infants. After noticing the grounds of the jurisdiction of the court, and the various cases in which it had been exercised by his predecessors, his lordship says—

‘ If this court has not the power to interpose, what is the provision of law that is made for children? You may go to the court of King’s Bench for a habeas corpus to restore the child to its father, but when you have restored the child to the father, can you go to the court of King’s Bench to compel that father to subscribe even to the amount of five shillings a year for the maintenance of that child? Wherever the power of the law rests, with respect to the protection of children, it is clear it ought to exist somewhere,—if it be not in this court, where does it exist? Is it an eligible thing that children of all ranks should be placed in this situation; that they shall be in the custody of the father, although, looking at the quantum of allowance which the law can compel the father to provide for them, they may be regarded as in a state a little better than starvation? The courts of law *can enforce the rights of a father, but they are not equal to the office of enforcing the duties of a father.* Those duties have been acknowledged in this his majesty’s court for centuries past.’

His Lordship then took an analytical and luminous view of the evidence in the affidavits, and of that afforded by Mr. Wellesley’s own letters; and, after remarking on the circumstance, that none of Mr. Wellesley’s own relations had come forward to say they thought him a fit person for a guardian for the children, and that he forbore to say what might be the consequence of a mere act of adultery on the part of a father, said—

‘ When I look upon the conduct of Mr. Wellesley towards Mrs. Bligh, towards his children, and with reference to other points which show the tenour and bent of his mind upon certain subjects, and the nature of his sentiments, I say that, if the House of Lords think proper to restore these children to Mr. Wellesley, let them do so;—it shall not be done by my act.’*

Against the order thus made by Lord Chancellor Eldon, Mr. Wellesley appealed to the House of Lords. His counsel were heard, to an extraordinary length, before that tribunal; and on the 4th of July, 1828, after some observations from Lord Redesdale and Lord Mannors, expressing an undoubted opinion as to the existence of the jurisdiction, and a clear conviction that the present case was one fit for its exercise (in which observations the learned and distinguished judge now holding the seals fully concurred), the judgment of Lord Eldon was affirmed.

With respect to the legality of the jurisdiction, (the materials for forming an opinion on which we have thus placed before our readers,) the less is now necessary to be said, since all doubt upon the subject is completely removed by the judgment of

* See the case fully and perspicuously reported by Mr. Russell. 2 Russ. Rep. 1.

the highest court in the kingdom on a case of high importance, strenuously contested and most deliberately considered. In looking at the data above set before the reader, as to the ancient law on the subject, it cannot be denied that the origin of the jurisdiction is obscure and uncertain, and its antiquity more than problematical. The earliest trace of its exercise occurs at no higher period than about the distance of a century and a quarter. Anterior to this commencement of a course of practice, there is nothing to be found of authority on the subject. The vague and general expressions which we have quoted from Staundford and Fitzherbert may, perhaps, be considered as counterbalanced by the silence of authors both earlier and later in time, and at least equal in authority. It is, therefore, on this continuous and consistent course of judicial practice, followed up, for more than a century, by some of the greatest lawyers and most upright men that ever sat in our courts, that it appears to us that the legality of the jurisdiction may confidently, and on this alone, antecedently to the Wellesley case, be safely rested. Legislative recognition, to a certain extent, has also been given to it, by the clause in the marriage act, expressly recognizing the validity of the appointment of guardians by the court of chancery; while, in 1724, the doctrine that the prerogative of the crown, as to the guardianship of infants, was vested in the lord chancellor, was so fully understood, that it was admitted as undoubted, in argument before the House of Lords, in the case of *Lady Teynham v. Barrett*. Without, therefore, pretending to trace a high origin of the jurisdiction—without relying on any connexion with the authority of the Court of Wards—without ascribing any undue weight to the language of the old writers, we consider that this general superintending and protective power was a natural and indispensable portion of the general judicial authority vested in the crown, which came late, indeed, into frequent exercise by the lord chancellor, but which, being in itself politic and necessary, has, by the long administration of a series of judges, by parliamentary recognition, and by more than one sanction of the House of Lords, become as well established as any branch of jurisdiction now in force in our courts.

Nor do we think that the decisions in the modern cases, and especially in the Wellesley case, have in the least trespassed beyond the strict boundary of the jurisdiction thus established. Regarded in the narrowest and most rigid point of view, the judgment in the Wellesley case was undoubtedly warranted by the case of *Whitfield v. Hales*, before Lord Erskine, and that of *Orby Hunter*, before Lord Thurlow, where the parent was excluded from the guardianship on the express ground of moral unfitness. But the propriety of the decision need not be rested on the narrow ground of

of the analogy of a particular precedent. We conceive that the satisfactory principle which must necessarily govern such a case, was to be clearly found in the earlier decisions on the jurisdiction. The instant the principle was once established, (as it was a century ago,) that, on a proceeding instituted respecting property belonging to an infant, the court would regard the infant as its ward, would manage and protect its property, control its marriage, and take care that its education was suitable to its rank and fortune—and this, whether the father were living or dead,—it necessarily followed that whenever the father placed himself in hostility to these objects, the jurisdiction must operate *in patrem vivum et invitum*. It resulted, from the principle of the court, that if the father was proceeding to injure his child by a marriage wholly unsuitable, he, like any other individual, must be restrained;—that if he were impairing the fortune of the child, he must be called to account;—that if he defeated the court's objects with respect to education, the child must be placed beyond the reach of his pernicious influence. Interference on this last ground was just as necessary a consequence of the principle as interference on any of the former. Every decision of successive chancellors on the subject necessarily followed from that which preceded it, and was an irresistible corollary of the principle of the court, now settled by a century's practice, and recognized by parliament. To have drawn an uncompromising distinction between cases where the parents were living and where they were deceased; to have declared that the jurisdiction should only apply to the cases of orphans, would have introduced an inconsistency in principle materially subversive of the most salutary objects of the court. If a child could not be made a ward of the court during the life of its parents, in what manner was any independent fortune left to it to be secured? And yet, what principle of law, or of common sense, could prohibit an infant, during the life of its father, from acquiring property by the gift of relations or friends? Is it right, that, out of deference to 'natural rights,' and in order not to outrage the 'law of nature,' a parent should have the power of squandering his child's fortune without means of legal prevention? No one will deny, then, that the protection of the fortune was reasonable, and necessary, and legal; but how could the court stop here? If the father was thus prevented from directly obtaining the fortune, how easy would it be to secure the whole or a portion of it indirectly by marrying his child to some person wholly under his influence! Was the court to connive at such a proceeding? If not, how was it effectually to secure the property without controlling the marriage?

Again, with respect to education: when the court had under its care an infant to whom a splendid fortune must necessarily be
made

made over at the age of twenty-one, how absurd must be its principles, how imperfect its authority, if, while they extended to protect the property from diminution, to prevent the ruin of the child by an unfit marriage, they gave no power of securing to it such an education as could alone render it fit for the station it must occupy, and could alone prevent its wealth from being a curse to itself and others ! And yet was the court to be armed with sufficient power for these essential purposes against all the world except the parent ? Was the father—as to whom, almost exclusively, control would in general be requisite—to be allowed to render the care of the court abortive ? to inflict on the child as vicious a course of education as his negligence or his depraved principles might occasion, and as his peculiar authority and influence might render easy ? ‘ *Plerique autem parentum præceptis imbuti ad eorum consuetudinem moremque deducimur.*’ The original principle of the jurisdiction, and the first objects on which it was applied, were unquestionably the protection of the independent property of the infant—our law recognizing an infant as capable of acquiring property, contrary to the slavish doctrine of the Roman law, which held his acquisitions to vest in the father. The cognate objects, of preventing an untimely and ill assorted marriage, and of securing a fit education, we venture to assert, were not only of far superior importance to the child, but were necessarily and inseparably connected with the main principle of securing its fortune. Could any court, with common regard to consistency, take on itself to protect from invasion, to husband for the infant’s advantage its fortune, and suffer, at the same time, every benefit of its protection to be frustrated by a marriage with a beggar or a swindler ? or could it quietly allow the education of a mechanic or a profligate to be inflicted on a ward, who, at twenty-one, must of necessity become an opulent and elevated member of society ? As the father has the means of being the most valuable friend of his child, so, by the abuse of these means, it cannot be denied, that he acquires the opportunity of becoming its most dangerous enemy. Could a court of justice, exercising a protective authority in the name of the crown, rigorously defend its wards and their property against any aggression on their rights by strangers, but at once succumb, in case of abuse by the parent, and resign the ward and his fortune up to the despotism of paternal power, exerted to work the child’s irremediable ruin ?

Again, when the principle was established by the decisions, that the securing a fit education for the ward was one of the duties of the court to which its powers were adequate, how could it matter as to the application of the jurisdiction, whether this paramount object was endangered by the father’s ineligion or his blasphemy, his drunkenness, or his adulterous or profligate habits ?

habits? What rational distinction could be drawn as to the means of mischief, when the mischief itself was all to which the court had to look? We leave to casuists the task of adjusting the balance of mischievous tendency, the nice excess of pernicious influence, between the atheism of Mr. Shelley and the impurities of Mr. Long Wellesley. We leave to quibblers to contend that the precedent in *Kiffin v. Kiffin*, of a drunken father, could not apply to the case of a water-drinking infidel, in *Shelley v. Westbrook*; nor the decision, in the latter cause, to the instance of a full-blown voluptuary demoralizing his offspring by example and precept, in *Wellesley v. the Duke of Beaufort*. Lord Eldon, with all his subtlety of understanding, (which those only decry whose shallow legal knowledge and superficial habits of thinking disqualify them for appreciating it,) never suffered himself to be fettered by any such cobwebs, in following up the clear *principle* of the jurisdiction to cases obviously within its scope. It required but a small portion of his sagacity to see, that, whether the ward of his court was in danger of being educated as an infidel, as a despiser of received moral principles, or as a practical debauchee, it equally became imperative on the court, acting on its own principles, and keeping up the consistency in spirit of its decisions, to rescue the child from the danger.*

But this leads us from the consideration of the now confirmed authority of the Court of Chancery, as a matter of law, to inquire for a moment into the propriety and policy of admitting a jurisdiction of the nature which is thus established. Whatever may have been the barbarous notions on the subject of paternal authority recognized by the Roman law, and adopted into the moral opinions peculiar to their condition of society, it is clear that, in every civilized Christian state, all idea of paternal power, as existing absolutely for the benefit and as an unqualified right of the parent, is now totally exploded. The maxims which would

* It is worthy of remark, that the modern French law distinctly adopts the principle of depriving the father or the mother of the guardianship of their children, on the ground of notorious misconduct (*'incondute notoire'*), although such conduct does not deprive them of the usufruct of such portion of their children's property as they are entitled to by law.—Code Civil, art. 444, 389. *Manuel de Droit Français* par Pailliet, p. 137, 151, notes. In 1808, the Cour Royale of Bourdeaux held that a secret correspondence discovered to be carried on by a mother, proving an illicit connexion, did not amount to such evidence of *'incondute notoire'* as to form a ground for depriving her of the guardianship.—Pailliet, 151. But in 1809, the court of Aix decided, that on clear proof of the facts of pregnancy and delivery of an illegitimate child, a sentence of deprivation must pass against the mother (*ibid.*); if a father, deprived for misconduct of the guardianship, desires to be replaced, as having changed his conduct, he must address himself to what the French law calls the *'conseil de famille'*, who are to decide whether his conduct is changed or not.—Court of Besançon, 1806. Pailliet, &c. 152. In cases of separation between husband and wife, the father's right to the children is altogether rejected, and the courts entrust the children to him or to the mother, or to a third person, exactly as the interests of the child render expedient.—Pailliet, p. 134, note (c).

treat infants as a species of property, to which, by progeneration, a father acquired an indefeasible right and title, are as little congenial to our habits of thinking, as they are countenanced by the jurisprudence of our courts. Christianity and improved morals have alike taught us to regard them as beings capable of acquiring rights; as the objects of the most binding duties; and being the germs from which the good or evil of a future generation must spring, to consider them as creatures of the highest importance to their families and to the state. We know, therefore, in these days, and in this country, nothing of parental power, except as the creature and attendant of parental duties. Paternal authority is with us the mere instrument of paternal obligations—exercised solely and strictly as a trust for the benefit of those to whom it extends. Instead of following the Roman code, in investing the father of a family with a sort of despotic majesty, falsely associated with the character of a creator, we rationally regard him but as the responsible guardian and educator of his children. Let us observe, for a moment, the barbarous and irrational system built up by the Roman jurisprudence upon the sophistical principle of the absolute rights of fathers—of a proprietary dominion in parents over their children, wholly independent of duty towards them. By the Roman law, founded on an institute of Romulus, and transplanted into the Twelve Tables, and from thence handed down by the Roman jurists, children begotten in lawful nuptials, and their issue, were in the ‘paternal dominion’ of the father. The extent of this power, known by the name of the ‘*dominium juris Quiritium*,’ is declared by Justinian to be unknown to other nations. Alluding to the father’s autocratic authority, Quintilian uses the phrase ‘*patria majestas*;^{*}’ and by Ulpian, the father is styled ‘*familiæ princeps*.’ The distinction of the jurists was, that the Roman infant was, in respect to other men, a *person*;—in respect to the state, a *citizen*; in respect to the father, a *thing*.—As a mere chattel could not procreate any being of personal rights, it followed that all the children and grandchildren of the son were also the absolute property of the father during his life; and as it was impossible for a thing to acquire property, it followed that all property acquired by the son instantly vested in the father. Not only might the father incarcerate and corporally punish his son at any period of life; confine him, chained to the most slavish task-work; sell him as a slave; but, in right of his sovereign and judicial authority, as a ‘*jux domesticus*,’ or ‘*domesticus magistratus*,’ in the language of Seneca, he might adjudge him to banishment or to death, and execute the sentence himself.* The dominion of the parent endured for his

* Cassius is said, by Valerius Maximus, to have been thus put to death by his father; the son of Fabius Eburnus, by Quintilian, *Declamat. iii.* Scaurus is also mentioned by Val. Max. *ibid.* Fulvius is mentioned by Sallust, *de Bello Catul.* 39.

life;

life; and even the attainment by the son of the highest offices and honours in the state had only the effect of suspending the father's power, which revived when the official dignity ceased. This rigour of the ancient law was only tardily mitigated by milder institutions. It was not till the time of Trajan, that the father's right of taking his son's life was restrained. Hadrian, following him, sentenced to deportation a father who slew his son in hunting, on account of a suspicion of adultery. In the reign of Alexander Severus, it became customary for sons heinously offending, to be taken before the magistrate, though still the father often dictated the sentence to be inflicted. The power of life and death was finally taken away by Constantine, and transferred to the judicial authorities by a constitution of Valentinian. The inhuman power of thrice selling was abolished by an edict of Diocletian—while Constantine solely permitted the sale of infants just born, '*inopie causâ*,' in order to check the frequent occurrence of a greater evil—child-murder, and exposure in the streets. The right of acquiring property was also gradually obtained by infants under the emperors. At first the acquisition of the *peculium castrense*, or property gained in open warfare, was permitted; next other *peculia* were recognized,—as, that acquired in a liberal profession; next the mother's property was allowed by Constantine to descend to the child; then property gained by marriage was secured; and Justinian, at last, allowed the child to retain and enjoy property acquired in any manner, except from the possessions of the father.* The paternal authority at last began to be subjected to some slight modification with regard to the father's conduct; and even the Roman code, unnatural as it was on this subject, could not, in times of civilization, reject the principle, that there were bounds beyond which a father's immorality could not be carried without depriving him of the lawful dominion over his offspring. '*Si lenones, patres, et domini suis filiabus, vel ancillis peccandi necessitatem imposuerint, liceat filiabus et ancillis, et, episcoporum implorato suffragio, omni miseriarum necessitate absolvi*,' is the language of a constitution of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian†. By a law found among the Novels of Justinian, it is provided '*ut liberi legitimi incestuosorum* (that is, legitimate children by a marriage before the incestuous nuptials) *supplicio patris, sui juris fiant, et res patris accipiant*;'‡ and by another law in the Codex, any severity of treatment contrary to the natural affection of a parent, seems to have been at last admitted as a ground for an emancipation from the

* Pothier, Pandect. Just., lib. i. tit. 6. Heineccius, lib. i. tit. 9. Heinec. Syntag. Antiq. Roman., lib. i. tit. 9, *de patria potestate*. Heinecc. Element. Jur. Civ. lib. 9. tit. 6. Muller, Promptuarium Juris, tit. *patria potestas*.

† Cod. tit. iv. 12.

‡ Just. Novell. xii. cap. 2.

paternal power.* Thus did the latter Romans repudiate the barbarous footsteps of their ancestors, who had followed up to its full extent a false principle unknown in other countries, and especially in this, that the father acquired an absolute right—a *property* in the offspring of his loins. Thus did even the Roman code at last sanction the principle that the law ought to prevent the paternal authority from being abused to the demoralization of the child.

It follows, therefore, from the principle of our religion and our morality, which reject every species of uncontrollable authority of man over man, that the parental authority ought to be measured and bounded strictly by the interests and welfare of the child—that it is to be regarded as a means, and never as an end—to be rendered, as far as institutions can accomplish, efficacious for the good, powerless for the evil of the infant.

‘*The rights of parents,*’ says Paley, ‘*result from their duties.* If it be the duty of a parent to educate his children, to form them for a life of industry and virtue, to provide for them situations needful for their subsistence and suited to their circumstances, and to prepare them for those situations, he has a right to *such authority*, and, in support of that authority, to exercise such discipline as may be necessary for such purposes. The law of nature acknowledges no other foundation of a parent’s right over his children besides his duty towards them. This relation confers no property in their persons, or natural dominion over them, as is generally supposed.’†

‘The power, then,’ says Locke, ‘that parents have over their children, arises from that duty which is incumbent on them, to take care of their offspring during the imperfect state of childhood.’ If, then, the authority and rights of fathers are thus dependent on their duties, or, in other words, conditional on the performance of them, it is manifest that the father’s rights cease when his duties are unperformed. Few persons would talk of the right of a father to starve his child: to injure his health—to debar him of liberty—such a strain, from the Twelve Tables, would meet with little regard even in ancient or modern Constantinople; and yet we hesitate not to say, that it is precisely as reasonable and as logical to talk of the ‘natural right’ of a father to teach his son blaspheming and profligate habits. If such example and instruction are contrary to the duty of a parent, it is absurd to talk of his possessing a natural right to give them. A right to commit a breach of duty is a solecism in language. ‘*Proprie enim loquendo parentes non habent εξουσιαν sive potestatem, sed auctoritatem—habent jus jubendi aut prohibendi sed non irritum faciendi—atque etiam ista auctoritas exercenda est secundum æquum et bonum.*’ All question, therefore, as to absolute natural rights of fathers is wholly excluded by the rational morals and the benign religion of

* Vinn. Comm. lib. i. tit. 12.

† Moral and Political Philosophy, c. x.

the present age, which recognize only a qualified right, an authority enjoyed solely for the benefit of the child, and necessarily forfeited when the condition annexed to it is disregarded. Children being thus regarded, not as chattels but as beings, and parents being treated, not as proprietors but as trustees, the question is, whether it is expedient that the rights of infants should be recognized in their full extent by the municipal law of the country, and the duties of parents enforced, and the mischief of their gross transgressions restrained, by the authority of a civil tribunal. Some states have, indeed, in the infancy of their institutions, regarded the education of children as of too high importance to be trusted at all to parents. Considering the state to have an higher interest than the parent in the child's virtue and usefulness, the state has undertaken the education. Such an institution undoubtedly involves too great a sacrifice of paternal feelings and domestic attachments, to be ever reconcilable with the principles or the feelings of Christian communities : while, looking to the mere objects of attaining the best education, and guarding the most surely against pernicious influence and example, a general system, which altogether rejects the influence of parental and filial affection as a means of education, is open to unanswerable objections. But since experience unhappily proves, that even the security of paternal affection occasionally fails—that vicious and irreligious habits, and corrupted principles, will sometimes stifle affection, and still oftener prostrate the moral judgment, and will thus disqualify fathers for the office of useful instructors or safe protectors of their children, ought the state, in wisdom, to provide the means of controlling the authority of parents when directed to the palpable prejudice of their offspring? Without admitting the Spartan severity, of depriving them of the care of their children altogether, is it wise that any provision should be made for controlling the extreme abuses of their power? Now, if the importance of the objects—the most precious interests of the child, and the incidental advantage of society—are alone considered, no doubt can for a moment be entertained, that such a judicial authority is of the highest advantage, nay, of unquestionable necessity. That the duty of the parent to confer a moral and religious education on his offspring is one of the highest degrees of obligation, and that it is accompanied by a clear unquestionable right in the child to claim such an education at the hands of his parent, no one can possibly deny. For what reason, then, are such sacred duties to be placed beyond the pale of legal enforcement? why are such precious and incontestable rights to be refused the protection of law? It cannot be contended that the law should be passive on such matters, on the same principle on which it refuses to control the violation of some of the minor obligations of morality, to punish intemperance, debauchery,

bauchery, excessive prodigality and luxury. The guilt of a parent, who grossly miseducates or neglects the culture of his offspring, cannot, for a moment, be placed in the same scale with the culpability of those irregularities. Not to speak of the absolute impossibility of suppressing the vices of sensual indulgence, municipal law generally overlooks them, as mainly and principally hurtful to the individual offending, though also noxious to society—as crimes committed against himself, by a party *sui juris*, and competent to see the consequences of his own acts; whereas, the crime of the parent who corrupts or poisons his child's infant principles, is committed solely against another, in violation of the most sacred duty, in abuse of his tender and helpless condition, and producing an injury absolutely beyond estimation or repair. Such serious evils cannot be classed among the *minora* which the law deems unworthy its attention. No one will dispute the wisdom of the municipal law protecting the estate and proprietary interests of the child; few would contend that the law should suffer his property to be impaired or destroyed by his father, any more than by a stranger. But why are the child's physical rights to be regarded, and his moral and religious interests overlooked by the courts? Is the education of an infant of so much less account than the preservation of the timber of his estate, that the court, which strictly protects the latter, may justifiably wink at the grossest moral injuries inflicted on him, by the wrongful superintendence of his parent? Why is the father to be regarded as the strictly accountable guardian of the possessions of his child, if he is to be considered as the unrestricted and irresponsible disposer of his education and moral welfare? Unless, therefore, some evils of a paramount and overwhelming nature must necessarily and unavoidably attend any attempt of the law to control the gross abuse of parental authority, and enforce the performance of the most unquestionable parental duties, we think that, on every ground of legal analogy, on every principle of morals and of policy, the law is bound to undertake the office.

What, then, are the evils which are to be regarded as inseparable from such a jurisdiction? It is objected that it invades the sacred relations of private life, and harshly severs the ties of domestic habit and affection. But if the relations of domestic life are first forgotten or outraged by the parent's conduct; if natural affection is extinguished or totally misdirected, by immoral habits, what right has the parent to set up a privilege which he has forfeited—to claim, on the score of near kindred, to injure those whom he ought to protect—to put forth a title by affection to work the ruin of his offspring? We know of no principle on which any relation of life, however private, however domestic, can claim to be exempted from the scrutinizing eye of law, vigilant for the protection of the weak, and the prevention of injury. If this principle were admitted,

mitted, to what extent might it not be carried! If the fences of domestic life were to be closed at all points, lest the judge should take cognizance of private misdeeds, half of the wrongs which are redressed, and of the crimes that are punished, would escape the light under this false principle of sanctuary. The duties and obligations arising from domestic ties are precisely the most important which connect together members of society; but this surely forms no reason for excluding the controlling arm of justice, when the most cardinal of them all is outraged, and where the law has the means of mitigating the mischievous results. Does the law show its respect for the relation of husband and wife—at least as sacred and private as that between parent and child—by closing its ears against all grievances of which one party may complain against the other? Does it refuse to redress the husband for the wrong inflicted by the adulterer, for fear of intruding on the sanctuary of married life? Does it shrink from protecting a deserted wife, by enjoining the husband to fulfil his marital duties?—or decline to hear her demands for a severance of the matrimonial tie, lest the proceeding should violate the privacy of domestic life? If the relation of husband and wife, and the duties arising out of it, are brought under the control of the judge, why is the relation between parents and children to be held too sacred for his approach? If the law protect the interests and rights of a wife against her husband, why is it to refuse its protection to the rights of an infant, when grossly outraged by its father?

Are such rights to be disregarded as too immaterial and too metaphysical for the cognizance of the law? The same reason would exclude from the courts all jurisdiction as to the rights of married persons; all respect to private fame; all protection of female virtue; all endeavours to compensate the mental griefs of an injured husband—to protect the purity of female honour, or redress the injuries worked by calumny. To admit such a principle would be to debase the legal code, by excluding from its remedial operation every object not measurable by sordid pelf, not immediately conducive to sensual enjoyment, or physical advantage. No right that is positive and substantially valuable in its results can be regarded as too fine or subtle for the protection of law; no injury can be considered as too vague or too refined for legal cognizance, if its consequences are a palpable moral mischief to any member of society. As little regard are we disposed to pay to the topic of which so much was heard at the bar of the House of Lords, the inconvenience and danger of investigating a father's general character, his conduct towards his children, his moral habits and religious principles,—particulars to be often collected from menial servants and cast off dependants. If it is a fit thing that a man, by profligacy of
morals

morals or irreligious principles, should forfeit the right to educate his children, it is indispensable that the necessary evidence shall be adduced to satisfy the court that the father's character affords just ground for its interposition. The legislator, in deciding whether any wrong is of that nature which ought to be made the subject of legal redress or prevention, is to regard the amount of the mischief and the capacity of the law to afford practical relief; but he is not to be withdrawn from the attention of these, which are the true topics for his consideration, by an exaggerated picture of difficulties in the proof of the wrong, and of possible embarrassments in the proceeding. That the proof may be difficult, and the means often only to be obtained from perfidious disclosures and a painful investigation into domestic details, is only the same inconvenience that belongs to many other judicial proceedings, and which (if the object be salutary) is well and necessarily put up with for its attainment.

But then it is urged, that the judge and officers of a court can not possibly be fit persons to superintend the education of a large number of infants, each to be educated according to their station, and fortune, and prospects in life. That the judge cannot be so fit a person for the purpose as a good father, may be readily admitted; but that he is a far fitter person than an abandoned parent we have no hesitation in thinking. The guardianship of the judge is, at least, much the less of two evils. Certain it is that the judge will not train the ward in the ways of infidelity; that he will not introduce a daughter into the society of a harlot,—that he will not poison the sons' minds by immoral precepts and example, or by selecting his companions from the lowest and most vicious classes. With respect to a prudent adaptation of his education to his fortune and prospects, he will set no example of prodigal extravagance, and be, at least, as likely as the parent to exercise a prudent judgment. If not influenced by a parent's affections, he will be, at least, free from a parent's partialities and illusions. At all events he will be unaffected by any selfish notions in his conduct. He must necessarily intrust the more immediate superintendence of the child to the nearest relations or friends fit for the office, and with their assistance he is enabled to determine judiciously on the course of education to be pursued. A fit guardian and instructor are provided by the court, and if they do not strictly perform their duty, others are substituted. That the judge cannot stand *in loco parentis* for all purposes,—that he cannot extend to the child the inestimable advantage of a moral domestic home,—that he cannot offer him the admonitions of virtue, sweetened and enforced by affection,—nor set before him a virtuous example, rendered irresistible by parental influence and filial love, cannot be denied; but to whom is the child indebted for privations so cruel,

so absolutely irreplaceable?—to the father, who has abdicated his duties by disqualifying himself for their performance,—who has rendered his child an orphan in his own life, and who ought to thank the laws, which neither suffer his son to be rendered bankrupt by his prodigality, nor to be contaminated by his intercourse and example.

But the jurisdiction is said to be necessarily indefinite, and, therefore, pregnant with danger and grounds of apprehension. That it is, and must remain, uncircumscribed by any precise definition of the cases to which it shall extend, we admit, and we believe it to be absolutely necessary that it should be so. If it is admitted, that immoral conduct pursued, or irreligious principles put forth by a parent to that extent which may be reasonably considered as dangerous to the virtue and religion of his child, are to furnish grounds for excluding the parent from the guardianship, it is obvious that the modes in which such conduct and principles may show themselves, may be as various and as indefinable as the species of vice and depravity which degrade the conduct of men. But the difficulty of strictly defining any jurisdiction affords no valid reason whatever against the upholding it, if its main object is wise and salutary or necessary. Though this rule may refuse definition in the abstract, or at least only admit one vague in its terms, there is little difficulty in applying it in the concrete, when the facts of particular cases come to be considered; and if the jurisdiction is invested in an incorrupt and spotless tribunal, where is the danger arising from this unavoidable vagueness? If the tribunal is of a different description, what strictness of definition would render its power safe? These are not the days in which we are called upon by want of integrity in our tribunals, to deny to them any useful jurisdiction, though not strictly defined in its nature. In this case, in cases of libel, and in many others, if no law were to be administered by the courts but what could be reduced to strict terms of definition, we must leave chasms in our codes for some of the most important branches of authority which the courts most usefully exercise. While the judicial seats are filled by men of principle and honour, of high station, and competent emolument; while they are surrounded with the safeguard of publicity and open to the censure of free opinion, we need not adopt that narrowest of policies which would deny them a necessary or expedient or politic authority from a vague dread of its possible abuse.

But, after all, there is abundance of exaggeration in the objections made to the indefinite nature of this jurisdiction. Its principle is well defined and settled—its objects are palpable and unambiguous. Any conduct of the parent which tends, according to Lord Thurlow's phrase, 'to work the ruin of the child' in his custody, is a ground for the Chancellor's protection. Does

this language, or do the instances brought under decision, point to any but extreme cases of extraordinary misconduct in the parent? To say that the vague nature of the jurisdiction affords legitimate ground for apprehension to parents of fair character and conduct, or even to those of considerable laxity of life and unsoundness of principle; that there is any one such man who can honestly assert that the decision in Mr. Wellesley's case gives him reason to fear for himself, is as groundless an exaggeration as was ever palmed upon the public by inconsiderate declaimers or half-informed reformers. It happens with this jurisdiction, as it necessarily does with others in these days of public scrutiny of judicial proceedings. The judge administering an undefined, and, to a certain degree, discretionary authority under the eye of the public, and under a sense of responsibility, at once satisfies his conscience and consults his security by never going to the extreme verge of his jurisdiction. Unless a case stands broadly and clearly within its limits, the judge naturally refuses to act. Feeling that his decision not only affects present interests, but is to stand as a landmark, and afford a rule to future judges, he demands a clear and palpable and specific ground on which to rest his authority, before he pronounces a judgment of such vital consequence. The character of the cases where the jurisdiction has been exercised clearly manifests the caution which has influenced the judges. A father outlawed in a foreign country, bankrupt in fortune, and vicious in character; another in Newgate for breach of the peace against his own wife; another an habitual drunkard and blasphemer; a fourth, an avowed atheist, having published a book denying a God, and decrying the institution of marriage, and acting up to his principles by deserting his wife and living in adultery; a fifth, ruined by a most incredible prodigality, bound hand and foot in an adulterous connexion with the wife of another, and perversely inculcating immoral lessons on his children—such are the slight, the shadowy, the dangerous, and doubtful cases to which the jurisdiction has hitherto been applied. Such are the instances which, we are told, are to throw respectable parents into agitation, lest, by reason of their authority and analogy, some lord chancellor should tear their children from their virtuous and affectionate control. Is it not absurd to sound an alarm on the impending dangers of a jurisdiction thus guardedly administered—thus applying in principle and practice only to cases marked by the broadest features of immorality and irreligion—administered in a public court, with full public discussion, and subject to the control of an appeal to the peers of the realm?

To what but the conscientious caution, which naturally influences a judge to use more deliberation in proportion as his juris-

diction is in any degree discretionary, can we ascribe Lord Eldon's protracted deliberation, his unwearied hearings, and assiduous ponderings on the overwhelming testimony in the Wellesley case? Could he, or could any man, after the first three days were at an end, entertain any moral doubt as to the character of the parent, or the perils of the children in that case? But Lord Eldon becomingly required the conduct of the father, his habits of life, and all the circumstances of his pernicious and perilous connexions to be established with legal certainty; and it was only when the measure of legal conviction was heaped to overflowing, that he pronounced his wise determination to save the infants from indisputable peril, by the protective authority of the Chancellor. Is there a father living who can say that this case fills him with apprehension, lest for some peccadillo in conduct, some doubtful expression of irreligious or immoral import, some casual irregularities of life, he should be pronounced by the Lord Chancellor unfit to educate his children? Is there any other than a profligate, confirmed in the habits of adultery, debauchery, and obscenity, that can fear the application of the precedent? The same observation applies to that judge's decision in the case of Mr. Bysshe Shelley. Was that a slight case, in which the facts proved left the mind in doubt as to the unfitness of the father? Were Mr. Shelley's opinions, as to religion and morals, ambiguous as to their tendency and extent, or resting on evidence of a doubtful character? Was the perniciousness of his principles mitigated by the correctness of his life? Far from it. It appeared, by sufficient legal testimony, that Mr. Bysshe Shelley had published a book denying the existence of a Creator, and vilifying the virtue of chastity and the institution of marriage—that he had deserted his wife, and was living in adultery with another woman, and that he designed to bring up his children in his own principles—these were the grounds on which Lord Eldon deprived him of the custody of his children. Is this a precedent to be regarded with apprehension by any except the professed atheist and the practical profligate united in the same parent? Neither the man of occasional laxity of conduct, nor the man of pure life, who holds or who publishes opinions of an irreligious nature, need entertain the slightest apprehension of the operation of a precedent, presenting a black combination of systematic infidelity, satanic wickedness of principle, and open profligacy of life. In *Lyons v. Blenkin*, where the child was a baptist and the father had turned unitarian, Lord Eldon rejected at once the idea of attaching any weight to any such difference of religious opinion. 'With the religious tenets of either party,' said his lordship, 'I have nothing to do, except so far as the law of the country calls upon

upon me to look on some religious opinions as *dangerous to society.*' (1)

Do we find, then, in these cases, or in the decisions of Lord Thurlow and Lord Erskine, any attempt, any disposition, to stretch the principle, vague as it may be deemed, one iota beyond its wise and essential aim and object—that of shielding from ruin children in the hands of parents so grossly vicious, or irreligious, as necessarily to render the parental influence contaminating and perilous? It is manifest that it is a jurisdiction only meant for extreme cases, and that to extreme cases alone has it been applied. If the integrity of the judge, if the public vigilance, affords no security against abuse, surely some may be found in the absence of all sinister interest. Can any rational motive be pointed out which should induce the keeper of the great seal to add to the overwhelming amount of his duties, to accumulate fresh causes of anxiety, and labour, and embarrassment, upon himself, by unjustly drawing upon himself the personal superintendence of the education of infant suitors? His interest,—if anything resembling interest can be said to exist—we are satisfied, is all the other way. All ordinary personal motives—if a judge could admit any such—would prompt him to leave the duty in the father's hands. Nothing but a deep and conscientious sense of duty, a courageous determination to ascertain the right line, and unshrinkingly to act up to it, can bear up a judge under the harassing investigation of such a case as that of Mr. Long Wellesley, or can inspire him with fortitude to brave obloquy, and to draw upon himself the load of responsibility which such a decision entails upon him. An unprincipled judge would, we suspect, be sorely tempted at once to truckle to popular clamour, and consult his own ease by consigning the infants to that care which, however pernicious, however ruinous, has still some popular prejudice on its side. In this, as in so many other instances, Lord Eldon exhibited a model of that lofty independence of mind—the first of judicial qualities—which acts solely from internal motives; regardless of popular clamour, and indifferent to vulgar eulogy.

‘ Intaminatis fulget honoribus,
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.’

To desire to give up the present good to the infant, effected by such a decision, from a vague fear of a possible abuse of the jurisdiction, appears to us nothing less than to rank contingencies higher than realities—to be nervously sensitive to shadows, and splendidly unmindful of substances—to be willing to sacrifice a hundred infants to flagitious fathers, in order to avoid a bare possibility of one ever being the victim of a corrupt Chancellor.

But the jurisdiction, it is alleged, may be made the instrument of private revenge and malicious annoyance; the enemy of a father may, forsooth, bestow on his child a fortune; may then make him a ward of the Court, by instituting a suit; and may apply to the Chancellor to appoint a guardian; and may gratify his malice against the father by objecting, on the score of his character or conduct, to his filling that office—and, it is said, if he does not succeed in his object of excluding the father, he will, at least, subject him to a scrutiny of all the acts of his private life before a public Court. When a jurisdiction is thus assailed by a statement of a possibility of abuse, founded on the assumption of a complication of contingencies just within possibility, it is at least obvious that rational objections are not abundant against it. Admitting that a good father may have a bitter enemy—that his malice may urge him, contrary to all common motives, to settle a fortune of some hundreds per annum on his foe's son—that out of mere malice he may incur the additional expense and trouble of procuring a chancery suit to be instituted to make the child a ward of court—granting all these highly probable contingencies to happen, still how is the enemy's malice to induce the Lord Chancellor and the House of Lords to deprive the father of the guardianship, unless he be indeed a person unfitted, in point of morals or religion, to fill that office? If he be such a person, it is desirable and proper that the jurisdiction should control his parental authority, even although (as occasionally happens with very salutary proceedings of justice) it may have been put in motion by unprincipled malignity. If the father be not such a person, the malicious plot proves abortive, and the defeated enemy has conferred a fortune on the child, without being able to wound or annoy the parent—a result admirably calculated, it must be admitted, to encourage the frequency of such attempts! But at least, it is said, the malicious foe is enabled to harass the parent by the assault on his private character which the proceeding involves. But why should he incur the difficulty and heavy pecuniary sacrifice of attacking the father through the medium of the Chancery jurisdiction, when numberless modes, at once cheaper and easier, are open to malignity and falsehood? Without perjury and suborned testimony, malice would find no means of annoyance in an attempt to deprive the father of his children. But with the aid of false testimony, and audacious conspiracy, there is no judicial proceeding which may not be wrested to the purpose of gratifying revenge, and overpowering innocence—and this without the pleasing preliminary of bestowing some thousands on a child. Proceedings on penal statutes are every day put in force from motives of malignity or lucre—indictments for perjury are common instruments for the oppression of individuals obnoxious

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to the individual prosecuting. But are we to abolish at once such proceedings, because malice is occasionally their mover? It by no means follows, that because the motive of a legal proceeding is improper or even wicked, its result is unjust—far from it. Justice is, in many cases, necessarily attained through wicked instruments. But certainly, if any one proceeding is less likely than another to be abused to improper and malignant ends, we conceive it to be a proceeding, like the jurisdiction in question, fraught with difficulties, applying only to extreme cases, and not to be put in motion by a stranger, without first endowing the child with a considerable property. An objection more far-fetched, we conceive, could hardly be devised.

But it is argued that the jurisdiction is, as it were, *felo-de-se*—that it is wrong on its own principles, since it only extends to infants possessed of some property which may be the subject of a suit to ground the court's jurisdiction; and it is contended that, if it be really wise, there can be no reason for restricting it to such a limited range of cases. That this might be a plausible argument for extending the jurisdiction (if possible) to every vicious parent, whether the child has property or not, we agree; and we are sure that this ought to be the object of those putting forth an argument which in itself admits the utility of the authority; but that it affords any argument against the existing jurisdiction to show that it does not go far enough—that, though it does good, it does not do all the good that is desirable—we confess ourselves at a loss to understand. The jurisdiction is limited as it is, not only because it has grown out of the duties and functions of the court respecting an infant's property, but also from the physical impossibility of any court exercising such a jurisdiction, without funds in its power to be applied for the support of the infant. To any legislative attempt to extend a principle in itself excellent, and to throw the chancellor's protection over the children of the poor as well as of the rich, in cases where their parents grossly violate their parental duties, we should have no other objection, than that we believe it would be found wholly impracticable. It is, however, to be observed, that the same degree of strong necessity does not exist in the two cases. The circumstances and situation of the parties are wholly different; and, though we are by no means disposed to draw distinctions, as to the obvious necessity for virtuous education, between the higher and the lower classes, we think there are many difficulties and some correctives to be found in the very poverty and narrow circumstances of the latter; and, at least, that the mischief of their immoral habits is confined to a less sphere than that influenced by the qualities and conduct of higher individuals. It cannot be denied that it is in the kind of cases in which the jurisdiction is commonly exercised, viz., in cases of infants of

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some consideration and station in society, that the evil is the most crying and manifold, and that the judicial remedy is most peculiarly important. When we consider the multitude of individuals whose happiness and comfort are of necessity dependent on the disposition, and character, and habits of one individual of exalted station and large possessions; how extensive both in public and in private life are his means of effecting widely-felt good or evil, it is impossible to provide too effectual means of securing to him an early education and example conducive to his virtue, benevolence, and utility. The interest of the public in the principles and character of such a youth are scarcely less considerable than that of himself and his family. And yet what virtues or good qualities of any kind are to be expected from any man, of which the seeds are not sown and the growth nourished in his tender years? Independently, therefore, of the strong private claim, which every helpless subject may make for protection at the hands of the law against every species of wrong, moral or physical, practised upon him in his defenceless youth by any other, be he whom he may—independently of these considerations, we conceive that, on public grounds, a jurisdiction is expedient and indispensable, which, in cases of extreme necessity, interposes to prevent youths of family and high expectations from being mis-educated by parents in a manner calculated to render them disgraceful to their order, disqualified for their public functions, and mischievous to society in proportion to the means at their command. Is it desirable to perpetuate in an aristocracy an entail of indecorum and depravity, and carefully to abstain from preventing a father from transmitting by education all his vices to his sons? If an individual of one generation becomes a blot on his family, and on society, is the virus to be preserved for the deliberate inoculation of his successors? Are peccs of the realm to be educated in the morals of the brothel, and in the society of the gallies, because the being who begot them is, unhappily, lost to all virtue, and because the laws can acknowledge no control over the powers of a flagitious parent? In vain would the government—in vain would individuals labour to ameliorate society, by improving the education of all ranks—in vain would the ministers of religion inculcate the virtues and duties necessary for individual and social happiness—if the head of an important family, invested with a power beyond all control, could place himself between his infants and their country, and their God, and claim, on the plea of paternal right and parental authority, to corrupt and debase the beings who must ultimately exercise an influence over their families, and over society at large.

ART. VII.—*A Review of the Negotiations between the United States of America and Great Britain, respecting the Commerce of the Two Countries, and more especially concerning the Trade of the former with the West Indies.* By the Honourable Littleton W. Tazewell. Norfolk in Virginia. Printed with the signature ‘Senex,’ in ‘the Norfolk Herald;’ and reprinted, London. 8vo. 1829.

IF we take a view of the origin, progress, and present state of the several colonies founded by the European nations in the western world, we cannot but be deeply impressed with the vast differences that present themselves. We shall not fail to observe, that those which originated in England, on whatever reason or pretext they may have commenced, and although sometimes injudiciously planned, have soon become flourishing communities; and, whether connected with or independent of the parent state, have exhibited a constant and regular progression in knowledge, in population, in wealth, in civilization, and in all the acquisitions which adorn and dignify the human character. If the view here sketched be compared with the colonial history of the other nations of Europe, we must be struck with the contrast, and may be allowed, without the imputation of vanity or of nationality, to feel a high sense of the benefits we have conferred on our species.

We turn, for instance, to the settlements, founded by Spain and Portugal—settlements older by more than a century than any of the English. These had the benefit of a soil so productive, as, with slight efforts of industry, to yield all that the absolute wants of human beings require: the climates in which they were planted were mild and genial; at some seasons, perhaps, intensely hot, but never exposed to the sudden and severe alternations of heat and cold which affect the localities where the English established themselves. Those countries abounded, also, in all the minerals which contribute to the convenience, the luxury, or the wealth of nations. But, with these advantages, the progress they made in civilization was scarcely perceptible. The turbulent habits of the first settlers, the military adventurers, were soon reduced, not to the regular and sober habits of agricultural or any other kind of industry, but to a languid and supine indolence—greatly increased by the mildness of the climate, combined with the soporific influence of a system of ecclesiastical discipline opposed to all mental exertion. The settlements of Spain and Portugal have increased in their white population at a much slower rate than the colonies planted by England. Including in the estimate the coloured race, the population of these settlements is supposed to be double that of similar establishments originating in this country; but, though they have been nearly twice as long in existence, their inhabitants of the white race do not amount to half the number of the present

present white population of the United States, and those provinces of North America which still appertain to the British crown.

In the colonies of Britain, whilst under the dominion of the parent state, intellect, animation, industry, were constantly in exercise, and constantly increasing. When, through mutual mismanagement and misapprehension, they came to be involved in a war for their independence, there was less sanguinary ferocity exercised than, perhaps, any other civil war on record ever exhibited. When their independence was achieved, as was rationally to be expected, some degree of confusion, and much of the party-spirit which uncertainty engenders, were displayed; yet none of those scenes of turbulence, terminating in atrocities marked with blood, disgraced the commencement of their independent career, which have accompanied every one of the steps of the Spanish American emancipation.

We view the progress which the United States have since made, and shall view that which we hope they will in future make, with complacency and with self-gratulation. We look with emotions of honest pride across the Atlantic. We there behold ten millions of human beings sprung from ourselves—speaking our language—disposed, like ourselves, to cultivate freedom in speculation and in action—initiated in the habits of order, integrity, industry, and enterprise, which Britain has diffused through all the ramifications of society—drawing from the fountain-head of knowledge—the land of their ancestors—whatever of the arts, the sciences, and the decorations of life can be accommodated to the advancement they have hitherto made in social life. We see with pleasure that, as far as they have copied the institutions of their ancestors, they have been benefited by the example; and we see also, that when, from necessity, from caprice, or the affectation of discovery, they have departed from these models, such departure has formed an impediment to their advancement, or has involved them in temporary or local suffering.

Mr. Tazewell's work gives a clear and distinct historical narrative of the several diplomatic negotiations which, from the independence of America to the present time, have been carried on between the governments of the two countries on commercial subjects. The facts are accompanied by the proofs, the inductions are fairly drawn, and the conclusions left to the reader.

Before, however, we proceed to the several negotiations which it details, we must be permitted, without indulging any hostile or unkind feeling towards America, to take a view of the transactions which preceded any attempts of that kind. The long continuance of the war of independence had naturally soured the minds of the combatants. A degree of irritability had been excited which could not be speedily allayed. A new state of things had arisen, which required moderate counsels, in order to produce temperate feelings.

ings. The hostile feelings of America had been directed solely towards England. The hostile feelings of England had been divided between America, France, and Spain, and, latterly, Holland. To these latter powers were attributed not merely hostility but treachery, and the degrading crime of duplicity. Thus, at the termination of the war, the feelings of England towards America, if not cordial, were at least softened, whilst the treachery and duplicity of the other belligerents had attracted to them the concentrated hostility or contempt of this country. Under these circumstances, it was natural that England should lead the way to conciliation with America, and that America should coldly, and with suspicion, receive the demonstrations of returning amity.

A few facts will show the conduct of the two parties towards each other. By the acknowledgment of her independence, America had acquired the right of trading to all parts of the world not subject to the mother country; but she had lost the right to trade with the colonies which still owed allegiance to her late sovereign. This is of the nature of a coasting trade, which no government allows to be carried on in foreign vessels; and such, by their independence, the vessels of America had become with respect to the British dominions. This trade, although not generally opened to America, was, however, occasionally permitted, under certain restrictions, in which the Americans necessarily acquiesced: but the permission was granted much more to benefit the British colonies than to serve the United States. The ships of America had become aliens in Great Britain, and, in strict justice, were bound to pay the same tonnage-duty as the vessels of all other nations; yet a preference was given to them: on account of this preference foreigners made representations to our government, but it continued from the cessation of hostilities in 1783 to 1792. The Americans, on the other hand, in several of the states, imposed tonnage-duty on English ships higher than on their own, and added to it other restrictions. The same discrepancies were to be seen in duties on imports and exports. The products of the United States were allowed to be imported into Great Britain, at the rate of duty charged on the same articles from the North American provinces still under the British dominion, and many of them at a lower rate than would have applied to them had they come from any foreign country in Europe. Such commodities, whether imported in American or in British ships, were charged with a like duty, though, if imported in other foreign ships, they were subject to the alien or higher duty. The Americans, on the contrary, imposed various discriminating duties, to the injury of British commerce. Of these and of similar laws passed, we believe, in other states, Great Britain had a right to complain; but it caused no countervailing restrictions on her part.

By the treaty of peace it had been stipulated, 'That creditors

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on either side should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all *bond fide* debts heretofore contracted.' By another article it was stipulated, 'That congress shall earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of acts and laws regarding the premises, so as to render them perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with the spirit of conciliation which on the return of peace should universally prevail.' The legislature of Great Britain acted in full conformity to these just and honourable principles: in their persons and property, American subjects uninterruptedly enjoyed throughout the British dominions the same protection as British subjects; and no distinction was ever made either by the British legislature or by the courts of justice to the disadvantage of American citizens.

We must now turn to the laws enacted in the states, and to the decisions in the American courts of justice. In many of the states laws were passed, enacting that in some cases debts due to British subjects should be paid only by instalments, and postponing the last instalment to a very distant period: that in other cases no suits should be permitted to be instituted by a British subject for a debt contracted by a citizen of the United States, till a distant period; and that no execution should be levied till a certain number of years had expired after judgment had been obtained; and these rules were applied not only to debts contracted before the war, but, in some cases, even to debts contracted after the peace. Laws were also passed in some of the states, making a depreciated paper currency legal tender, and even authorising debtors to tender land, at a certain valuation, in satisfaction of their debts; and yet in these identical states it had been held by the courts of justice that British subjects were aliens, and, as such, incapable of holding land—so that the land thus assigned to a British creditor in payment of his debt reverted to the state by this rule of law, as being the forfeited property of an alien possessor. In one of the states the governor made an order, (which subsisted for a short time,) compelling all British subjects and factors, who had arrived there for the purpose of collecting and recovering the debts owing to their employers, forthwith to depart from the territories of that state. In almost all the states, laws were passed precluding British creditors from claiming interest which had accrued during the continuance of the war, or any debts then owing to them. In one of the states all demands of interest were declared unlawful till after the 1st of May, 1786.

We have not adverted to these transactions in order to taunt the Americans of the present generation with the conduct of those that preceded them, but to show that the return towards conciliation was more prompt and more cordial on the part of Great Britain than

than on that of America. It should be observed also, that during the period we have been surveying, there was no general government in America of sufficient strength either to enforce the terms of the treaty of peace, or to enact any commercial laws against the decisions of the state legislatures.

This state of things continued till after 1791 ; and though Great Britain had strong grounds of complaint, yet as, in the interval since the peace, the trade with America had increased beyond what it had been in a period of correspondent length preceding the war, she waited with patience, and without remonstrance, till a more powerful and therefore tangible government was formed. A more efficient government was at length established, under the virtuous and enlightened Washington, who felt and endeavoured to remedy the evils which had arisen from the want of a federal organization of the general power of the states.

When the general government was put in action, the powers of the state governments ceased, as far as regarded the imposition of taxes and the regulation of external commerce. Congress imposed a higher duty on foreign ships than on their own, and a higher import duty on the goods they brought ; but they were of so low a rate, and the difference so insignificant, that no foreign nation made any complaints or remonstrances on the subject, though Great Britain thought it necessary to establish countervailing duties ; and in this manner the trade was carried on till the end of 1794. Complaint and discontent had mutually been engendered by the alleged non-fulfilment of the treaty of peace, and to remove them, by negotiation, Mr. Jay arrived in England as envoy extraordinary in 1793.

In the account of this and the succeeding negotiations, we shall adopt the facts as represented by Mr. Tazewell, both because they are distinguished by the most scrupulous accuracy, and because his testimony, when given in favour of the honourable conduct of Great Britain, must be considered stronger than that of our own countrymen. The treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay settled the several questions involving the commercial relations of the two countries, and conferred upon America the privilege of trading with the British possessions in the East Indies. The question of the trade to the West Indies was adjusted by a special article. Great Britain conceded to the United States the right of exporting their own productions to, and of importing those of our islands from them in vessels of not more than seventy tons burden, on the payment of the same duties which were chargeable on British vessels carrying on a similar trade. The American vessels were, however, to carry their return cargoes, and to land them in the United States only. America, in return for these concessions, stipulated to prohibit the exportation, from their
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ports, in American vessels, of molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa, and cotton. This last condition was thought too hard by the senate of the United States, and the president refused to ratify the twelfth article of the treaty, containing the arrangements respecting the West Indies. The British government had at first reluctantly admitted the subject of the West India trade to become a matter of discussion, and willingly agreed to expunge this provision from the treaty, which was finally ratified by both parties, with the special exception of the article which referred to that branch of commerce. Such was the termination of this attempt to regulate the trade of the Americans with our islands.

Mr. Tazewell says, on this subject,

‘The trade then remained as it had stood before this negotiation had commenced, that is to say, American vessels were still *generally* excluded the British West India ports, but were *occasionally* admitted there, in the manner before stated. In this condition the matter remained for many years.

‘And here let me remark, that although the negotiation of the Treaty of 1794 furnished the most conclusive evidence that nothing was to be expected from negotiation upon this subject at that time—although the heavy pressure, imposed as well upon Great Britain herself, as upon her colonies, by the war in which she was then engaged, seemed to present a fair opportunity to try the effect of retaliatory measures upon her then tottering interests, and to open another negotiation with her, while labouring under the weight of such a new burden—although the condition of the neutral commerce of the United States (which at that time had the monopoly of almost every other market) was so eminently prosperous, that even the total deprivation of the trade with the British West India islands would not then have been sensibly felt by any interest in the United States—yet such was the cautious policy, the sagacious prudence, and the profound wisdom of that great man, President Washington, who, for the happiness and glory of the United States, then presided over their destinies, that it never entered seriously into his imagination to make such an experiment. A vain, reckless, speculative politician, fancying himself to be a statesman, and more solicitous to obtain ephemeral popularity by the exhibition of some specious, glittering scheme, than to rest his hopes of future fame upon the solid basis of his country’s real and permanent interest, secured by moderation, and promoted by sagacious prescience, would probably have acted differently. Stimulated by the idle hope of coercing Great Britain to abandon her ancient colonial system, by empty menaces, and useless restrictions upon her trade, such a man might perhaps have been captivated by the spectacle existing in his own disordered imagination only, of elevating the commercial prosperity of one country, by depressing that of another. But fortunately for the United States, Washington was not such a man.

‘He had studied, and knew well, the character of the nation with which he had to deal, and had no conceit that loud-sounding threats
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or idle prohibitions were either arguments calculated to convince her understanding, or weapons useful to constrain her will.

‘He knew also, that such an experiment, from the very nature of the case, must act partially upon a portion of the United States only, the agricultural states; and bear heavily upon them, not for their own ultimate benefit, but for the advantage of the navigating states alone. And that in such a country, and under such a government as that of the United States, these partial impositions upon one portion of the states must necessarily create jealousies, and heart-burnings, difficult to be appeased, and dangerous to the continuance either of the Union or the existing government. Unseducd, therefore, by present appearances, and solicitous only for the permanent prosperity of his country, this truly wise statesman rested satisfied with the position in which the subject was then and had ever been placed since the peace of 1783. He recommended no new restrictions, but was content that the United States should derive quietly all the benefits of the colonial trade which, under any circumstances, they could derive, without risking much of some of the great interests of our society, under the hope of gaining but a little for others.’

The treaty had been limited to a duration of twelve years which expired in 1807—when a negotiation for the renewal of it was commenced by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney. An agreement was then entered into, by which the intercourse between the United States and our colonies was referred to future negotiation, the British ministers having, throughout the whole intercourse, steadily, but courteously, declined to make this trade a subject of negotiation. This treaty was however rejected by the President Jefferson. In his instructions to the American envoys, he had especially directed that an article upon the subject of impressment should be a *sine quâ non* of any arrangement, and the American communicated this circumstance to the British negotiators before signing the treaty.

Such was the fate of the second attempt at negotiation. Soon after this failure, but not, perhaps, solely actuated by this disappointment, the American government laid an embargo on all their own vessels, and this was followed up by a law forbidding all intercourse between the United States and both Great Britain and France. Mr. Tazewell remarks, that this system necessarily effected a suspension of the trade with the West Indies; and adds that

‘The consequences of this suspension will long be remembered here. They taught lessons, which, while recollected, it was to have been expected would have produced caution in again resorting to similar measures; and which probably would have produced such an effect, but for causes hereafter to be disclosed. They demonstrated to Great Britain, that her American colonies were not so dependent upon the United States as had before that time been supposed; and so produced a language, on her part, such as she had not before held.—Their
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severe pressure demoralized our own citizens, by tempting them to evade a system, under whose heavy burden they found it difficult to exist, and so rendered the habitual violation of law no longer universally odious. They shook this temple of our Union to its very foundation; and, most probably, would have tumbled it into ruin, had they continued much longer. They forced the premature birth of that system of manufactures, whose sickly existence afterwards required and received the undue encouragement which must destroy the foreign commerce, and has already nearly ruined the agricultural interest of a large portion of these once happy and contented states. They impoverished a flourishing revenue; and were the ultimate causes of an enormous public debt, the unequal distribution of which acts like the suction of a leech applied to the muscles of labour, to extract its blood and strength, in order to gorge the voracious and not-to-be-satisfied appetite of bloated capital. But even to hint at all the mischiefs that resulted from the short-sighted and wretched policy which dictated the restrictive system of 1809 would require a volume.—pp. 26, 27.

The embargo was followed by the short war between the two countries, which lasted from June 1812 till December 1814. It is not to our purpose to dwell on the causes of that war; it may, however, be remarked, that the addition of a Transatlantic enemy to the European powers already combined against us, though somewhat vexatious, was of trifling consequence to Great Britain, when compared with the evils which America drew on herself even by that short contest. The financial and commercial distress of the short period during which the war lasted, and the sufferings caused by the re-action when peace was concluded, would read a beneficial lesson, if collective bodies and democratic societies could be taught wisdom by experience.

As the treaty of Ghent was merely one of pacification, and contained no stipulations in regard to the commercial intercourse between the two nations, the American commissioners proceeded from that city to London. Mr. Tazewell describes this negotiation in the following words:—

‘In the course of the negotiation, they proffered to the British ministers the liberal principle of the recent Act of 1815, as the basis of the proposed treaty; and offered that the vessels of either nation should be received into all the ports of the other upon the same terms with its own. The British negotiators acceded to this proposition, so far as it might apply to the *European* possessions of Great Britain, but refused to admit it, as applicable to her other dependencies. In relation to these, they declined entering into any discussion whatever as to the trade of the American colonies of Great Britain, and would only agree to renew some of the provisions of the treaty of 1794, in reference to the trade of her East Indian possessions. Thus narrowing and restricting still further the privileges formerly conceded to us in this respect. And as the principle adopted as the basis of the proposed

posed treaty, so far as it applied even to the European possessions of Great Britain, was a new one, the operation and effect of which upon either party was of course but an experiment, it was mutually agreed that this proposed treaty should continue for four years only.

‘Such a treaty was concluded on the 3d day of July, 1815; was ratified on the 22d day of December, 1815; and carried into effect by an act of congress passed on the 1st day of March, 1816. Thus terminated the *third* effort of the United States to arrange the subject of the colonial trade by negotiation.’—pp. 34, 35.

The defence of the conduct of Great Britain, in the course of this negociation, is most accurately stated in the words of Mr. Tazewell.

‘The reasons which induced Great Britain to decline admitting the subject of the colonial trade as a matter of discussion with the United States in the negociation of 1815, upon the basis proposed for that negociation, have been already suggested. Liberal and equitable as the proposition seems to be in its terms, yet its practical effect necessarily must have been to exclude the vessels and many of the productions of Great Britain from her own ports, and to grant a monopoly of her West India trade to the United States.—This effect would have been the result of natural causes, to be found in the proximity of the two countries, in the necessities of the West India demands, and in the character of American supplies. Enjoying such physical advantages in the trade, any principle of nominal equality must have operated unequally in favour of the United States; and the situation of the two parties would never have been so dissimilar, as an agreement upon terms of abstract equality would have made it. Great Britain, therefore, never can accept such a proposition, but must always endeavour to obviate, by artificial benefits to herself, the natural advantages the United States possess in this intercourse.

‘Her refusal to include, in the Treaty of 1815, any provision upon the subject of her American colonial trade, left this trade in the same situation it had before occupied in the time of Washington, after the rejection by the United States of the 12th article of the Treaty of 1794; and in the time of Jefferson, after the rejection by him of the Treaty of 1807. President Madison, imitating the example of both these his illustrious predecessors, abstained from recommending any prohibition of this trade, and suffered it to remain as it had always been. He saw very clearly, as they had done, that, to the producers of the articles required for this trade—that is to say, to the agriculturists and manufacturers of the United States, it made not the least difference, whether the products of their labour were transported in one vessel or another. In either case their profits would be the same. He saw also, as these his predecessors had done, that to those employed in exchanging these productions of ours for the products of the labour of any other country—that is to say, to the merchants of the United States, it made not the least difference, whether their exchanges were effected by the employment of one vessel or another. In either case their profit would be the same, whether they chartered a Danish, English,

lish, or American vessel. And that to all the other classes of our society, save only to that employed in transporting the products to be exchanged—that is to say, the navigating class or ship owners, it made no kind of difference whatever by whom the transportation was effected.

‘To deprive all the other classes of society, however, of the benefits of a trade they then enjoyed, merely because the navigating class could not participate in these benefits, also seemed to him a course of policy unjust in itself, and little calculated to restore harmony to the discordant parts of the United States, which had already manifested some estrangement to each other in consequence of the effects of the restrictive system, and of the war. There existed, moreover, no well-founded expectation, that the infliction of this certain injury upon all would produce any ultimate beneficial effect to any, or that, by the prostration of agriculture and commerce, navigation could be protected against the inconvenience it then suffered. Menaces or prohibitions might possibly make the matter worse, but would not probably make it better.—Formerly, when pressed by a dreadful war, Great Britain had refused to concede any thing which, while she was belligerent and they neutral, the United States could accept; and, recently, when peace existed, she had declined to accept a proposition of apparent equality and reciprocity which the United States had offered. Now, in accepting this proposition as applicable to her European possessions only, the acceptance was limited in its duration to four years. Was it to be expected, then, that the menaces or prohibitions of peace would act upon her more strongly than the actual privations and dangers of war had done? or that now, when seven years of non-intercourse had proved the independence of her West India colonies of the United States, she would concede more favourable terms than she had been willing before to grant?’—p. 35-37.

In 1816 some subjects, not adjusted by the treaty of Ghent, required to be arranged, and the occasion was embraced by America to propose a negotiation respecting the Colonial trade. Madison, then president, instructed Mr. Adams, then minister in London, but now President of the United States, to enter on the subject. The advances of the American minister were at first received with coldness on the part of Lord Castlereagh, but in consequence of a note, dated the 17th of September, in which Mr. Adams said, ‘*It is not asked that Great Britain should renounce the right of prohibiting the importation into her colonies from the United States of whatever articles she may see fit,*’ Lord Castlereagh wrote to Mr. Adams on the 28th, stating the reasons which prevented him from paying immediate attention to the subject, and assuring him that he should bring the various objects referred to under the early deliberation of the British cabinet. Mr. Adams, without waiting for the result of these deliberations, which he had been assured should be devoted to the objects he had himself suggested, within one week, on the 5th of October, wrote to his government, ‘that there was no reason to expect a departure from the

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the policy already determined upon would take place;’ and urged the advantage of establishing *effective counteracting regulations in respect to the commerce with the British colonies in the West Indies*. He thus personally committed himself to a course of conduct into which the then president and the assembled congress refused to be directed. Lord Castlereagh, with satisfactory apologies for the delay, delivered to Mr. Adams a draft of four articles, containing the terms on which Great Britain was willing to establish the trade between her American possessions and the United States. The American ambassador, not thinking himself authorised to accede to the propositions contained in those articles, transmitted them to the United States for the consideration of his government. About this time Mr. Madison had retired from the office of president, and had been succeeded by Mr. Munroe, who recalled Mr. Adams, and placed him at the head of the department of state—as minister at the court of London, he was succeeded by Mr. Rush.

The reception given to the propositions of Lord Castlereagh is so singular, in diplomatic affairs, that we cannot do better than exhibit the whole transaction in the words of Mr. Tazewell:—

‘ Although this formal *written* proposal was handed to the minister of the United States in the course of a negotiation *invited* by the United States themselves; and although the British government was formally told, in a note from that minister, that he had “transmitted it for the consideration of his government;” yet no direct or formal answer to it was ever returned by the United States. The proposition was made (as I have said) on the 19th of March, 1817, and the first authentic information the British minister received of the fate of this proposition, was contained in a report of a Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, made on the 9th of February, 1818, mentioning the *rejection* by the president of these four articles, and approving of that rejection.

‘ Such conduct, as might well have been expected, “affected the sensibility of the British cabinet;” and the explanation of it given by Mr. Adams (then the secretary of state) to Mr. Rush, our minister in London, is this:—After stating that he (Mr. Rush) had been instructed to adopt the most inoffensive manner of communicating the *non-acceptance* of this written proposition, “which would be, verbally, in a personal interview” between Mr. Rush and Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Adams adds, “On reference to your report of your first conference with him on the 3d of January (1818) it appears, that the part of your instructions to which I allude was then executed; and that without using the unaccommodating term of *rejection*, you communicated to him the disposition of the president, with regard to the four articles, in a manner altogether congenial to the spirit of that formula of the British constitution, by which the dissent of the crown is signified to

an act which has passed both Houses of Parliament. *Le Roy s'avisera.*"

'For the information of some readers, it may perhaps be proper to state, that when the King of England dissents to a bill that has passed the two Houses of Parliament, he used to signify that dissent, by using these Norman French words here quoted, the meaning of which is, that the king will consider of it, or advise upon it. It would seem, therefore, that Mr. Rush, in his first conference with the British minister, had informed him, that the president of the United States would consider the proposition which had been referred to this government. From which declaration, Mr. Adams thought the British government ought to have known that its proposition was not accepted. Because, as the King of England, in addressing his subjects, signifies his rejection of their propositions by these words, therefore the British minister ought to have inferred a similar fate to the proposition of his government to this, from similar words supposed to be used by the president of the United States to Great Britain.

'I will not presume to question either the brilliancy of the wit, the keenness of the irony, or the sharpness of the sarcasm contained in this letter; but I must take the liberty to doubt the discretion of promulgating it to the world. The British minister would scarcely think this figurative identification of the president of the United States with his sovereign and liege lord, either a compliment to himself or his master; and the people of the United States cannot approve that offensive vanity, which would transform their elected chief magistrate into the sovereign of the sovereign of any nation with whom they are endeavouring to negotiate a treaty. These are little things, it is true; but when we shall come by and by to combine and sum them all up, I fear we shall find in the aggregate some set-off to the rough repulse our overtures have lately met, and of which we now complain. Every loyal American will of course take side with his own government, in any controversy between it and any other. But our indignation at what we may regard as the misconduct of others ought not to blind us to the indiscretion of our own agents; and it is due to truth that these should be represented, in order that we may form a proper estimate of their probable effects upon the arrangement of a matter, the intrinsic difficulty of which presents a sufficient number of obstacles not easy to be surmounted.'—p. 45-47.

The rejection of these propositions, on the part of the president, arose from some causes which do not appear, but the cause of the sanction given to that rejection by the House of Representatives is fully revealed. The first of those propositions related to the trade with the West Indies; the second to that with Bermuda; the third exclusively to that with Turks Islands; and the fourth to the intercourse between the two countries by the internal water communication of the lakes and rivers. The three first of the terms are designated,

nated, in the report of the committee to whose consideration they were referred, as 'the most rational and reciprocally advantageous of any ever made; as dictated by a spirit of accommodation, which, if duly fostered, might conduce to place the trade upon as favourable grounds as could be expected.' The committee, however, approved the prompt rejection of the three proposals thus described, 'because they were connected with another altogether inadmissible, without a departure from what they deemed the settled policy of America, in relation to the trade with the Indians within her jurisdiction.'

Now, Mr. Adams, in a letter to Mr. Rush, dated December 1st, 1818, speaking of this very article, which had been proposed before by the British commissioners in 1815, says, 'that the British plenipotentiaries did then disclaim the intention of giving it a construction which would import the admission of British traders to any intercourse with Indians within the territory of the United States, and did offer to introduce into the article any words which might be necessary to guard it against that construction.' Mr. Adams states that the articles were laid before the committee without any remark even on this fourth article. The misunderstanding of the legislature, from want of candour on the part of the secretary, thus caused an approval of the rejection of the whole proposals which had been offered; though, if that explanation, which fair dealing required, had been given, the committee must have come to a different decision, as appears by the warm approbation which, in their report quoted above, is bestowed upon the other three articles.

Mr. Tazewell has too much nationality to designate this treatment of the legislature by the executive with the epithet it clearly merits, and we, from courtesy, will abstain from applying it. It is not wonderful that, when this report was seen by the British minister who had made the proposition, he should have affirmed that it could bear no such construction as had been put upon it, and indignantly asserted that *the American government knew this*; nor is it surprising that this want of candour, combined with the want of courtesy, in not giving any answer to propositions which had been offered at the desire of the American minister, should have 'affected the sensibility of the British cabinet.'

Thus ended the fourth negotiation, like those that had preceded it.

Under the irritation produced by the misconception of the committee, to which we have referred, the legislature was induced, in April, 1818, to pass a law closing the ports of America to all British ships from the West Indies, and compelling all ships,

before sailing from the American ports, to give bond not to unload their cargo in those settlements. The effect of this measure is described by Mr. Tazewell thus:—

‘It injured American agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; did no good to American navigation; and if it produced any effect upon British navigation, such effect must have been beneficial, by lengthening the voyage, and requiring additional tonnage to carry on the trade, in the double process through which it had now to pass. In short, it was the very measure that Great Britain herself would have desired us to adopt, if she could have influenced our councils. It was the consummation which her proposition both in 1815 and again in 1817 was intended to effect. And yet it seems to have been regarded as a countervailing measure of great force and efficacy. But politicians, like philosophers, sometimes erect theories, without reference to facts; and when their inventions will not produce the effect for which they were designed, the failure will always be ascribed to any other than the true cause.’—pp. 60, 61.

We are told the consent of President Munroe to this law was reluctantly obtained by Mr. Secretary Adams; be that as it may, its consequences induced proposals for a new negotiation, in the conducting of which Mr. Gallatin was joined with Mr. Rush. The chief object was represented to be the continuance of the convention then on the point of expiring; ‘and also the other subjects in discussion between the two governments.’

It is said by Mr. Tazewell—

‘In the progress of the discussions the parties found no difficulty whatever in agreeing to a renewal of the Convention of 1815, for a further term of ten years. But when the negotiators took up the subject of the West India trade, new, unexpected, and insuperable obstacles occurred, which prevented any adjustment whatever of this matter; and a Treaty was finally signed on the 20th of October, 1818, which contained no provision whatever upon this subject. Thus terminated the *fifth* attempt to arrange the colonial trade by negotiation.’—p. 61.

Another attempt followed soon after, in which Mr. Robinson and Mr. Goulburn were chosen by the British government, and Mr. Rush and Mr. Gallatin on the part of the United States, as negociators. The British commissioners wished to confine the propositions to those terms which the committee of congress had recently stamped with their applause, and to avoid all allusion to the subject of the intercourse by land with Canada, which had been made the pretext for prior misunderstanding. They determined, also, to accept no proposition which differed substantially from the true purpose of that of Lord Castlereagh, which had been rejected. The American envoys first made five propositions,
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in explanation of the general principle which had previously been agreed to, viz.:—‘a basis of perfect reciprocity and equality.’ To these proposals, somewhat varied, it is true, in expression, but really and substantially the same in meaning, the British ministers acceded.

‘An impartial observer of the discussions’ (says Mr. Tazewell) ‘would then, of course, have been induced to believe that no difficulty could arise in adjusting the details of an arrangement which it was agreed on both sides must correspond with such liberal and admitted principles. But such an impartial observer would have been mistaken in this opinion. The parties were never more distant from agreement than they were after settling this basis of *perfect reciprocity and equality*.’

The American negotiators became embarrassed. The proposals of Great Britain were in strict conformity to the communication of Mr. Adams, on the 17th of September, 1816; they were such as had been applauded by a committee of congress on a former occasion; and they were in accordance with the spirit of the proposals of the negotiators themselves; *but they could not accept them, because their instructions would not allow them to do so.* ‘In such a situation,’ says Mr. Tazewell, ‘they were constrained to adopt the only alternative remaining, and to take the whole question *ad referendum* to their government, to whom they transmitted it on the 20th of October, 1818.’ The whole history of this negotiation is ably described by Mr. Tazewell, but at a length, not an unnecessary length, which our limits will not allow us to copy. After seven months’ delay, the cabinet of Washington transmitted a draught of two articles prepared by Mr. Adams, as a substitute for the British propositions, to Mr. Rush, who communicated it to Lord Castlereagh on the 9th of June, 1819. Mr. Rush, with the honour of a man, and the feelings of a gentleman, could not assert that the basis agreed upon was adhered to; and he substituted for the original terms there used—‘basis of perfect equality and reciprocity,’ the words ‘entire and liberal reciprocity.’ The well-taught mind of Mr. Rush forbade him to adopt the coarse phraseology of his instructions, in which it was broadly insinuated that the British commissioners indulged the wish of *overreaching* the Americans. The instructions had, however, been published in America, and were seen in London, before the counter or rather amended proposals were answered by the British secretary of state. Mr. Rush delivered these proposals to Lord Castlereagh, who assured him that due attention should be given them; and this they received as soon as more pressing affairs allowed.

‘On the 16th of September, 1819, Lord Castlereagh invited Mr. Rush

Rush to another interview, in order to communicate to him the result of the deliberation of the British cabinet upon the American proposition which he had presented. The account of this interview I will give in Mr. Rush's own language. Speaking of Lord Castlereagh, he states, that "holding in his hands the proposals I had submitted, his lordship premised, that he thought it would perhaps be best for him to answer them in the same general way that the British articles, submitted through my predecessor, in 1817, had been answered; that is, not in any formal manner, but merely by a word of conversation with me.

"In the answer there was no hesitation.—Our proposals, he said, were not of a nature to form the basis of any agreement between the two countries. They would effect an entire subversion of the British colonial system. From this system they were not prepared to depart.—Their colonies were, in many respects, burdensome, and even liable to involve the country in wars. Garrisons and other establishments were constantly maintained in them, at a heavy charge: in return, it was just that they should be encumbered with regulations, the operation of which might help to meet, in part, the expenses which they created. The great principle of these regulations was known to be the reservation of an exclusive right to the benefit of all their trade; a principle, of which the Free Port Acts had, it was true, produced some relaxation; but it had never been the intention of this government to do any thing more than offer to us a participation in these Acts. Some modifications of them would have been acquiesced in, suggested by local causes, and an anxious desire that our two countries might come to an understanding on this part of their intercourse. But to break down the system was no part of their plan. Our proposals, therefore, could not be accepted."

"If the American reader feels his proud heart swell at this uncere-
monious *verbal* rejection of a proposition *written* by our secretary of state, and so communicated, let him remember, that this same secretary had not deigned to give even a verbal answer to Lord Castlereagh's written proposals, submitted to him in 1817. If the British minister, in reply to this proposition of Mr. Adams, had haughtily said to Mr. Rush, "*Le Roy s'avisera*," leaving Mr. Rush to guess the objections to it, the letter of Mr. Adams of December 1, 1816, would have been a justification of such rudeness. If the British minister had indignantly said to Mr. Rush, that upon two several occasions Great Britain had made propositions to the United States upon this subject, which, although fully explained to, and well understood by, our ministers who received them, had yet been misrepresented to the world, as covert, insidious efforts intended to "*overreach*" us, and that, therefore, they would no longer hold communication with us,—Mr. Adams's letters of December 1, 1818, and May 7, 1819, would have been a satisfactory reason to all civilized nations for such conduct. But Lord Castlereagh knew too well what was due to his own high station, and to the courtesy necessary to be observed in the intercourse between sovereign states, to pursue such a course."—p. 76-78.

Thus

Thus was terminated the *sixth* attempt to arrange this matter of the colonial trade by negociation.

America then had recourse to the system of retaliation, which had been the object of Mr. Adams's policy, and the subject of his threatening intimations. Congress passed a law, 15th of May, 1820, which closed the ports of the United States against British vessels coming, *by sea*, from any part not included in the former law of April, 1818, and which required security from such vessels that the cargoes they took on board should not be landed in any of the prohibited ports. The evil resulting from this measure was very small to the West India islands, and insignificant to the British commerce as a whole, but a serious one to the agricultural interests in the United States—without any thing like a counter-vailing advantage to their shipping interest. Mr. Tazewell informs us that although the direct intercourse *by sea* was thus cut off, yet that by land and inland water communication was left open.

‘ Each party was still supplied, by this route, with the commodities of the other, which its necessity or convenience required. For the State of Maine, not being separated from the contiguous British provinces *by sea*, could still supply them with every production of the United States without violating this law. From these provinces such supplies proceeded in British vessels, whithersoever they were required; and West India products were brought to the United States *via* these provinces. That this was so is proved by the well-known fact, that notwithstanding this legal non-intercourse there was no augmentation of the price of West India products in the United States. West India rum, for example, sold as cheap in Norfolk during this period, as it did before. And if the inquiry is made—how could this possibly be?—the answer is, that it came from the West Indies to Norfolk *via* Campo Bello, where, according to the custom of the manor, trade has always been as free as the wild surge that foams against its rocks.

‘ Thus the first effect produced by this “experiment” was to impair the revenue, to demoralize our people, and to give to Great Britain the exclusive transportation, both to and fro, of all the articles required by the wants of either country, and which could bear the expense of this double voyage. There were some articles, however, of such great bulk, and of so little comparative value, that they could not sustain such an expense. Such were all the unmanufactured productions of the soil or of the forests of the middle, southern, and western States. Many of these, by the British proposition, were allowed to be exported directly to the West Indies, and in vessels of the United States too. But under the “experiment” now made, they were left upon the hands of their producers; while much of the white pine lumber of the eastern States, by merely turning to the left, rather than to the right bank of the watercourses which separated them from the contiguous British provinces, had no double voyage to pass through.’

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We have thus examined no less than *seven* attempts at negotiation, all of which have failed, and all of which have tended, in a greater or less degree, to diminish that trade with our West India islands which it was the great object of the American people, if not of the American government, to enlarge and extend. We have seen that the executive in America, either from misunderstanding the temper of those with whom they had to treat, had assumed pretensions which they had not the means of maintaining, or, from over-estimating the wants of the West Indians, had involved their own agricultural population in distress. This distress was created by no rival nation, by no commercial jealousy. It was accomplished by no finesse, by no chicanery on the part of the British negotiators, who never for a moment hesitated in asserting those rights over their colonies in which all the powers of the civilized world had acquiesced since colonies had been founded, and which the United States had acknowledged in the few years that had passed since they have become an independent people.

The state in which matters now stood was as follows:—the Americans, by their law of 1820, had excluded themselves from intercourse with our West Indian settlements. Neither lumber nor provisions were conveyed thither; and the productions which America needed, were obtained by the demoralizing system of a contraband trade. The West Indians, during the progress of the various unsuccessful attempts at negotiation, had been supplied with the articles they needed in a most irregular manner: sometimes their markets were overloaded, and even glutted; at other times they were drained even to scarcity. This alternation between want and superabundance is always injurious; but especially so to cultivators, like the West Indians, wholly dependent upon agricultural productions. To producers of this description, equable prices, both of the commodities they have to dispose of, and of those they must purchase, are of the greatest importance. When, by an act of congress, the intercourse with the United States was closed, and, as was supposed, finally closed, the attention of the West Indians was turned to other quarters for supplies, and the attention of the countries which could most beneficially supply them was actively awakened. Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, though favoured with a less temperate climate than the States, yielded the same productions. No agitations, no negotiations threatened to disturb those settlements in the regular supply of the West Indies. The navigation might be impeded by the severe frost that closed the rivers, the cost of conveyance might be somewhat more expensive, and the length of the voyage of greater duration.

duration. If these inconveniences could not be wholly overcome, they were greatly diminished by the regularity of the trade, which caused a more accurate appropriation of the supply to the demand, and, consequently, assured a certain, if not a large, profit. The benefit of equable prices was conferred on the West Indies, and though they were at times higher, at other times they were lower than when they relied solely on the supplies of the United States. The regular prices of some kinds of provisions, especially of maize, naturally enabled the West Indians to calculate whether it was cheaper to import or to grow it; and the result has been, that provisions have been raised in the islands, but more especially in Jamaica and Barbadoes, to an extent never before known. In the latter island, we have been assured, by those who must know, and on whom we rely, that a greater quantity, both of maize and Guinea corn, is raised than is required by the inhabitants; and that considerable quantities of both those descriptions of grain are annually exported to Demerara and the other settlements on the coast of South America, and have thus become the source of some profit.

This mode of supplying the islands is now grown into a regular system; it has been found beneficial to all the parties concerned in it; and has at length acquired so much stability, that if any such change should now take place in our relations with the United States, as a consideration of the interest of the British empire, as a whole, can alone permit, it is not probable that the Americans can ever again acquire so great a proportion of the West India trade, as they might uninterruptedly have enjoyed, under the most rigid proposals that were ever made to them by the British government.

By frivolous contention, by fruitless negotiations, America has sacrificed a real good in pursuit of a purpose which she ought to have known enough of the firmness of the opposing party to be satisfied must be of impossible attainment. If Great Britain should now open her ports, so far as the new interests created in her own dominions may allow her to do,—and beyond that point it cannot be expected that she should proceed,—it is very doubtful, considering the fluctuating character of the American councils, if any great advantage could accrue to the United States. Certainly none can accrue of a value equal to what has been lost by the manner in which they have conducted the several negotiations we have been reviewing.

Although we have thus terminated our notices respecting the negotiations by treaty, we must not omit the subsequent legislative measures which have been adopted in the two countries.

About two years after the American government had closed the
trade

trade with the West Indies, early in 1822 it learned that Great Britain was about to make some change in its colonial system. Of the nature of the intention, or the regulation, they were uninformed when the session of congress was about to terminate. It was, however, deemed right to invest the president with power to act by proclamation, corresponding with the tenor of any law that might be passed by the British parliament.

The parliament of Great Britain, in June of the same year, passed a law opening certain ports to all foreign vessels, allowing them to convey certain enumerated articles, being the produce of the country to which they belonged. Such vessels were allowed to load with any articles the produce of the colonies, except arms and naval stores; but an export bond must be given that the articles should be landed at the port for which they were entered, and a certificate be produced of such landing, within twelve months, to cancel the bond. No tonnage duties were imposed by this act, and the duties on the cargoes were to be the same from all *foreign* ports, whether the importation was made in British or in foreign vessels. These privileges were, however, only granted to the vessels of such foreign countries, in the West Indies, and America, as should grant *the like* privileges to British vessels in their ports.

The chief object of this law was to accommodate the British system to the events which had occurred in South America, and to enable our merchants to trade with the states there which had assumed independence,—but whose independence we, out of delicacy to Spain, with whom we were negotiating on the subject, had not yet acknowledged. It, however, in fact, embodied in the act those provisions which, as far as applied to the United States, had been offered in the negotiations in October, 1820. But it plainly showed that there was no intention, on the part of Great Britain, to abandon the right she had always asserted and exercised, of imposing higher duties on the productions of foreign countries than on similar articles produced within her own dominions.

The president exercised the powers with which he was invested as soon as the British act reached America, and opened her ports by a proclamation, issued on the 24th of August, 1822.

‘When (says Mr. Tazewell) this proclamation was first promulgated, every citizen of the United States, interested in the colonial trade, felt rejoiced by it. They saw in the promptitude with which President Munroe had met, and acted upon the legislative proposition of Great Britain, a convincing proof of what Mr. Adams had before stated, that President Munroe had at first assented to the system of restriction with great reluctance. The very liberal construction which the

the president had given to the act under which the proclamation was issued, was hailed as a sure pledge that no technical scruples or mere verbal criticisms would be suffered to interrupt again the renewed intercourse.'—p. 96.

This state of hope was not suffered long to continue; for in three weeks after the proclamation, just at the time that the opening of the ports must have been made known in the West Indies, a circular letter was dispatched from the treasury to all the collectors of the customs, instructing them to consider British vessels, entering the ports under the proclamation, as liable to a tonnage duty of one dollar on the vessel; and the cargo as liable to a discriminating duty of ten per cent. above what was imposed on American vessels. • When the British ships arrived in the American ports, and found themselves so unexpectedly subjected to these discriminating duties, the British minister, Mr. Stratford Canning, drew the attention of the American secretary of state to the complaints which were conveyed to him, by an official note of the 25th of October, 1822. In reply to this note, Mr. Adams stated that the law of May, 1822, (under which the proclamation was issued,) did not authorise the president to abolish any discriminating duties, but those enacted by the two last navigation laws; and that the alien duties of discrimination were imposed by other and prior laws, which only the power that enacted them could repeal. Mr. Canning could not contend with the minister of a foreign nation, as to the extent of the powers possessed by its chief. Mr. Tazewell asserts, however, and seems to us clearly to have proved, that the president had such power, and might have exercised it, if he had thought proper to do so.

Nothing appears to us more inconclusive than the arguments used on this occasion, to show that the president was not invested with authority to do that which his proclamation, and the act of congress on which it was grounded, had led not only the British subjects in the West Indies, but the citizens of America fully to calculate upon.

• Had it been said (observes Mr. Tazewell) at once that, although the president had discretion given to him to prevent the exaction of these alien duties, yet that he did not see fit to employ such a power in this case—although the people of the United States might have felt regret at the decision, they would have been spared the mortification of the argument urged to sustain it. But nothing, except indignation, can prevent the shame they must feel, when a great question of high national importance was disposed of by such mere verbal distinctions as those I have stated; or by a reliance upon supposed facts, the proof of which could nowhere be found, except in the assertion, to support which they were relied upon. They answered the purpose, however, for which they were most probably intended. They sus-
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pended the discussion of the subject between the two governments, until after the session of congress ; and by an act passed during that session it was placed upon new grounds.'—pp. 104, 105.

When congress was assembled in 1823, as the proclamation of the president would cease to operate, an act was prepared and passed which seemed, to every one, to set all questions respecting the colonial trade at rest. The act was drawn in nearly the words of that passed in Great Britain, and, 'every one would think, as did the majority of those by whom it was passed, that its sole object was to adopt, reciprocally, on the part of America, the same conditions which Great Britain had already adopted on hers.'—p. 107. ..

It suspended such parts of the acts of April, 1818, and May, 1820, as interdicted the commerce between the United States and the British colonies; and it empowered the president, on proof being given that no higher duties were levied in the British colonial ports, on the like cargoes imported into the said ports from *elsewhere*, to issue a proclamation declaring that no higher duties should be levied in the ports of the United States. The mystification in the introduction of the word *elsewhere* is very remarkable. It was not understood to include the British colonies in America by those who passed it, as was declared in his place by General Smith, senator for Maryland, in the next session, when that application of it to the British colonies on the continent of North America had been avowed by Mr. Adams to Mr. Canning. The term 'elsewhere' occurs three times in the act. In two other places its necessary meaning is any other *foreign* country; according to a sound interpretation, the same meaning should be given to it when it is again used. Mr. Adams, however, put a different construction upon it. The principal point in dispute then remained as before, and may be simply stated thus :—Great Britain maintained a right to make a distinction in the duties on goods in her West India ports, between those produced in her own colonies and the similar commodities produced in the United States, or a right to admit the former without duties, whilst the latter were liable to taxation, but at equal rates, whether imported in British or American vessels. America contended that her productions should be chargeable with no higher duties than those of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Canada; and till this was yielded, resolved to continue their discriminating duties on British ships and British commodities from the West Indies, and to prevent British vessels from carrying the produce of the United States to the West Indies.

As soon as our government was informed of these transactions,
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an order in council was issued pursuant to powers granted by an act of the preceding session, imposing a discriminating duty on American vessels and their cargoes.

‘Every one in America who understood the subject (says Mr. Tazewell) saw at once to what this warfare of discriminating duties must inevitably lead; and they did not regret more this unfortunate issue than they did the *means* by which it had been brought about.’

Thus ended the attempt to adjust the trade by legislation after the failure of seven attempts to adjust it by negotiation.

In February, 1824, Mr. Rush, in conformity with his instructions, offered, in London, a scheme which had been sent to him from his government. As it was rejected, it would be only tiresome to our readers to insert it. The British ministers characterized it as ‘a stipulation that Great Britain should renounce, in favour of the United States, and without a return on their side, the power of protecting the staples of her own subjects, by levying import duties on the like productions of a foreign country.’ In *principle*, such a proposition is evidently inadmissible. ‘It is directly at variance with the practice of all commercial, of all civilized states. It has no precedents in the commercial relations subsisting between the British dominions and any other state in Europe.’

The American proposals being thus rejected by the British negotiators, Mr. Rush invited them to make others, to be taken for reference to his government. They were accordingly prepared and presented to him on the 28th of July, 1824, and transmitted by him to Mr. Adams. This counter-project yielded more privileges than any former proposals, and more than America had ever claimed, but without giving up the right to protect the produce of our own dominions, by imposing higher duties on foreign productions than on them,—a right which Great Britain could not and ought not to relinquish.

Two whole years were suffered to elapse before any answer was given by the American cabinet to the proposals they had themselves solicited; and no other notice was taken of them beyond assurances from the American secretary to the British envoy at Washington, that Mr. King should be furnished with instructions to enable him to recommence the negotiations—but not the slightest intimation was given as to the nature of the instructions so contemplated.

This strange delay, not to say neglect, most probably arose from the agitation produced through the United States by the election for president, which formed a subject of too much interest through the whole territory, to allow of sober attention being devoted to any objects except those connected with party contests.

contests. The intense warmth of feeling on this subject which occupied the passions of the people of all classes in America, was not suffered by the British ministers to divert their minds from a plan they had formed, of establishing in the colonial trade a greater degree of freedom than had been hitherto allowed. Their plan was formed upon enlarged principles, neither excluding nor comprehending the connexion with America, but allowing the United States to avail themselves of the advantages it offered, in common, to them as well as to other foreign nations; but pre-eminently to their advantage, on account of their proximity to the spots where the trade was to be carried on.

In June and July 1825, the British parliament passed three acts, to come into operation 5th of January, 1826. By these acts, any vessel, whether British or foreign, was permitted to import into the ports enumerated in the act of June 24th, 1824, comprehending all in which there were custom-houses (with the exception of Newfoundland), any goods the produce of the country to which they belonged, with the exception of warlike stores, salted fish, and salted meat, whale fins, oil, and blubber, and East India goods. The importation of coffee, sugar, rum, cocoa, and molasses of foreign production, was prohibited in the West Indies and South America. No limitation was imposed on the exportation, except that the goods were not to be carried to the British dominions. These acts imposed no discriminating duties either on vessels or their cargoes; but it was provided that the freedom thus granted should extend only to such foreign nations as, having colonial possessions, should grant British subjects the like privileges of trading with such possessions; or to such as, not having colonial possessions, should place the commerce and navigation of Great Britain and its distant possessions on the footing of the most favoured nation.

It was so obviously beneficial to America to close with the offers which the legislative enactments of Great Britain held out, that public expectation was alive in America, and keenly anxious for the meeting of Congress, in order that similar laws might be passed by that body. Mr. Adams, the original projector and constant advocate of restrictive coercion, had assumed the office of president. When the legislature met in December, 1825, no mention or allusion was made to the state of the colonial trade. It was, however, brought into discussion in consequence of a petition from Baltimore, 'praying for the removal of the restrictions imposed on British vessels in March, 1823, and that such vessels might be admitted on the same terms as those of the most favoured nation.'

The petition was referred to a committee, the 20th of February, 1826,

1826, who made a report unfavourable to its prayer, grounded on the opinion that the committee *had reason to believe* the adjustment of the question formed one of the chief objects committed to the minister (Mr. King) at the court of London. The senate, however, twice passed a vote agreeable to the prayer of the petition, which, on the third reading, was rejected by a majority of two, on a member announcing, '*as the opinion of the executive,*' that 'it was better to leave the subject to the negotiation then pending than to legislate upon it at the present time.'

No negotiation, as the executive of the United States well knew, could then be pending, nor did Mr. Gallatin, the successor of Mr. King, commence any till the end of August, 1826. In the mean time the British government, whose patience had been tried sufficiently long, issued, on the 27th July, 1826, an order in council to close the ports in the West Indies against all vessels belonging to the United States in December of that year. On the 26th of August Mr. Gallatin attempted to open his negotiation with Mr. Canning by a letter, to which that minister replied in the following terms:—'After the advised omission by the government and legislature of the United States to meet (as other nations had done) the simple and direct provisions of the act of 1825, the British government cannot consent to enter into any new negotiation upon the intercourse between the United States and the British colonies, so long as the pretension recorded in the act of 1823, and there applied to British colonies alone, remains part of the law of the United States.' The pretension here referred to was that of the Americans, who claimed to be admitted into our islands, with their produce charged with duties at no higher rate than was imposed on the same articles from our own colonies,—a pretension that could never for a moment be admitted as even a subject of negotiation, and the yielding of which would have been to deprive of the protection to which they are entitled a body of British subjects, nearly equal in number to those of the white inhabitants of the United States at the time of their separating from the mother country. This dignified answer closed the negotiation. In the following sessions of congress each house entered into the investigation of the subject; a bill was introduced in one house and amended in the other: on this amendment they could not agree, and nothing was done in March, 1827, when the legislature adjourned. Soon after, the president issued a proclamation giving effect to the suspended acts of April, 1818, and May, 1820, thus closing the ports against all vessels coming *by sea* from any of the British colonial ports.

'Thus (says Mr. Tazewell) was again suspended that intercourse which had continued for four years without interruption, since it had been

been revived in August, 1822; and which might have continued even now, upon the most satisfactory terms, but for the unaccountable neglect of the American executive to return any answer for two years to the British proposition taken *ad referendum* in June, 1824; and but for their anxiety to prevent the bill introduced by General Smith, in May, 1826, from being enacted into a law.—p. 127.

In a subsequent correspondence between Mr. Gallatin and Lord Dudley, the former attempted, according to instructions from his government, to explain the conduct of the United States. Two of his letters, with Lord Dudley's answer to them, have been printed, and also a rejoinder from Mr. Gallatin. The American minister discovers more adroitness than explicitness, as he might be expected to do whilst acting under any instructions issuing from the actual president, who seemed disposed to a complicated kind of nondescript management, comprehending at the same time a legislative and a diplomatic negotiation, which, as Lord Dudley justly remarked, 'would seem to combine the disadvantages of both methods, without proportionably securing the benefits of either.'

We have thus taken a view of the many transactions which have passed between the government of the United States and our own. Had it fallen within the scope of our plan to have surveyed the whole commercial intercourse between the two countries, the labour would have been lightened by the pleasure it would have afforded. Had we comprehended, in our survey, the intercourse existing in Great Britain itself, in our establishments in the Mediterranean, in our settlements in Africa, and in our immense Indian empire, we could have congratulated our own countrymen, in common with our American brethren, on the harmony and mutual good understanding that prevails among them; we could have stated that the trade was beneficial to both parties, that no obstacles intercepted its freedom, and that the extensive permission granted in all those ports to America, though really a benefit, was not yielded with any display or boast of liberality, or given with the pretension or affectation of conferring a favour.

The trade with the West Indies, of which the Americans seemed desirous to secure a monopoly, important as it is to Great Britain, is so in but a small degree as compared with the whole of her comprehensive commerce. Of that trade the Americans might have had their due share, but for the mismanagement of their own government. We prefer not the Danes, the Prussians, the citizens of the Hans Towns, or any other people to the Americans. If they are driven out of the trade by their own folly, and the European states conduct it beneficially to the West Indians,

dians, and themselves, they owe it to their respective governments having been more moderate in their pretensions, and more reasonable in their diplomatic negotiations.

With confidence, as regards the government, with full conviction, as far as regards the more intelligent part of the community, we can affirm, and, even with respect to the remainder, we believe that no hostile feelings exist in Great Britain towards our descendants in America. The few months of hostility that have passed since the termination of the revolutionary war excited at the time no rancour, and but little notice in this country. Our rancour, our expectations, and our hopes, were all too much concentrated on the magnificent contest carried on on the theatre of Europe, to allow any considerable portion of attention being directed, or any animosity being extended, to the war of mere detachments on the continent of America; or to the naval deeds which, however brilliant, taken singly, seemed to us to be little more than the bravery of individual crews and their commanders, and bearing with no influence on the issue of the conflict. Without severe censure, we can make allowance for different and more intense feelings having prevailed in America. The evils of war were felt, and soon, notwithstanding its short duration, with severity. Whatever of animosity it created was single, and with all its intensity pointed to one object. There was no other enemy, except ourselves, towards whom to direct it, with whom its force could be divided, and consequently weakened. It was then, as at the termination of the revolutionary war, natural and pardonable that animosity should exist in America long after every spark of that feeling had been extinguished in England.

In a democratic state like America, where the executive power is weak and ephemeral, there will be parties constantly forming to aspire to a station so high, and which, when elective, can never be of great and general advantage. Without entering into the state of parties, we may assert, that one party charged the other, incorrectly, we have no doubt, with some latent regard to England, inconsistent with the welfare of the United States. This party, which, for distinction sake, we call the anti-British, was in possession of power, and to retain that power, as party spirit often will do, threw obstacles in the way of every negotiation that could produce a good understanding with their late enemy.

Taking into our view the state of party feeling which constantly and vehemently agitates America, we are disposed to deem the late increased tariff on foreign productions, rather as a measure of party than an act originating in unkindly feelings towards Great Britain; for those feelings having served the party purposes for which they were for a time excited, seem now to

have become extinct, or to have given way to other kinds of animosity created for election purposes.

The tariff law was a subject of most violent contest in both branches of the legislature of the United States. It was carried first in 1824, in the lower house, by a majority of five, and in the upper house by a majority of three; almost every member of both houses, whether sick or well, being present at the division. On one occasion, during these struggles, an attempt was made to arrest the progress of the bill by a proposition for an adjournment of congress; which was only negatived by the casting vote of the speaker. ..

We have good reason to believe that the decision of this question in 1828 was wholly dependent on electioneering feelings, excited by what engrosses all minds in America. The northern states were felt to have still greater advantages conferred on them than before by this tariff, at the expense of the southern states. In the contest for president, all the members for the southern states were earnest for the success of General Jackson. Most of the members of the northern states were favourable to Mr. Adams, a few only of these latter supporting his opponent. The fear of losing these votes on the presidential question led the friends of Jackson to be less determined in their opposition to the great question of the tariff, in order to secure (the greater object in their eyes) their favourite, in his election to the president's chair. Without, however, attaching much importance to this view, though it receives an air of probability from the numerous divisions which took place in the several stages of the bill, we shall point out the effects of the tariff, not as they regard Great Britain, France, Prussia, Germany, and the Netherlands, but as they regard the interests of the United States as a whole.

The northern states of America have been, in a great degree, communities of husbandmen, fishermen, and merchants, the former providing food, and, in addition to it, raw produce, such as wood for buildings, and for package, pot ashes, flax-seed, and a few small articles. These, as well as the fish taken and cured on their coasts, formed the chief objects of their export trade, and the principal employment for their shipping. Their import trade consisted of articles required for clothing the more opulent part of the inhabitants, and such other luxuries of foreign countries as came within the reach of the several ranks of the people. They were always manufacturers of the inferior kinds of clothing, of many of their domestic utensils and agricultural implements, and of most of the furniture, whether necessary or ornamental, used in their houses. These were, however, in general, domestic manufactures, produced by the industry of the rural inhabitants, who,

in

in the leisure from agricultural labour during their rigid winters, thus usefully and beneficially filled up their time, which, without such employment, might have been wasted in indolence, or devoted to needless expenditure.

In a country, thinly peopled, where land is so cheap, as to yield little or no rent, the number of those who will hire themselves as servants to labour for others, is necessarily small, and their wages consequently high.

It was thus found that most of the articles of their manufacture, if a price was paid for the labour, would cost more to the consumer than similar goods when imported from Europe; though the latter were charged with freight, insurance, the profits of the merchants, and duties to their government. In this state of affairs most of the establishments for manufacturing had continued in rather a languid state, till they received a stimulus from the non-intercourse law already noticed, and from the war which followed it. Those events had increased the difficulty and added to the expense of obtaining goods from Europe, and thus operated to favour the manufactures within the country. The return of peace brought with it the commodities of the several countries which could furnish a supply on the most advantageous terms. Then was experienced distress among the lately commenced manufactures, and a remedy was sought for them in protecting duties. The tariff was established by small majorities in both houses, as we have before stated, in 1824, and the duties imposed by it on manufactured goods varied, according to their descriptions, from twenty-five to forty per cent. on their value. These duties, enormous as their rate appears, were found insufficient to render the fabrication of most goods a profitable concern.

It was proved in evidence, before a committee of the congress, in 1827 and 1828, that most of the manufacturing establishments had been losing concerns. In woollen goods, it was shown that the raw material was forty per cent. higher than in Europe, whilst the cost of implements, and especially the price of labour, still further exceeded that of England. Without adverting to other articles, it appeared that still more enormous duties must be levied on foreign goods, or the establishments, then rapidly sinking, must be given up. The congress therefore increased the rate of duty on every species of European goods, in a very high degree; in some instances, the duty imposed on coarse woollen goods was raised to one hundred and sixty per cent. on their first cost.

In the southern states, their pursuits are all of the agricultural kind; they have scarcely any domestic manufactories, and none of a more extensive description. They have been accustomed to

purchase what foreign commodities they consumed from merchants importing from Europe, which, in spite of heavy duties and other charges, were furnished at lower rates than they could have been provided them by their own industry, or by that of their northern brethren. The first introduction of the tariff, in 1824, was received by the southern states with the highest degree of indignation. Those states depend almost solely on their surplus products, consisting chiefly of cotton, tobacco, and rice. The profit on these is by no means large, and their growers can ill afford to be burdened either by high taxation on the goods they require, if supplied by foreigners, or with the greater burden of paying to their northern fellow-citizens twice as much for them as they would cost if procured from the customers who purchase their productions. It is natural, then, that the southern states should loudly complain of being thus grievously burdened with taxes, not for the general purposes of the whole of the states, but to support the unnatural and artificial trade of some of the northern people.

Major Hamilton, the representative of South Carolina in congress, in a speech delivered to an assembly of his constituents, in October last, says,—

‘Mr. Lowndes, my honoured predecessor, asserted, in 1820, that we were the highest taxed people on the face of the earth, in proportion to the aggregate income of the country. This declaration, borne out by the most irrefragable statistics, was made when our duties did not average more than twenty per cent. ; now they have reached an average of more than sixty per cent. ; and on the articles which more immediately enter into the consumption of the south, and furnish the medium of exchange for its staples, in some instances have reached the enormous range of one hundred and sixty per cent.’

The first tariff produced murmurs, complaints, and remonstrances ; but none of that active and decisive kind of opposition which has now begun to show itself, not among the populace but the leading men of the several states—their senators, representatives, magistrates, and greater proprietors.

A question is now brought forward, with respect to the issue of which every man who wishes for the prosperity of America must feel the keenest anxiety. Each state was an independent sovereign, when it acceded to the constitution framed forty years ago. In that confederation each state retained its sovereignty, and delegated to the general or federal government only a limited power, which power was strictly defined by the words of the written constitution. ‘If the limits, so defined by the constitution, were passed by the federal government, the state governments must have a right to resume that power which they had delegated, and to return to their former isolated and independent condition. The right

right of congress to impose duties, which press on some of the states exclusively, or chiefly, in order to benefit the dealers in or fabricators of goods residing altogether in other and distant states of the Union, is stated to be a power not delegated by the constitution. Dr. Cooper, the President of South Carolina College, a man distinguished by his talents, thus states the case, in an able tract published in Columbia in 1824, and before the passing of the first tariff law:—

‘The very first article of the constitution of the United States provides, as the very first thing to be attended to, that all imposts, duties, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States; and, again, no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or excise to the ports of one state over another. Hence, the discretionary power given to congress to regulate commerce must be construed as a reasonable discretion, to be exercised in conformity to the positive enactments of the other parts of the constitution. If, by means of imposts or duties, one part of the national industry is burdened more than another—one part of our citizens aided at the expense of another—one part of our commerce depressed that another may be fostered—then the regulations producing this effect are unconstitutional and unjust. This is avowedly the case with the proposed prohibitory duties, by which manufacturing capital is fostered at the expense of the consumers,—at the expense of the commerce of the country,—and of those citizens, especially, whose products were usually exchanged for the articles of import meant to be prohibited. Congress, therefore, has no right to act on the tariff, but with the fair and honest view of the revenue, and of that only. If, by means of imposts and duties, the agriculturists of South Carolina are compelled to contribute five hundred thousand dollars a year to the manufacturers of Rhode Island, can this be resolved into uniformity of taxation? What is meant by regulating commerce? It may be regulated for purposes of revenue—for purposes of self-defence—for purposes of retaliation, to enforce reciprocity—for the purpose of ensuring a constant supply of articles of the first necessity to our defensive warfare, but it cannot be regulated for the purpose of unequal protection.’

Such is the view taken, in the southern states, of the question of the tariff duties. They maintain that this law passed by congress, being contrary to the constitution, and exceeding the limits defined by the several independent states, who are parties to the general confederation, is not to be obeyed by those states which are especially aggrieved by the enactment. A subject of discussion has hence arisen, which now seems to occupy the pens of the various legal writers throughout the Union. It is allowed, by all parties, that the constitution is superior to the general congress; that though the constitution can never be wrong, the congress may

may err. There must, then, be some tribunal, some authority, to decide the case, whenever it may be agitated, whether the congress has or has not surpassed the limits which the several independent states, on their acceding to the confederation, had assigned to its power. The northern states maintain, that this supreme power is lodged in the judges of the federal court of justice. This supreme court of the United States has decided on some analogous cases in favour of its own authority, and its supporters contend that such a power must necessarily be lodged somewhere, and that nowhere, but with the judiciary, can it be so properly or so securely intrusted. To this it is replied, by the southern Statesmen, that the supreme court of judicature is a legal not a legislative body,—that the enacting and administering laws are functions which ought never to devolve on the same persons,—that the supreme court of judicature is the creature of the federal government, and, consequently, unfitted by the natural bias it must feel in its favour, to be an impartial judge when the authority of that government becomes the subject to be decided on. The southern states maintain, that this question can only be fairly decided by a general convention of all the states, collected as that was which formed the original constitution. In support of this view of the subject they rely on the authority of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, two of their former presidents. The former of those leaders affirmed, in resolutions drawn up in 1793,

‘ that the several states which formed the constitution, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge its infractions, and that a nullification by these sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done under colour of that instrument is the rightful remedy.’ Mr. Madison says, ‘ When resort can be had to no higher tribunal than the parties themselves, the parties themselves must be the rightful judges ; in other words, the state itself, under its ultimate reservation of sovereignty. The judiciary has no constitutional competency for this high province ; it has the power merely to decide in relation to acts growing out of the authority of the departments of government, not as to questions involving the sovereignties of the high contracting parties themselves.’

Upon these principles the southern states can, and South Carolina, it is said, will, refuse to obey the law in question. The state assembly will probably exercise the power of declaring all the ports of South Carolina to be free ports, in order to bring to an issue the right of congress to enact such a law. Major Hamilton, on the occasion before alluded to, after discussing various measures which had been suggested, such as a counter-vailing state excise, and a non-consumption agreement, and stating his objections to them, says,—

‘ After

'After all, we must come back to Mr. Jefferson's plain, practical, and downright principle of a *nullification* by the state, either in its legislative capacity, or by a convention of the people in their sovereignty, of the *unauthorized act*.' He adds, 'you will naturally ask what then? Will not a dissolution of the Union inevitably follow? I say, unhesitatingly, no, without our opponents *should so will it*.' After remarking 'that not a single vote of the entire section, from the Potomac to the Alabama, had been given in favour of this taxation, whose uncompensated burden falls exclusively on that section,'

the same gentleman contended that this was *taxation without representation*, the very evil against which their fathers contended half a century before. We have, perhaps, entered into this discussion already at too great a length for the patience of our mere English readers. We must, however, make one observation for the consideration of all who feel solicitude respecting the future prosperity and improvement of America. The revenue of the United States depends, for nine parts in ten, on the duty upon imported goods. If those who framed the tariff law succeed in their plan, and the inhabitants are restrained by it to the use of their own manufactures, its very success must destroy the revenue. If they are not contented with goods of their own fabrics, but require those of foreign countries, they will be readily obtainable by contraband trade at a cheaper rate, including all risks, than by paying the duty. Dr. Cooper says, 'It is not practical to guard the extent of smuggling coast from Passamaquoddy to Georgia, and from the St. Lawrence to Lake Erie. During the embargo, seventy thousand dollars worth of produce was smuggled over to Kingston from the petty port of the Falls of Genesee. During the late war goods were regularly insured into New York at six per cent.' Thus, then, the destruction of the revenue must, in a great degree, be the consequence of either alternative.

We have not here considered this tariff law as originating in unfriendly feelings towards us, nor do we think, if such were its origin, it would produce the effect designed, in any extensive degree. The merchants in the United States had sufficient notice of the law to lay in a copious stock of British goods before its operation commenced. By the time they are consumed the same parties will invent means of obtaining a supply, in spite of a swarm of expensive cruisers on the coast, and bands of custom-house officers, watching a frontier of three or four thousand miles in extent.

If, however, it should appear that the tariff law has been enacted, not by sectional greediness or domestic party-spirit, but by a desire to retaliate on Great Britain, there are methods, the

the use of which we by no means recommend, which would cause America to rue the experiment. Opening the harbours of New Brunswick, of Bermuda, and of the Bahamas, as perfectly free ports, would affect their revenue and shipping interest ; and a slight encouragement to the growth of cotton, the chief staple of the southern states, in Brazil, in India, and especially in Egypt, of tobacco in Turkey, and of rice in Africa, would inflict a heavier blow on the export trade of the United States, than we wish to see applied, except in a very extreme case, when patience and negociation shall have utterly failed.

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• ART. I.—*The Works of Samuel Parr, LL.D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, Curate of Hatton, &c.; with Memoirs of his Life and Writings, and a Selection from his Correspondence.* By John Johnstone, M.D., Fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal College of Physicians of London, &c. In 8 vols. London. 1828. •

WE have seldom seen a character more difficult to decypher than that of Dr. Parr. There is so much in him to admire, and so much to reprobate; so much to reverence, and so much to ridicule; so much wisdom, and so much prejudice;—the generosity of a man conscious of merit indisputable,* mixed with the jealousy of a man of mere pretensions—that his image is only the antitype of that in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, of which the head was of fine gold and the feet of clay. It was unfortunate for Parr, and for the world too, that his great powers (for none can deny that great powers he had) were never directed to one great object. He had vast strength, but never seems to have discovered wherein it lay. How many a fine mind has been lost to mankind by the want of some propitious accident, to lead it to a proper channel; to prevent its current from 'turning awry and losing the name of action!' We know not whether the story of Newton's apple be true, but it may serve for an illustration, and if that apple had not fallen, where would have been his *Principia*? If the Lady Egerton had not missed her way in a wood,* Milton might have spent the time in which he wrote '*Comus*,' in writing '*Accidence of Grammar*;' and if Ellwood, the quaker, had not asked him what he could say on '*Paradise Regained*,' that beautiful poem (so greatly underrated) would have been lost to us. Parr had a mass of raw material in his mind, which he never found the means of properly working up; excellent in itself, but often not to the purpose for which he used it. His bells are continually jingling out of tune.* His politics intrude on his theology, his learning on his politics, his metaphysics on both. The good people at Hatton are lectured on the critical meaning of a Hebrew word;* the Lord Mayor of London, on the metaphysics of benevolence;† Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, on Regeneration and the danger of fanaticism.‡ Now all this was a misapplication of power. There was

* Vol. v. p. 148.

† Vol. ii. p. 361.

‡ Vol. iv. pp. 547, 548.

wanting to Dr. Parr the prosecution of some one theme, which should have drawn forth his heterogeneous possessions, as into a web.

Several works which would have answered such a purpose were suggested to him; some he had actually undertaken. In philology, *e. g.* he might have done anything, and he knew it; but he was content to waste his treasures on desultory dissertations in the course of his immense correspondence with his friends. Dr. Copleston reminded him, that such stores as he had laid up in this department of learning might be employed in the service of metaphysics, and be the means of elucidating many a difficulty in the highest department of philosophy.* But Parr was deaf. The scope afforded him for etymological investigation, by his masterly knowledge of that most subtle of all languages, the Greek,—a language which can seize upon whatever is abstract as readily as if it were an object of sense, and discriminate between ideas which differ but by a shade; which can give a name to the most ‘airy nothings,’ and exhibit in its mere self, as in a most delicate mirror, the progressive history, the local customs, the peculiar habits of thinking, of a people sensitive and mercurial beyond every other—the scope thus afforded him might have been filled up by ‘*The Diversions of Hatton*,’ which should have rivalled ‘*The Diversions of Purley* ;’ and, if it would have been any consolation to him to know it, the scholar would have most gladly purchased such a work from Parr, even at the price of its being encumbered (as it probably would have been) with political reflections, as edifying and appropriate as those which hang like a mill-stone about the work of Horne Tooke. The turn of Parr’s mind for such speculations upon Greek, whether metaphysical or physical, may be remarked in the use which he makes of his philology in his argument on benevolence,† and in his ingenious exposition of St. Paul’s change of metaphors in several of his epistles, according to the local circumstances of the people to whom they were addressed.‡ In biography, again, Parr might have been distinguished. The few sketches of character he has left make us regret that they are so few. Prejudice may warp them sometimes, and so it fared with those of Johnson, but they are vivid, bold, comprehensive, discriminative—the portraits, in short, of a superior artist. Dr. Bennet, the Bishop of Cloyne, who was at all times his good genius, apprized him that this was his province; but in vain. Here he might have found a suitable field for the display of all his knowledge, original and acquired, as Nichols did in his life of Bowyer, or Middleton in that of Cicero; and instead of a series of disjointed tracts, and notes

* Vol. vii. p. 66.

† Vol. vi. p. 498.

‡ Vol. vi. p. 46.

upon the tracts, and notes upon the notes, which few will read, and still fewer retain, we might have had a work which should have vied in popularity with the *Lives of the Poets*, by his great prototype. In a life of Sumner, for instance, he might have found a vent for all his notions upon education, upon discipline, upon the advantages and defects of our public schools and universities. • In a life of Johnson, he might most properly have unloaded himself of his lucubrations on superstition and atheism, on toleration and intolerance, on the origin of ideas, on the origin of evil, on all which constitutes ‘the proper study of mankind.’ In a life of Sir W. Jones, he might have indulged his taste for philology, (if the former work on this subject, at which we hinted, had not exhausted him,) his taste for law, for reform, for investigation of the principles of government; shedding, meanwhile, over all, that glow of fervent affection which he felt for his early friend, and the like to which makes the *Life of Savage*, (for we are far from hinting any resemblance between the two subjects of the biographers,) however it may have distorted it, the most delightful, perhaps, of all Johnson’s productions. In a life of Cullen, he might have embodied his extensive medical reading; producing from his favourite ancients, proofs of their possessing much greater knowledge of the healing art than modern practitioners give them credit for; confuting those errors of materialism, which are said to cleave so often to the anatomist, and which Parr’s intimate knowledge of Bishop Butler, and devotion to his school of theology, would have qualified him for confuting so well; exhibiting, if he pleased, in Dr. Priestley (whose praises might have been more appropriate in such a dissertation than in a sermon from a pulpit of the church of England,) an example that it is possible to be even a materialist without being an infidel; and holding up to the young, and often ill-informed, students of our hospitals, the bright examples of a Sydenham and a Boerhaave, as men who could unite the highest medical talent with the soundest religious belief; who could see the hand of God in the mechanism of our bodies, the blessings of a revelation in the comfort it administers to the sick and suffering, and no mean argument for its truth in the strong aspirations after the views it unfolds, which crowd upon every man as he enters ‘the valley of the shadow of death.’

To a gentleman of this noble profession, himself an honour to it, at once a man of letters and of skill, possessing what has been ever esteemed the highest claim to public gratitude—the claim *ob cives servatos*—whose hospitality Parr enjoyed whilst in health, whose assistance he received in his sickness, and whom he addressed in his dying hour as ‘his most dear friend;’ to this ‘physician’ have the family of Parr consigned the office of ‘embalming their father.’

‘For defects of style,’ says Dr. Johnstone, in his preface, ‘for errors of opinion, and for the general conduct of my work, I might, perhaps, offer some reasons, which would excuse, and some which would absolve, many imperfections. For the opinions I will make no apology—they were Parr’s. For the rest, I am neither so vain as to imagine that that which was meant well has been altogether done well, nor so weak as to despond about the success of my endeavours. I have done my best, in the midst of pressing, and anxious, and unceasing engagements; and whatsoever may be the judgment passed on my work, I shall always have the satisfaction and the consciousness of feeling that I strove to be just and faithful to the memory of my friend.’—vol. i. p. v.

‘He was the guide of my youth,’ adds Dr. Johnstone, in another place, ‘and the constant friend of my life. For thirty-five years I have seen him in numberless varieties of our imperfect condition. I have rejoiced with him in prosperity and health, I have sympathised with him in sickness and sorrow: we have travelled together the wearisome road of life, in narrow circumstances and in abundance, and throughout our course our confidence was mutual. I feel, therefore, that I have a right to assume a knowledge of the character of Dr. Parr.’—vol. i. p. viii.

We are sure that more than this is not wanted to recommend Dr. Johnstone’s work to the favourable attention of every reader. He writes with freedom and spirit; he defends Parr’s honest fame with the jealousy of a zealous friend, perhaps, too, of a political partisan; yet he frankly withstands him to the face when he thinks that he is to be blamed.

Samuel Parr was born at Harrow on the Hill, June 15 (O.S.), 1747. He was the son of Samuel Parr, a surgeon and apothecary of that place, and through him immediately descended from several considerable scholars, and remotely (as one of his biographers, Mr. Field, asserts) from Sir W. Parr, who lived in the reign of Edward IV., and whose granddaughter was Queen Catharine Parr, of famous memory. It does not appear from Parr’s writings (as far as we remember) that he laid claim to this high ancestry; yet the name of Catharine, which he gave to one of his daughters, may be imagined to imply as much. His mother, whose maiden name was Mignard, was of the family of the celebrated painter. It was the accident of Parr’s birth-place that, probably, laid the foundation of his fame, for to the school of his native village, then one of the most flourishing in England, he was sent in his sixth year; whilst, under other circumstances, it is likely that he would have been condemned to an ordinary education and his father’s business. So many seeds is Nature constantly and secretly scattering, in order that one may fall upon a spot that shall foster it into a plant. In his boyhood, he is described

scribed by his sister, Mrs. Bowyear, as studious after his kind, delighting in Mother Goose and the Seven Champions, and not partaking much in the sports usual to such an age. He had a very early inclination for the church, and the elements of that taste for ecclesiastical pomp, which distinguished him in after life, appeared when he was not more than nine or ten years old. He would put on one of his father's shirts for a surplice, (till Mr. Sanders, the vicar, supplied him, as Hannah did his namesake, with a little gown and cassock;) he would then read the church service to his sister and cousins, after they had been duly summoned by a bell tied to the banisters; preach them a sermon, which his congregation was apt to think, in those days, somewhat of the longest; and even, in spite of his father's remonstrances, would bury a bird or a kitten (Parr had always a great fondness for animals) with the rites of christian burial. Samuel was his mother's darling; she indulged all his whims, consulted his appetite, and provided hot suppers for him almost from his cradle. He was her only son, and was at this time very fair and well-favoured. Providence, however, foreseeing that at all events vanity was to be a large ingredient in Parr's composition, sent him, in its mercy, a fit of small-pox; and, with the same intent, perhaps, deprived him of a parent, who was killing her son's character by kindness. Parr never was a boy, says, somewhere, his friend and school-fellow, Dr. Bennet. When he was about nine years old, Dr. Allen saw him sitting on the churchyard gate at Harrow, with great gravity, whilst his school-fellows were all at play. 'Sam, why don't you play with the others?' cried Allen. 'Do not you know, Sir,' said he, with vast solemnity, 'that I am to be a parson?' And Parr himself used to tell of Sir W. Jones, another of his school-fellows, that as they were one day walking together near Harrow, Jones suddenly stopped short, and, looking hard at him, cried out, 'Parr, if you should have the good luck to live forty years, you may stand a chance of overtaking your face.' Between Bennet, Parr, and Jones, the closest intimacy was formed; and though occasionally tried, it continued to the last. Sir W. Jones, indeed, was soon carried, by the tide of events, far away from the other two, and Dr. Bennet quickly shot a-head of poor Parr in the race of life, and rose to the Irish bench; but

‘Memor

Actæ non alio rege puertæ,

Mutatæque simul togæ’—

the man and the bishop is still, in his intercourse with Parr, (and we meet with many beautiful proofs of it in these volumes,) the Harrow schoolboy, ripened, indeed, by years and by the experience resulting from high station in turbulent times, yet retaining
the

the schoolboy's privilege of laughing at the foibles, or lecturing the failings, or correcting the mistakes, of his quondam playfellow, These three challenged one another to trials of skill in the imitation of popular authors—they wrote and acted a play together—they got up mock councils, and harangues, and combats, after the manner of the classical heroes of antiquity, and under their names—till, at the age of fourteen, Parr being now at the head of the school, was removed from it and placed in his father's shop.

The doctor must have found, in the course of his practice, that there are some pills which will not go down,—and this was one. Parr began to criticise the Latin of his father's prescriptions, instead of 'making the mixture;' and was not prepared for that kind of Greek with which old Fuller's doctor was imbued, who, on being asked why it was called a *Hectic* fever, 'Because,' saith he, 'of an *hectic* cough which ever attendeth that disease.' Accordingly, Parr having in vain tried to reconcile himself to the 'uttering of mortal drugs' for three years, was at length suffered to follow his own devices, and in 1765 was admitted of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Dr. Farmer was at that time tutor. Of this proficient in black-letter (he was one of the earliest, and perhaps the cleverest, of his tribe) we are told by Archdeacon Butler, in a note, that he was a man of such singular indolence, as to neglect sending in the young men's accounts, and is supposed to have burnt large sums of money, by putting into the fire unopened letters, which contained remittances, conveyed remonstrances, and required answers.* Parr sketches his character at some length, and we quote it as one example, out of several, of the doctor's biographical powers, to which we have already had occasion to allude.

'His knowledge is various, extensive, and recondite. With much seeming negligence, and, perhaps, in later years, with some real relaxation, he understands more, and remembers more, about common and uncommon subjects of literature, than many of those who would be thought to read all the day and meditate half the night. In quickness of apprehension and acuteness of discernment, I have not often seen his equal. Through many a convivial hour have I been charmed by his vivacity, and upon his genius have I reflected in many a serious moment; with pleasure, with admiration, but not without regret, that he has never concentrated and exerted all the great powers of his mind in some great work, upon some great subject. Of his liberality in patronizing learned men, and of his zeal in promoting learned publications, I could point out numerous instances. Without the smallest propensities to avarice, he possesses a large income; and without the mean submissions of dependence, he has risen to high station. His ambition, if he has any, is without ostentation; his wit is without acrimony, and his learning is without pedantry.'—vol. iii. p. 502.

* Vol. i. p. 35.

At college Parr remained about fourteen months, when his resources were cut off by the sudden death of his father. On balancing his accounts, three pounds seventeen shillings appeared to be all his worldly wealth; and it has been asserted by one of the many persons who have contributed their quota to the memorabilia of Parr,* that had he been aware beforehand of possessing so considerable a sum, he would have continued longer in an university which he quitted with a heavy heart, and which he was ever proud to acknowledge as his literary nursing-mother. It is melancholy to reflect on the numbers of young men who squander the opportunities afforded them at Cambridge and Oxford, without a thought; 'casting the pearl away, like the *Æthiop*,' while, at the very moment, many are the sons of genius and poverty, who, with Parr, are struggling in vain to hold fast their chance of the learning, and the rewards of learning, to be gained there, and which would be to them instead of house and land. Thus were Parr's hopes again nipped in the bud, and those years, (the most valuable of all, perhaps, for the formation of character,) the latter years of school and college life, were to him a blank. Meanwhile Dr. Summer, then master of Harrow, offered him the situation of his first assistant. With this Parr closed; he took deacon's orders in 1769; and five years passed away, as usefully and happily spent as any which he lived to see. It was while he was under-master of Harrow that he lost his cousin, Frank Parr, then a recently-elected Fellow of King's College. Parr loved him as a brother; and, though himself receiving a salary of only fifty pounds a year, and, as he says, and as may be well believed, 'then very poor,' he cheerfully undertook for Frank, by way of making his death-bed more comfortable, the payment of all his Cambridge debts, which proved to be two hundred and twenty-three pounds; a promise which, it is needless to say, he faithfully kept, besides settling an annuity of five pounds upon his mother. It would be unjust to Parr not to give an extract or two from the letters which he wrote to his dying friend. They are such as must serve to cover a multitude of sins in our estimate of him who could write them.

'Oh! my dear, dear, Frank, oh! were that day arrived to both of us, when every sigh shall be stopped and every evil done away, and our souls lifted up from this vale of sorrows to boundless and heavenly joy. Let me open myself yet further to you. Should it please God to deprive me of you, I know it is my duty, and through his grace it shall be my endeavour, to bear the stroke. But if it falls, I shall, I shall, my dear friend, have no wishes to continue. My hopes, my thoughts, will follow, and I shall long, perhaps impatiently long, for

* *London Mag*, April, 1825.

that hour which shall restore us to each other, and bring us to our God. My prayers, my dear friend, I do not fail to offer up in behalf of your body and your soul; I dare say you do the same for me. May the Almighty, for his dear Son's sake, hear us both; save, preserve, bless us for ever. I hope to get the towels ready in a day or two. Pray make yourself easy, my heart, about all money; and claim mine as your own. Let no false pride, no superfluous delicacy, no unfriendly, unmanly, unchristian suspicions keep you from repeating your demands. "Greater love," says our Saviour, "than this has no man, that a man should lay down his life for his friend." God is my judge that I would most readily, most contentedly, most gladly, die for you, my dear, dear soul! Can I then refuse you any thing else? We have a common interest here, a common hope hereafter. Heaven grant our friendship to last to all eternity. If the towels are ready you will perhaps see me for an hour or two on Thursday or Friday evening. Write a line by to-night's post. Write, if it be only a line. Pray eat three or four jellies a-day. Pray take care of yourself. I commend you to the great God and his most gracious Son the Lord Jesus Christ. Through his mediation and intercession may we live long on earth and meet in heaven.'—vol. i. p. 48.

'My dear, dear, Frank,' he writes shortly after, 'I could not bear the idea of suffering you to feel one uneasy thought, and therefore I sent you three guineas this morning, on the very moment after my arrival. I will, in a few days, send you some towels, and, if you please, a tablecloth or two, and other necessities which you find occasion for. Write me word of the consultation. Tell me what say your physicians about your health and earthly condition; and tell me, oh! my dear creature, what your own heart suggests about your future one. May that God, whose mercy is over all his works—that God who will not reject the meanest of his creatures, when they approach him in the name of a crucified, interceding Saviour; may He mitigate your pains, may He restore your health, may He bless your soul; even so, Lord Jesus. Amen. Yours to eternity, 'S. PARR.'—i. p. 49.

In 1771, when Parr was in his twenty-fifth year, Dr. Sumner was suddenly carried off by apoplexy. Sir W. Jones, the most illustrious, perhaps, of his pupils, writes to Dr. Bennet on this occasion as follows. We quote the letter more for the sake of showing the ardour of this extraordinary man, in his pursuit after knowledge and fame, than the want of it towards the memory of his old master, evinced in the opinion expressed of Dr. Sumner.

'You will think more highly of my sincerity than my gratitude, when I tell you that I was not so deeply affected with the loss of Sumner, as you seem to be. My confidence in him had been considerably decreased for the last three years, and I began to take pleasure in his company less than ever. As to himself he had too many misfortunes to make life desirable. I have learned so much, seen so much,

much, written so much, said so much, and thought so much since I conversed with you, that were I to attempt to tell half what I have learned, seen, writ, said, and thought, my letter would have no end. I spend the whole winter in attending the public speeches of our greatest lawyers and senators, and in studying our own admirable laws, which exhibit the most noble example of human wisdom that the mind of man can contemplate. I give up my leisure hours to a political treatise on *the Turks*, from which I expect some reputation; and I have several objects of ambition which I cannot trust to a letter, but will impart to you when we meet. If I stay in England I shall print my *de Poesi Asiaticâ* next summer, though I shall be at least two hundred pounds out of pocket by it. In short, if you wish to know my occupations, read the beginning of Middleton's *Cicero*, p. 13, 18, and you will see my model, for I would willingly lose my head at the age of sixty, if I could pass a life at all analogous to that which Middleton describes. Parr talks of being with you at Christmas; I fear I shall not be able to accompany him. Farewell! The time, I hope, will come, when we shall see more of each other than we have been able to do for the last seven years.—vol. i. p. 55:

Parr now became a candidate for the head mastership of Harrow, founding his claims on being born in the town, educated at the school, and for some years one of the assistants. The Governors, however, preferred Dr. Benjamin Heath, an antagonist by whom it was no disgrace to be beaten, and whose personal merit Parr himself allowed to justify their choice. A rebellion among the boys, many of whom took Parr's part, ensued, and in an evil hour he threw up his situation of assistant, and withdrew to Stanmore, a village a very few miles from Harrow. Here he was followed by forty of the young rebels, and with this stock in trade he proceeded to set up a school on his own account. This, Dr. Johnstone thinks, was the crisis of Parr's life. The die had turned up against him, and the disappointment, with its immediate consequences, gave a complexion to his future fortunes, character, and comfort. He had already mounted a full-bottomed wig when he stood for Harrow, anxious, as it should seem, to give his face a still further chance of keeping its start. He now began to ride on a black saddle, and bore in his hand a long wand with an ivory head, like a crosier in high prelatical pomp. His neighbours, who wondered what it could all mean, had scarcely time to identify him with his pontificals, before they saw him stalking along the street in a dirty striped dressing-gown. A wife was all that was now wanted to complete the establishment at Stanmore, and accordingly Miss Jane Marsingale, a lady of an ancient Yorkshire family, was provided for him, (Parr, like Hooker, appears to have courted by proxy, and with about the same success,) and so Stanmore was set a going as the rival of Harrow. These were
fearful

fearful odds. Achilles himself could not stand single-handed against the steady course of the Scamander, and an ancient institution, like 'that ancient river,' is pretty sure in the end to sweep its ephemeral opponent away. Whether the system of education adopted at this place, which certainly reminds us of that of Milton, contained within itself the seeds of its own dissolution, or whether the lads who had been hitherto under Dr. Sumner ran away with the coach when Parr held the reins with a strong indeed, but unsteady hand, *solitæque jugum gravitate carebat*; however this was, it came to pass, that in spite of 'Attic symposia,' and groves of Academus, and the enacting of a Greek play, and the perpetual recitation of the fragment in praise of Harmodius and Aristogeiton,* the establishment at Stanmore declined, and at the end of five years Parr was not sorry to accept the mastership of an endowed school at Colchester. To Colchester, therefore, he removed with his wife and a daughter in the spring of 1777. Here he took priest's orders at the hands of Bishop Lowth, and found society congenial to him in Dr. Foster, a kindred whig, and in Thomas Twining, a kindred scholar. Hitherto Parr had not published anything. The proximity of Harrow had acted upon him like an incubus. Released at length from this oppression, his spirit began to revive, and the following letter from Sir W. Jones indicates that he had some intention of printing a sermon, an intention which he did not however then fulfil.

Worcester, March 8th, 1778.

'My Dear Friend.—Your letter overtook me a few days ago, and I am so hurried that I must answer it in very few words. If your sermon be not likely to hurt you and your family, by giving fruitless offence to men in power, I will answer for your reputation, and exhort you to print it *with your name*; without it, you must not expect to have the charges of publication defrayed, as few men read a book with so unpromising a title as a *Sermon on the 27th February, 1778*. I shall not be in the Temple till the 30th April, then I shall be wholly at your service. You will send a copy of your discourse to me, and may rely on my sincerity as well as on my attention; but in the name of the Muses, let it be written in a *legible* hand, for to speak plainly with you, your English and Latin characters are so ill formed, that I have infinite difficulty to read your letters, and have abandoned all hopes of decyphering many of them. Your Greek is wholly illegible, it is perfect Algebra; and your strictures on my *Isæus*, excellent and valuable as they are, have given more fatigue to my head and eyes than the whole translation. Half an hour in the day would be as much time as you could employ in forming your characters, and you would save four times as much of your friends' time. I will speak with the sincerity which you like: either you can write better or you

* Field, v. i. 898.

cannot; if you can, you ought to write better; if not, you ought to learn. I scribble this as fast as I can move the pen, yet to me it is perfectly legible; it should be plainer still, if my pen were better, or I were less hurried. Farewell! my dear friend, if I did not love and respect you, I would not give you this chiding, which I know you will take in good part.—p. 102.

• Whilst we are on the subject of bad writing, which is a very common and very inconvenient species of affectation, we recommend to the attention of all whom it may concern, a very amusing letter from Tweddell to Parr. Tweddell, it seems, was superintending for Parr the publication of his ‘Sequel,’ a pamphlet against the Rev. Mr. Curtis, to whose name there is an allusion in the first line, and who had fallen under Parr’s wrath without any just cause.

‘Dear Sir,—*Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei*—*Anglicè* you will never have done with —; however, you say the last alteration shall be the last, and I will take care that it be made. And now, as I suppose I am freed from the danger of any more headaches, occasioned to me by your amanuensis, let me request of you to give him a jobation upon his villainous penmanship. To a nervous man he is as fatal as a physician. Small, indeed, are the hopes of life, if you enter a correspondence with him. His abominable hieroglyphics shake you from top to toe. Pray, my good Sir, do labour to convince him that letters were designed to be the intelligible expression of ideas, to convey distant meaning by legible characters, to be the faithful interpreters of thought between remote friends. But Martin, I perceive, has formed a directly opposite opinion. He thinks that they were formed for the purposes of perplexity. Why else is he more obscure than the prophetess of Cumæ? He differs, indeed, from the Sybil in this respect, that her leaves were worth the pursuit, and rewarded the pains of him who found them. Martin does not commit his to the winds, knowing that, from their perfect inutility, his correspondent will perform that office himself. You, as a moderate man, ought not to employ Martin as your amanuensis. For why? His letters put me in mind of tumult and anarchy; there is sedition in every sentence; syllable has no longer any confidence in syllable, but dissolves its connexion as preferring an alliance with the succeeding word. A page of his epistle looks like the floor of a garden-house, covered with old crooked nails, which have just been released from a century’s durance in a brick wall. I cannot cast my eyes on his character without being religious. This is the only good effect I have derived from his writings: he brings into my mind the resurrection, and paints the tumultuous resuscitation of awakened men with a pencil of masterly confusion. I am fully convinced of one thing, either that he or his pen is intoxicated when he writes to me, for his letters seem to have borrowed the reel of wine, and stagger from one corner of the sheet to the other. They remind me of Lord Chatham’s administration, lying together heads

heads and points in one truckle-bed. And could you, notwithstanding, Sir, think that I was so infatuated with Martin's handwriting, that for the sake of perusing it one half hour earlier, I should all along prefer paying the price of double, and treble, and quadruple postage, to having it inclosed to Mr. Wilbraham? If it could answer any end of your's better by sending it to me, than under cover to Mr. W., I should not have mentioned this, but really I receive it within half an hour of the same time; and as for your writing on the outside of your letter, *single sheet*, it answers no one purpose. They consider the *weight*, and charged me for the last one shilling and eightpence, and for the one before two shillings and sixpence, and in the same way various times of our correspondence lately. In future, therefore, I will be obliged to you to convey every *hundred weight of letters* in Martin's writing by separate packets to Mr. Wilbraham's. Though now, indeed, I apprehend I shall not receive many more—I really do, as you say, most heartily and unfeignedly rejoice, that our joint task is at an end.—vol. i. p. 392.

Parr was evidently fond of living in troubled waters; accordingly, on his removal to Colchester, he got into a quarrel with the trustees of the school on the subject of a lease. He printed a pamphlet about it, which he never published; restrained perhaps by the remarks of Sir W. Jones, who constantly noted the pages submitted to him, with 'too violent,' 'too strong;' and probably thought the whole affair a battle of kites and crows, which Parr had swelled into importance; or, it might be, he suppressed it, influenced by the prospect of succeeding to Norwich school, for which he was now a candidate, and by the shrewd observation of Dr. Foster, 'that Norwich might be touched by a fellow feeling for Colchester; and the crape-makers of the one place sympathise with the bag-makers of the other.' If the latter consideration weighed with him, it was the first and last time that any such consideration did, Parr being apparently of the opinion of John Wesley, that there could be no fitter subject for a Christian man's prayers, than that he might be delivered from what the world calls 'prudence.' However it happened, the pamphlet was withheld, and Parr was elected to the school at Norwich. Soon after his removal there, which was in January, 1779, he received the following letter from Sir W. Jones, fraught, as Dr. Johnstone observes, with sentences of gold, which it is ever to be regretted were so often forgotten by his revered friend.

● *Worcester, July 19th, 1779.*

'My dear Parr,—I take up my pen, after a long interval, to answer your friendly letter of the 4th of April. Remember to reserve for me a copy of your book,' (the pamphlet above alluded to,) 'and by the first opportunity to send me all that is printed, together with the preface. I shall value it for the sake of the writer, and for the intrinsic merit of

of the writing ; besides I am resolved to *spheterize* some passages of it, and to apply them in the continual war which I maintain against the unjust and the unprincipled. Isæus is highly honoured by you. Let me entreat you to take care of your observations on the work, as I shall want your friendliest assistance and freest censure on revising the next edition. In the second edition the notes shall be, at your request, more numerous ; but I cannot destroy the unity of my work by a minute examination of particles and points. Let me beg you, at your leisure, to read with attention the speeches of Demosthenes against Zenothemis, Apaturius, Phormio, Lacritus, and Dionysidorus, and inform me whether they have ever been translated, except by Wolfius and Auger. It is possible that I may amuse myself with translating and explaining them, as they all relate to the *fœnus nauticum* of the civilians, or the *bottomry* of the modern commercial nations ; and I wish to be informed whether any other speeches on the same subject are extant. I rejoice that your situation is agreeable to you ; and only grieve that you are at such a distance from London. You speak well in your letter of your dean ; yet I have been told that you are engaged in a controversy with him ! *Oh, my friend ! remember and emulate Newton, who once entered into a philosophical contest, but soon found, he said, " that he was parting with his peace of mind for a shadow."* Surely the elegance of ancient poetry and rhetoric, the contemplation of God's works and God's ways, the respectable task of making boys learned and men virtuous, may employ the forty or fifty years you have to live, more serenely, more laudably, and more profitably, than the vain warfare of controversial divinity, and the dark mines and countermines of uncertain metaphysics. Whether the ἀπιστεῖα have been assigned me in Wales, I know not ; but the knowledge of men which I have acquired in my short forensic career, has made me satisfied with my present station, and all my φιλοτιμία is at an end.—vol. i. p. 110.

At Norwich, Parr ventured on his first publications, and obtained his first preferment. The publications consisted of a sermon on 'The Truth of Christianity,' 'a Discourse on Education,' and 'a Discourse on the Late Fast ;' the last of which opens with a mistake singular in Parr, who confounds the sedition of Judas Gaulonitis, mentioned in Josephus, (*Antiq.* xviii. 1. 1.) with that under Pilate, mentioned in St. Luke, (xiii. 1, 2, 3.) ; whereas the former probably preceded the latter by twenty years, or nearly. The preferment which he gained was the living of Asterby, presented to him by Lady Jane Trafford, the mother of one of his pupils ; which, in 1783, he exchanged for the perpetual curacy of Hutton, in Warwickshire, the same lady being still his patron : neither were of much value. Lord Dartmouth, whose sons had also been under his care, endeavoured to procure something for him from Lord Thurlow, but the chancellor is reported to have said, 'No,' with an oath. The great and good Bishop Lowth, however,

however, at the request of the same nobleman, gave him a prebend in St. Paul's, which, though a trifle at the time, eventually became, on the expiration of leases, a source of affluence to Parr in his old age. How far he was from such a condition at this period of his life, is seen by the following incident given by Mr. Field.* The doctor was one day in this gentleman's library, when his eye was caught by the title of 'Stephens' Greek Thesaurus.' Suddenly turning about and striking vehemently the arm of Mr. Field, whom he addressed in a manner very usual with him; he said, 'Ah! my friend, my friend, may you never be forced, as I was at Norwich, to sell that work, to me so precious, from absolute and urgent necessity.'

But we must on with the Doctor in his career. In 1785, for some reason unknown to his biographer, Parr resigned the school at Norwich, and in the year following went to reside at Hatton.

'I have an excellent house, (he writes to a friend,) good neighbours, and a Poor, ignorant, dissolute, insolent, and ungrateful, beyond all example. *I like Warwickshire very much.* I have made great regulations, viz. bells chime three times as long; Athanasian creed; communion service at the altar; swearing act; children catechised first Sunday in the month; private baptisms discouraged; public performed after second lesson; recovered a 100*l.* a year left the poor, with interest amounting to 115*l.*, all of which I am to put out, and settle a trust in the Spring; examining all the charities.'—vol. i. p. 827.

Here Warwickshire pleases Parr; but Parr's taste in this, and in many other matters, (as we shall have occasion to show by and by,) was subject to change. He soon, therefore, becomes convinced of the superior intellect of the men of Norfolk. He finds Warwickshire, the Bæotia of England, two centuries behind in civilization.† He is anxious, however, to be in the commission of the peace for this ill-fated county, and applies to Lord Hertford, then Lord Lieutenant; but the application fails; and again, on a subsequent occasion, to Lord Warwick, and again he is disappointed. What motives operated upon their lordships' minds to his exclusion, they did not think it necessary to avow. Perhaps they were afraid that the great scholar would have dogmatized on the bench till he had disgusted his colleagues, and passed sentence on the culprit till he had spoiled their dinner—that he would have condemned the laws where he was only called upon to administer them, and scrutinized the conduct of the constable with as much severity as that of the thief—that he would have been debating, when he should have been passing the accounts, and have impeded 'all decisions by showing how much might be said against any—that he would have looked upon a poacher with

* Vol. i. p. 123.

† Vol. i. p. 333.

too much lenity, and a rioter for church and king with too much wrath—that he would have found in every pauper who appealed to him, a victim, and in every overseer, a tyrant—that whilst his brother justices could see no signs of grace in a culprit, from the evidence against him, he would have discovered virtue in his looks; and would have peremptorily pronounced, that if ‘that man be lewdly given, he deceived him.’ If any, or all of these doubts crossed the mind of the Lord Lieutenant, we confess that we do not think they would have been wholly groundless; and that, ably as Parr would have descanted on justice in the abstract, it is our belief that he would have ‘ministered it *indifferently*,’ though not in the sense in which this is made the subject of our prayers.

A free press is the issue through which all the peccant humours in the body politic make their escape; and the *type* (that we believe is the phrase) in which Parr’s bile presented itself was in a Preface to a new edition of Bellendenus. Amongst the various works of this learned Scot (to some of which Middleton was greatly indebted for the materials of his *Life of Cicero*, though he makes no acknowledgment of it) was a dissertation de *Tribus Luminibus Romanorum*. One of these *Lumina* was Cicero; the two others have been conjectured, but without any adequate ground as far as we can see, to be Seneca, and Pliny the Elder. The first of these portraits, however, was all that he lived to complete. His editor, therefore, taking up his parable in his turn, executes an elaborate dissertation on the characters of the Three Lights of Britain, Lord North, Fox, and Burke. The sympathy in the two cases, it will be perceived, is of the kind which subsisted between the rivers of Macedon and Monmouth. Of the Latin of this Preface there can be but one opinion—it is the work of a scholar, profound in grammar, boundless in acquirement, prompt in its application—but it is a work of art rather than of nature—it appears to us to be a wonderfully skilful solution of a problem wherein, all imaginable idioms of the language and all the sentiments of its best authors being given, it is required to construct out of them a panegyric upon Fox and a satire upon Thurlow. It cannot here be said of Parr, as was said of Cowley, that he wears the *garb* without wearing the *clothes* of the ancients. His coat may consist of *purpurei panni*, but the most splendid patches are patches still—are still a *prey* of *divers colours of needlework*; and, as such, have not the easy and flowing folds of a coat which is without seam, *woven* from the top throughout. In his quotations, however, which are in numbers without number, Parr is often singularly happy, (it was his vocation, as he somewhere says, to quote;) often they follow
in

in the natural train of his thoughts, and, in those cases, give them the sting of an epigram; but often, again, it is easy to see that they are only traps which he has himself set that he may himself fall into them, and like Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, he may be suspected of making the matter germane to the phrase if the phrase be not germane to his matter. His characters, as usual, are powerfully and (where his prejudices conspire to such an end) most agreeably depicted; but if his fair course be hindered, if he has to speak of an opponent, he forgets what is due to high place, to established reputation, to living genius, and pursues his victim with the acrimony of one who had sustained at his hands some personal wrong. It is then that we remember the warning voice of Sir William Jones, and in sorrow, not in anger, contemplate the enraged and impotent politician, where we might have seen the profound and dignified divine. That impatience of restraint which vented itself in unavailing declamation on the people's rights, aided by Parr's scholarship, might have given birth to another '*Liberty of Prophesying*.'—That graphic pencil, which could depict the senator with such force, might, under a different influence, have traced out another '*Divine Exemplar*.'—Those fervid appeals to the duty and responsibility of a minister of state, might have taken another direction, and enforced the '*Duty and Doctrine of the Minister of God*.'

'Thus did Parr,' says Dr. Johnstone, 'unsheath his sword against the Pittites and throw away the scabbard.' 'Yet it is not certain,' he adds, 'though his party had gained the victory, that he would have been permitted to partake the spoil—for Mr. Fox had not always the power of disposing of preferment even when minister. Had the coalition succeeded, it is only a surmise that he might have been a canon residentiary of St. Paul's. On the appointment of the Regency, it was said he was to be promoted to the see of Bristol; but when his friends were actually in administration, it was insinuated that Lord Grenville declined promising a bishopric, on the ground of Parr's unpopularity in his own profession. If it were so, he had sacrificed himself for nothing; wasting his powers in praising those who could not serve him; embarking those great talents in the service of a party or a faction, which were intended for the benefit of his country and his race, and, above all, departing from the great rules of his religion,—not to speak evil, nor to give offence to the least of his brethren.'—vol. i. p. 208.

How well Parr was satisfied with the manner in which he had executed his task, is seen in the following ludicrous effusion of self-complacency addressed to his friend Homer;—

'Dear Sir,—What will you say? or, rather, what shall I say myself of myself? It is now ten o'clock at night, and I am smoking a
quiet

quiet pipe, after a most vehement and, I think, a most splendid effort of composition—an effort it was indeed, a mighty and a glorious effort—for the object of it is to lift up Burke to the pinnacle where he ought to have been placed before, and to drag down Lord Chatham from that eminence to which the cowardice of his hearers and the credulity of the public had most weakly and most undeservedly exalted the impostor and father of impostors! Read it, dear Harry, read it, I say, aloud; read it again and again; and when your tongue has turned its edge from me to the father of Mr. Pitt—when your ears tingle and ring with my sonorous periods—when your heart glows and beats with the fond and triumphant remembrance of Edmund Burke—then, dear Homer, you will forgive me, you will love me, you will congratulate me, and readily will you take upon yourself the trouble of printing, what in writing has cost me so much greater, though not longer trouble. Old boy, I tell you that no part of the preface is better conceived, or better written; none will be read more eagerly, or felt by those whom you wish to feel it, more severely. Old boy, old boy, it's a stinger, and now to other business.'—p. 197.

Surely Malvolio himself was never more enamoured of his own parts! *

At this point in his work, Dr. Johnstone enters upon the History of Dr. White's famous Bampton Lectures, and traces through a long series of correspondence (what may be called without a pun) the *double-dealing* of the professor, who was at once employing Mr. Badcock, a learned dissenting minister, in Devonshire, and Dr. Parr, at Norwich, to prepare him for appearing with credit in the pulpit of his university. The whole affair, which is now fully cleared up, deserves a short detail as a literary curiosity. The lectures were delivered in 1784, the three first in March, the last in October. On November 27, 1783, Dr. White writes thus to Mr. Badcock—

'Our correspondence must be a profound secret. The world suspects that my journey (to South Molton) has not been a mere journey of pleasure—you will, therefore, please to direct your letters to me thus:—To John Richardson, Esq., Wadham Coll. Oxford.—Mr. R. has been a member of our college, and now lives in London, and I shall give strict orders to the porter to bring all letters thus addressed to me. The letters I send to you I shall myself give into the hands of the postman as he goes out of Oxford

* A hundred other extracts might be given where Parr gloats over his own literary offspring, without apparently the least sense of shame. But 'enough, and more than enough.' Dr. Wallis, we remember, in one of his controversial tracts against Hobbes, observes, that were any one idle enough to collect together the different passages in which his antagonist had praised himself in his works, and publish them under the title of *Hobbes de se*, they would form a large and most ridiculous volume. In like manner may we say that *Parrus de se*, deduced and digested from his Works and Conversations, would present one of the most extraordinary exhibitions in literature. His only contemporary equal in this respect was, like himself, a man of great talents, Lord Erskine. They met sometimes—but we stop.

'The parts I particularly wish you to undertake are Lectures 1, 7, 8. Of the first, I have nothing further to say than to desire, if it can be done with propriety, that some elegant compliment may in some part be paid to the university. Lecture 8, I leave wholly to yourself.

'Dec. 9, 1783.—Your introduction to Lecture 1, dated Dec. 5, gives me the most perfect satisfaction.

'Jan. 8, 1784.—Dr. Parr is at present employed in reviewing this Lecture (No. 2), and has already sent me his revision of the first half, executed in a masterly manner. I request the favour of you to undertake the subject from this place, and to continue it up till the final establishment of Christianity. I devolve the whole business on yourself. I have no hints to suggest to you, and you need none. The part where we encounter Gibbon ought to be brilliant, and the conclusion of the whole must be animated and grand. I most earnestly entreat you to furnish the third Lecture as soon as it suits your convenience, and to adapt your manner of writing as much as you possibly can to the style of my printed sermons.'

Thus was Parr revising the lectures, quite unconscious that Dr. White was receiving assistance from any other quarter. So matters seem to have remained till Mr. Badcock's death, which happened at Sir J. Chichester's, in 1788. Then it was that a note for 500*l.* from Dr. White, was found in his pocket-book. Dr. Gabriel, of Bath, Mr. Badcock's friend, now hastened to town, and had an interview with the professor, who received the intelligence with confusion and displeasure. It was then agreed that Dr. Gabriel should go down to South Molton, where Mr. Badcock's sister resided, and where his papers had been deposited. The object of this visit seems to have been to negotiate some new arrangement respecting the payment of the note. The visit however was paid, and Dr. Gabriel then followed the professor to Oxford. He found him dissatisfied at the result of the journey, and was accused by him of being in league with Miss Badcock to pick his pocket. Incensed at this, Dr. Gabriel threatened to bring the whole transaction before the University, and gave him till the next morning to cool and apologize. No apology was made, and Dr. Gabriel was as good as his word. Then it was that the news of Badcock's co-operation in the Bampton Lectures first reached Parr. He did not believe it. In an unguarded moment he asserted that he was the only man in Dr. White's confidence on the subject, and, finally, he told it as a secret to Mr. Smyth, of Pembroke College, that it was himself that had given White the assistance. The denouement of this piece, which has all the intrigue of a farce without any of the fun, was now advancing.

In December, 1785, Parr writes to Mr. Badcock from Exeter College,

College, '*Professor White driving the pen,*' expressing his earnest wish to become personally acquainted with him.

'I long to see you, to converse with you, and to enjoy under the auspices of your presence and the animating influence of your example, those pure and sublime pleasures which can only be tasted by scholars who are without pedantry, by philosophers who judge without dogmatism, and by Christians who believe without bigotry. White tells me that you never eat, never drink, and what is worse than all, never smoke; but he does ample justice to the soundness of your judgment, to the copiousness of your knowledge, to the gaiety of your spirits, to the purity, to the candour, and to the benevolence of your heart. Let me then intreat you to saddle your horse and hasten to Oxford, where I shall stay till the 14th of January, and where the cup which I am now quaffing will neither be full nor sweet unless you pour out into it the *δρτικὸν μέλι* which flows in rich and abundant streams from your head and heart,' &c.—vol. i. p. 236.

Professor White, it is to be remembered, was the amanuensis on this occasion, and took charge of sending the letter to the post. It is singular, however, that Mr. Badcock never received it. Letters will miscarry sometimes—yet the mind instinctively thinks of an Intrigante in a play who has a lover secreted in each closet, neither of them conscious of a rival, and one or both to be kept in their ignorance; and though in general nothing can be more opportune in a crisis of this kind than for one of the parties to be suddenly carried off in a fit of apoplexy and thereby rescue the lady from dying of a fit of perplexity, (as Sir W. Scott somewhere has it) yet in the present instance it happened that dead men told more tales than living ones, and that the times were no longer those in which they ceased to speak when their brains were out. Parr, whose suspicions began to be awakened by the events we have described, calls upon Dr. White for an explanation. The 'most worthy and learned friend' sinks into 'Reverend Sir,' and 'Dr. White presents his respects,'—and a meeting between the professor and the doctor, in the presence of witnesses, takes place at Hatton, when the Bampton Lectures are spread out, and each seizes upon his own. The famous congress of Hotspur and Owen Glendower, with their map before them, at the Archdeacon of Bangor's, seems to have been the precedent by which they agreed to act, if we may judge from the spirit of the subsequent correspondence; but we will not enter further into their mutual criminations, their 'setting up of claims,' 'and allowing of pretensions,' and protracted teasings of one another; suffice it to sum up the whole in the words of Dr. Johnstone, that 'Whether the plan of the Bampton Lectures was solely White's may be doubted; that much of the execution certainly lay between him and Badcock; but that the whole was superintended and revised by

Parr, and that, admitting the calculation of one-fifth of the whole to belong to Parr, and that the whole was twice submitted to his revisal, and twice received material alterations from his keen eye and critical pen, we must admit him into a co-partnership of the work.'—vol. i. p. 275.

Thus may these Bampton Lectures, which invited more public attention than any others which were ever delivered, be added to the number of instances in which men of letters have been *trium literarum homines*; and whilst the congregation of St. Mary's thought they were listening to one of their own professors alone, of him it might have been said, as it is said of one of Wordsworth's heroes, (Harry Gill, if we remember right)

'His voice it was the voice of three.'*

Parr was blamed at the time for the share he took in Dr. White's exposure, and it was said that by divulging the assistance he had given him, he did much more than cancel the obligation. We cannot see that he was much in fault—Parr did his friend an ill turn unwittingly in his attempt to vindicate him; and even had it been otherwise, White's want of confidence justified Parr's want of secrecy—there can be no treachery where there is no trust.

We now come to the re-publication of 'The Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian,' with a dedication and preface by Dr. Parr.—In again producing to the world two early compositions of the Bishop of Gloucester's, which their great author had set no store by, and which the discreet editor of the Bishop's works had suppressed in his edition, there was no great harm;—they were curious as the first-fruits of such a harvest of genius—and Parr, though not a blind was a sincere admirer of Warburton, and was well aware that the author of the Divine Legation, of the Julian, and we will even add, (however objectionable in many respects, and in its spirit especially,) of the Doctrine of Grace, could amply afford to be known by productions less advantageous to his fame than these. But to be the means of reviving the Delicacy of Friendship and the Letter to Leland, after the long lapse of time which had ensued since their first publication, and when their author had shown himself desirous to suppress them, this was not the courtesy which was due from one man of letters to another; it was not the respect which an inferior clergyman owed to his

* In this singular performance, in which the interlocutors were all so strikingly different in their cast of mind and general character, it is really surprising what an uniformity of style and manner prevails. *A priori*, we should have thought Parr's deep and moulthing tone might have been distinguished anywhere; but here, whether it be the effect of the *chillida junctura*, or that similarity of language which joint labourers insensibly fall into, these sermons read very well as the composition of one man. It is strange, too, that if there be occasionally a more nervous or brilliant paragraph, it would appear, from the authentic apportionment of parts, not to belong to Parr, but to Badcock.

diocesan ; it was not the charity which should lead every Christian, and particularly every Christian minister, to extinguish instead of prolonging the strife. We are no partisans of Bishop Hurd—we scarcely regret the chastisement he received. He had volunteered, like Sir Mungo Malagrowther, to be the whipping-boy to the king whom he had set up for himself, and he therefore could not justly complain if he was made to smart for it. Surely if Warburton had thought himself seriously aggrieved, Warburton knew how to complain and how to take vengeance. We compassionate Dr. Hurd the less, because the suppression of his pamphlets against Jortin and Leland appeared, after all, to be the effect of caution rather than of contrition. In the Letters between himself and an eminent Prelate, those useful scholars (and especially the former of the two) are still spoken of in language sufficiently offensive and contemptuous. It is true that this *shows* itself chiefly in Warburton's share of the correspondence ; and, on the other hand, it is true that some allowance is to be made for Warburton, who had reason to complain of a want of generosity, at least, in Jortin's dealings towards him :—but by deliberately causing these Letters to be published (a thing on many accounts so objectionable), Dr. Hurd identified himself here as elsewhere with his master—while, by making that publication posthumous, he denies to his character (that which no right-minded man would wilfully violate) the sanctuary of the grave ; and puts it out of our power to contemplate him (as we fain would do) in the respectable light of one who had lived to refuse the highest reward to which ecclesiastical ambition can aspire, content to spend the evening of life in the peaceful retirement of Hartlebury, in oblivion of all that had given him offence, in sorrow for all whereby he had offended, and in humble hope of a better translation than that which he so magnanimously had declined. Still this does not justify Parr. Dr. Hurd was in the wrong, but Dr. Parr was not therefore in the right. Again, had Bishop Lowth, his illustrious patron, at that time suffered under the faint praise of the Bishop of Worcester, something might have been allowed to Parr's gratitude and indignation ; but the '*Life of Warburton*,' wherein that commendation is bestowed, was still, under the hands of its author, to be subjected again and again to the critical retort, till all its spirit should have evaporated before exposure to the world. Or further, had the controversy been of any recent date, Parr might have found some excuse in the excitement of the moment and the inquietude of conscious talent ; but it had been long laid to sleep : both the parties aggrieved were already beyond the reach of censure or of praise, quietly reposing in the grave, and the aggressor, now old and stricken in years, was following them apace. What then could impel Parr to an attack so furious,

so uncalled for, so unjustifiable? in which he stings with the venom of a hornet, *animamque in vulnere ponit*. It needs little observation of mankind to discover how seldom the cause of a quarrel is commensurate with the consequences—‘how great a matter a little fire kindleth.’ Parr had taken several opportunities of speaking handsomely of Dr. Hurd in his notes upon Rapin, written some six years before. They were not then published, it is true, but they are now, and stand upon record as his deliberate opinion of the bishop at that time. And this circumstance, we think, is enough to show that it was not Warburton’s own treatment of Lowth that drew down upon the head of Warburton’s friend the vials of Parr’s wrath. But when Parr was presented to Hatton, which was in the diocese of Worcester, ‘he necessarily went to Hartlebury—he was treated coldly—not even a repast was offered him. This slight roused his indignation. He probably, during the effervescence of his rage, recollected the “Delicacy of Friendship,” which he had caused to be copied at Norwich, and perhaps he did not forget the sneer concerning the *long vernacular sermons* at Whitehall; and his fancy under such influence would naturally conjure up a phantom in the shape of Bishop Hurd, which had marched across the high road of his interests, and blighted the prospects of his preferment.’—vol. i. p. 307.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ! ‘This probably was the whole truth, trifling as it seems: for ‘contempt,’ says Lord Bacon, ‘is that which putteth an edge upon anger as much or more than the hurt itself;’ and Parr was just the man to be alive to it. He could forgive an injury, for he was generous; but he could not forget an insult, for he was vain. Accordingly in this dedication and preface, especially in the former, he lets himself loose, and whilst the kinder feelings of the man occasionally betray him into the most beautiful sketches of characters whom he revered,—for Bishop Hurd he has nothing but one unceasing pitiless storm of sarcasm, indignation, and contempt.

‘The distinguishing virtues, even of the best men, may for a time be eclipsed by particular situation. While, therefore, we allow your lordship all the praise which is due to habitual discretion and constitutional gentleness, we are by no means surprised that in the service of such a leader, you were now and then hurried into rashness, sharpened into acrimony, or betrayed into illiberality. We rather lament that the better propensities of your mind were suspended and indeed overborne by the fascination of Warburton’s example, the sternness of his commands, and, with all due reverence let me add, the tremendous severity of his threats. We mourn over the common infirmities of human nature itself, when we recollect that, with a temper which effectually preserved you from the tumultuous fervour of enthusiasm, and with talents which might have procured you success
in

in the regular and ordinary course of controversial hostilities, you were disposed, or, I would rather say, destined to become the herald of the sturdiest knight-errant that ever sallied out in quest of literary crusades—to become the apologist, nay the avenger of a staunch polemic, who attacked with blind and headstrong fury the most unexplored fastnesses of impiety and the most venerable citadels of truth; to become the drudge of an imperious task-master, who, finding himself accompanied by a train of feeble and officious dwarfs, summoned them by his fierce mandates to plunge with him into every difficulty, —to triumph with him in every victory—to make a display of their fidelity or their zeal in every wild and desperate achievement which he was himself emboldened to undertake by the consciousness of his own gigantic strength. “The staff of his spear was like a weaver’s beam, and one bearing a shield” always “went before him.” —vol. vi. p. 371.

Who could believe that the same original is sitting to Parr in this dedication, and to Mason in the fourth of his *Elegies*? But the Lord Hatton, whom Clarendon despises,* is the same whom Jeremy Taylor delights to honour;† and the *Sporus* of Pope’s coarse and tremendous satire‡ is the Lord Hervey whom Middleton represents as the most virtuous and accomplished of mankind.§—The following tribute to the memory of Warburton and of Johnson, contained in the preface to these tracts, need not fear a comparison with anything of its kind in our language. There is an allusion in it, it will be perceived, to the delay of Bishop Hurd in producing his ‘*Life of Warburton*,’ which, for prudential reasons, was not suffered to accompany the edition of his works.

‘Few men have made a more conspicuous figure than Warburton upon the great theatre of learning; few have been engaged in more bustling and splendid scenes; few have sustained more difficult or more interesting characters. It is therefore to be lamented that the public have not yet been favoured with a regular and impartial account of his progress in knowledge; of his advancement in the church; of the embarrassments with which he struggled, and over which he triumphed; of the connections which he formed; of the provocations by which he was harassed; and especially of the opinions which, in the cooler and more serious reflections of his old age, he really entertained of all his own harder exertions made in the vigour of his youth. But whatever materials for the history of his life may be in the hands of his executors, and whatever may be the ability of those who shall have the courage to use them, his character will never be drawn with more justness of design or more strength of colouring than have already been employed by the great biographer of the English poets. The dawn of Warburton’s fame was overspread with many clouds, which the native force of his mind quickly dispelled. Soon after his emersion from them

* Hist. Rebell., vol. ii., p. 156. Oxford.

† Prologue to the *Satires*.

‡ Dedication to the *Lab. of Prophesying*.

§ Dedication to the *Life of Cicero*.

he was honoured by the friendship of Pope and the enmity of Bolingbroke. In the fulness of his meridian glory he was courted by Lord Hardwick and Lord Mansfield; and his setting lustre was viewed with nobler feelings than those of mere forgiveness by the amiable and venerable Bishop Louth. Hallifax revered him; Balguy loved him; and in two immortal works, Johnson has stood forth in the foremost rank of his admirers. By the testimony of such a man impertinence must be abashed, and malignity itself must be softened. Of literary merit, Johnson, as we all know, was a sagacious but a most severe judge. Such was his discernment, that he pierced into the most secret springs of human actions; and such was his integrity, that he always weighed the moral character of his fellow-creatures in the balance of the sanctuary. He was too courageous to propitiate a rival, and too proud to truckle to a superior. Warburton he knew, as I knew him, and as every man of sense and virtue would wish to be known; I mean both from his own writings, and from the writings of those who dissented from his principles, or who envied his reputation. But, as to favours, he had never received or asked any from the Bishop of Gloucester; and if my memory fails me not, he had seen him only once, when they met almost without design, conversed without much effort, and parted without any lasting expression of hatred or affection. Yet, with all the ardour of sympathetic genius, Johnson has done that spontaneously and ably, which by some writers had been before attempted injudiciously, and which by others, from whom more successful attempts might have been expected, has not hitherto been done at all. He spoke well of Warburton without insulting those whom Warburton despised. He suppressed not the imperfections of this extraordinary man, while he endeavoured to do justice to his numerous and transcendental excellencies. He defended him when living, amidst the clamours of his enemies, and praised him when dead, amidst the silence of his friends. I have stated these facts, not with any abject view of palliating the censures which I may have passed upon Warburton's failings, nor yet from any vain confidence in my abilities to exalt his character, but in obedience to the warm and fervent dictates of my own mind;—of a mind, which he has often enlightened, often enchanted, and in some degree, I would hope, improved—

“His saltem accumulæ donis, et fungar inani
Munere.”—vol. iii. p. 404.

About this period (1788) the severe and lamented illness of the king seemed likely to break up Mr. Pitt's administration, and Parr began to have hopes of promotion from a regency. The recovery of the king, however, put an end to these pleasing visions, and Parr's feelings on the subject may be guessed from the following characteristic letter to his friend Homer:—

‘*Hatton, March 6, 1789.*

‘I received yours at Warwick, and I roared with laughter all the way home at Steevens' tricks upon you and me; I shall keep the paper
till

till my dying day ; but you must get " Venduretur " altered, and make the printer of St. James's correct it ; by all means make him. As to politics, Master Homer, *we are all in the wrong box, and I must go without my arm-chair at Amen Corner.* But never mind ; these are the changes and chances of life. Don't you think Billy Pitt a lucky dog ? I see they attack the Irish in all the Pittite papers ; but this don't prove them wrong, and they are likely to be troublesome, especially if a war breaks out. Not a word do you write about my law and Stationers' Hall, and so I suppose that I am safe with Dilly, and Dilly will look to himself. To be sure, it would have an ugly look for a bishop to avow such a book at such a time, merely for the purpose of prosecuting. But what is to be done with the second edition, and how goes the contract on about the Sermons ? Who goes to Ireland ? I hope Lord W. ; for though I dislike him heartily, he will infallibly make Bennet a bishop, and this will be a thoroughly good thing. He is cold and proud, and therefore, depend upon it, a favourite with Pitt. But the Irish will not like him. *I hope you illuminated to save your windows and your credit. I suppose we are to have a thanksgiving ; and of course I must preach ; but I'll take good care what.* It would not be safe to give them a second Phileleutherus, and then Warwickshire would not sound well in Latin ; so I shall say a little about death, and about the king, and conclude. *A man of sense is not embarrassed by these things.* But we shall have what Jack Bartlam calls plenty of loyal sermons, with nonsense and flattery, and I suppose praise to Pitt and abuse upon his opponents. I shall lie by to catch the House of Lords' sermon, for if it is very bad I will chastise it. Your letter was a good while in coming, and did not tell me enough about my own affairs. If Farmer is in residence while I'm in town, I must see Dr. Taylor's chair. *Well ! I should fill it better than it has been filled since Taylor died.* . . . Homer, you are a monstrous nincompoop about Warwickshire ; an incorrigible fool ; a prejudiced and credulous booby ; a tasteless admirer of pork-pies and Epiphany sessions. Our gaol is full, and the gallows will be loaded. Elliot continues sheriff. The sheriff-elect got twelve or fourteen votes against us by promises and threats. It would take me up two days to tell you Warwick news. I expect to be murdered before the election. Murder is quite in fashion here. Homer ! Warwickshire is two centuries behind in civilization ; I say positively it is. Good bye. Have some good port ready for me in April, *for I am not at all downcast, and am glad to be out of suspense.* —vol. i. p. 333.

Politics were now running perilously high. The French revolution was in progress. Burke's Reflections had recently come out, of which 13,000 copies were sold forthwith ; and Tom Paine's ' Rights of Man,' of which the sale was probably still greater. The minds of men were fearfully busied about the first principles of government ; infidelity was abroad ; and the powers of heaven and earth were shaken. The course of our narrative carries

us to a dinner given about this period (1791) at Birmingham, in commemoration of the taking of the Bastile. Birmingham prided itself on being a loyal town in the worst of times; and this ill-judged meeting (to say the least of it) was precisely the spark to kindle it into a conflagration. The church and king party were exasperated. A riot ensued, with its usual excesses, and on the houses and chapels of the dissenters (with whom the dinner originated) the storm fell. This was in July. In the spring of the following year, it was resolved by the same party to have a second meeting on the same anniversary. They had the law on their side, no doubt; so had Sampson the law on his side when 'he bit his thumb.' But Parr, hearing of their intention, like a wise man and a virtuous, determined, as far as in him lay, to prevent the property and lives of peaceable citizens from being put a second time in jeopardy, under whatever pretence, and published his '*Letter from Irenopolis*,' &c.; or '*a Serious Address to the Dissenters of Birmingham*,' dissuading them from holding the dinner. It was written in one day, in six hours and a half; and we fully agree with Dr. Johnstone in thinking it 'the best, the calmest, the purest of all Dr. Parr's literary productions.' It is liberal without being latitudinarian; it conciliates without compromise; it advises without dictation. It is the work of a good citizen, who, hearing his country at a critical moment crying to him for help, sets aside all his speculations and theories and abstract principles, till the danger is gone by, and steps forth her prudent, sober, practical counsellor. The style is as good as the matter: it was written, though not in heat, in haste; there was no time for periods on stilts: that profusion of scholastic decoration which (however 'they may say it is Persian') impedes Parr's progress on common occasions, so that, like the Roman virgin, he expires under the weight of what he mistook for ornaments, was in this instance avoided, and Parr spoke as nature meant that he should speak, till learning spoiled him. It received the warm praise of Mr. Pitt; and, what was higher praise still, it answered its end: the meeting was given up.

'Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat:
Tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant;
Iste legit dictis animos et pectora mulcet,
Sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor.'

If Parr had always acted with the discretion he showed on this occasion, he might perhaps have worn a mitre, or at least many would have thought him not unworthy to wear it.

To

To a few years later than this period belongs a letter from Parr to Mr. Gerrald. We give it as a proof that his heart was still as warm as when he wrote to his 'Cousin Frank.' Gerrald was a West Indian, and a true child of the sun. He had been a pupil of Parr's at Stanmore—was expelled the school—returned to the West Indies—rambled to America, and came back to England a barrister, ripe (as was most natural after passing through such a process) for regenerating the nations. Accordingly he joined the British convention at Edinburgh in 1793, and was unanimously found guilty of sedition by a Scotch jury in March 1794. Those were not times for child's play in politics. In spite, therefore, of a speech which he made in his own defence, and which has been described to us, on the authority of a hearer of no common discernment, as an effort of oratory unrivalled in its kind, such as drew tears from the presiding judge, a man 'albeit unused to the melting mood;' in spite of this vigorous effort at self-preservation, he was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, and when on ship-board, received from Parr the following kind-hearted farewell.

'Dear Joseph.—I hear with indignation and horror that the severe sentence passed upon you in Scotland is shortly to be carried into execution; and remembering that I was once your master, that I have long been your friend, that I am your fellow-creature, made so by the hand of God—and that by every law of that religion, in the belief of which I hope to live and die, I ought to be your comforter—now, dear Joseph, I am *for the last time* writing to you. Oh! my friend, at this moment my heart sinks within me, and, with a wish to say ten thousand things, I am hardly able to say one. But you shall not leave this land without one affectionate, one sincere, one solemn farewell. Joseph, before we meet again, that bosom which now throbs for you, that tongue which dictates, will be laid in the cold grave. Be it so.—Yet, my dear friend, I must cherish the hope that death is not the end of such a being as man. No, Joseph, no, there is a moral government going on, and in the course of it our afflictions will cease, and compensation will be made us, I trust, for all our unmerited sufferings. There is another world and a better; and in that world I pray to God that I may meet your face again. Bear up, I beseech you, against the hard and cruel oppression which the evil spirit of these days, and your own want of discretion have brought upon you. Mackintosh has informed me of that which is about to happen, and I have done all that I can in your favour. Let me conjure you, dear Joseph, to conduct yourself not only with firmness, but with calmness. Do not, do not, by turbulence in conversation or action, give your enemies occasion to make the cup of misery more bitter. Reflect seriously on your past life, and review many of those opinions which you have unfortunately taken up; and which you know, from experience, have little tended

to make you a happier or a better man. I do not mean, Joseph, to reproach you : no, such an intention, at such a crisis, is, and ought to be, very far from my heart ; but I do mean to advise you, and excite you to such a use of your talents, as may console you under the sorrows of this life, and prepare you effectually for what is to follow. I will send you a few books in addition to other matters ; they will cheer you in the dreary hours you have to pass upon that forlorn spot, to which the inhuman governors of this land are about to send you.

‘ Some time ago I saw your dear boy, and depend upon it that, for his sake and your own, I will show him every kindness in my power—I shall often think of you ; yes, Joseph, and there are moments too in which I shall pray for you. Farewell, dear Joseph GERRALD, and believe me your most unfeigned and afflicted friend, S. PARR.

‘ Pray write to me—God Almighty bless you !—Joseph!—Farewell!’—vol. i. p. 453.

We do not envy the man ‘ whose eyes can wander dry’ over this letter.[†]

It is a great deduction from the pleasure we might otherwise take in pursuing Dr. Parr through his walk in literature, to find it so often ‘ as an hedge of thorns ;’ to find ourselves so perpetually involved in altercations unworthy of him to engage in, and (if they did not form a feature in the character of our hero) unworthy of us to detail. The question before us constantly is, not whether he has done a work well or ill, but whether he ought to have done it at all. We have to sit in judgment not only as critics, but as casuists. His celebrated ‘ Review of Dr. Combe’s *Homer*’ places us in this situation. Mr. Homer was originally associated with Dr. Combe in his edition of this poet. Parr’s friendship for Homer had induced him, to encourage the publication, to supply him with many valuable hints, and perhaps to promise notes and dedication. In the midst of the undertaking Homer died, and the task of completing the edition devolved upon the survivor, who does not appear to have been competent to it. This was an accident which Parr had not reckoned upon ; he was probably now unwilling to embark in the same boat with Combe ; indeed he writes to him that ‘ after the epodes he will do no more.’ Certain it is, that when the work came out, the public were informed by a memorandum in the ‘ *British Critic*,’ that Dr. Parr had no hand in the notes of the new edition. Then followed a series of papers in the same publication, containing a very minute, elaborate and masterly examination of it, such as could scarcely fail to sink the work, and the literary credit of its editor together. ‘ Call you this backing of your friends?’ Dr. Combe might well have said with Hal ; and with this reproach, (which we are disposed to think would have been merited,) he should have been content. He weakened a strong case by having recourse to charges against Parr,

Parr, of inhumanity to Homer, and attention to his own pocket; offences of which he was utterly incapable: for whatever other failings he might have, he surely was not wanting either in tenderness or generosity. It is impossible to pronounce with certainty upon the complex motives which operate upon any man to a given end, especially upon a man of the irritable and wayward temperament of Parr; but the want of delicacy in his volunteering to review a work which he had encouraged in the outset and abandoned in the end, when to review was to condemn it, is surely obvious; and in this instance, as in the case of the Warburtonian tracts, there is internal evidence, we think, that the moving cause, after all, was Parr's jealousy of his honour. He felt, perhaps, that he had not been courted by Combe where he thought, and justly thought, that courtship was his due; and he determined that if he knew not how to appreciate him as an ally, he should be taught how to appreciate him as an adversary. What else can be inferred from the following passage?

'While we commend Dr. Combe for what he has done in the way of dedication, we must not conceal from our readers what Mr. Homer intended to do. If that judicious and diligent scholar had been living, the illustrious names of Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Burke would have adorned this page, in which we now find the venerable name of Lord Mansfield; and the dedication itself would have been written by a person, the whole force of whose mind would have been exerted upon such an occasion, and whose advice, during the earlier stages of this publication, was repeatedly asked and generally followed by Mr. Henry Homer.'—v. iii. p. 8.*

* The pamphlet which Parr wrote in answer to Dr. Combe's *Statement*, and which the editor of his collected works has not given entire, contains about one hundred pages, in the very smallest type, of about as curious matter as ever was put together. It fully refutes, what he might have left to his general character to disprove, the charges made as to his pecuniary transactions with Homer, and, indeed, shows, what he was very far from intending, how helplessly ignorant he was of the world and the world's ways. Equally big in his phrasology, equally declamatory, —whether he is discoursing of the settlement of his account of 50*l.*, or the settlement of the affairs of the state—the war of points and particles, or the war with France—Mr. Burke or Dr. Combe—direct or collateral points—he rambles from one subject to another, and descants on all without losing a jot of earnestness or relaxing a whit of his tone. Here we meet with a character sketched off in his most brilliant manner, then a ludicrous exhibition of self importance; next, probably, an admonitory oration, addressed to his opponent on a mistaken reference, or, for it is just the same to Parr, on Jacobin politics; now we see him plunging deep into Fannius and Jason de Nores, from which he only emerges to express his doubts to his readers 'as to an item of 5*l.* 5*s.*, a sum which Mr. Homer had paid for a little work of mine which he superintended, and which had been repaid to him by Mr. Ladbroke, as I found after Mr. Homer's death, by inquiring of Mr. Ladbroke himself.' Never were great things and small, valuable and worthless, relevant and irrelevant, so unscrupulously mixed up together; nor did an author, apparently, ever take greater pride in destroying the effect of his best performances by the odd and incongruous situations in which he places things. Indeed, compared with this heterogeneous and most singular composition, the contents of the witches' cauldron in Macbeth have themselves dependence and consistency.

It

It is due to Parr to say, that he left a memorandum amongst his papers, that Combe 'was a worthy man of many intellectual attainments,' and that 'he wished their controversy to be forgotten.' All this is characteristic of him. 'Like the flint, when struck, he sent forth an hasty spark, and straight was cold again.' He exacted attention—he failed perhaps to receive it; he resented the neglect as a personal wrong—he visited it with outrageous punishment; and he was then the first man to bind up the wounds which he had wantonly inflicted, and to pour in oil and wine. As he himself says, 'It always has been, and always will be, one of the first wishes of my heart, and one of my first prayers to Heaven, that no enmity of mine may ever be immortal.' (*Remarks*, p. 2.) If Parr was not always just before he was generous, he was sure to be generous after he had been unjust. In this very review in question, which was written a few years after the publication of the Warburtonian tracts, he reproves Wakefield for not speaking with sufficient caution of 'so illustrious a prelate as Dr. Hurd;' quotes with approbation his language on another occasion, 'quæ de his tribus versibus (i. e., Virgilii) disseruit *Ricardus Hurd*, episcopus Wigorniensis, doctrinâ viri istius exquisitâ atque ingenio eleganti prorsus digna sunt,* and hints some blame to Dr. Combe for introducing *so few of Bishop Hurd's notes*, 'whose criticisms on many particular passages are justly admired by those who may not agree with him in his general view of Horace's design.†' Yet this was the man of whom, six years before, no, not six years, he had said to Homer, in reference to this very Horace,—'what, to leave out Bentley, and to let that French Sanadon in, *who understood very little more Latin than Bishop Hurd, and was as great a coxcomb!*‡' Such are the inconsistencies into which even honest men are hurried when they leave themselves to the blind guidance of the passion of the hour!

Of Bentley, this review contains a very striking and spirited sketch. As the early numbers of the *British Critic* are not in the hands of every body, and as the attention of the learned world is now drawn to the character of this illustrious critic, by the promise of a Life of him by a distinguished scholar, we shall insert it—

'From the perusal of Bentley we now rise, and upon former occasions we have risen, as from a *cæna dubia*; where the keenest or most fastidious appetite may find gratification in a profusion of various and exquisite viands, which not only please the taste but invigorate the constitution—we leave him as we have often left him before, with renewed and increased conviction, that amidst all his blunders and refinements, all his frivolous cavils and hardy conjectures, all his sacri-

* Vol. iii. p. 69.

† Vol. iii. p. 94.

‡ Vol. i. p. 412.

fices of taste to acuteness, and all his roivings from poetry to prose, still he is the first critic whom a true scholar would wish to consult in adjusting the text of Horace—Yes, the memory of Bentley has ultimately triumphed over the attacks of his enemies, and his mistakes are found to be light in the balance, when weighed against his numerous, his splendid and matchless discoveries. He has not much to fear even from such rivals in literary fame as Cunningham, Baxter, and Dawes. He deserved to obtain, and he has obtained, the honourable suffrages of kindred spirits, a Lennep, a Ruhnken, a Hemsterhuis, and a Porson. In fine, he was one of those rare and exalted personages who, whether right or wrong, in detached instances, always excite attention and reward it—always inform where they do not convince—always send away their readers with enlarged knowledge, with animated curiosity, and with wholesome exercise of those general habits of thinking which enable them, upon mature reflection and after more extensive inquiry, to discover and avoid the errors of their illustrious guides.—vol. iii. p. 100.*

There is another passage in this review which we are induced to quote because it affords one of the best opportunities we have met with in the course of these volumes, of comparing Parr with Johnson, both in matter and style. On the subject of *verbal criticism*, Parr expresses himself thus—

‘ Verbal criticism has been seldom despised sincerely by any man who was capable of cultivating it successfully; and if the comparative dignity of any kind of learning is to be measured by the talents of those who are most distinguished for the acquisition of it, philology will hold no inconsiderable rank in the various and splendid classes of human knowledge. By a trite and frivolous sort of pleasantry, verbal critics are often holden up to ridicule as noisy triflers, as abject drudges, as arbiters of commas, as measurers of syllables, as the very lackeys and slaves of learning, whose greatest ambition is “to pursue the triumph, and partake the gale,” which wafts writers of genius into the wished-for haven of fame. But even in this subordinate capacity, so much derided and so little understood, they frequently have occasion for more extent and variety of information, for more efforts of reflection and research, for more solidity of judgment, more strength of memory, and, we are not ashamed to add, more vigour of imagination, than we see displayed by many sciolists, who, in their own estimation, are

* Who, after reading passages like these, where Parr kindles with his subject, and throws his noble offerings on the tombs of the mighty dead, can call to mind his faults and his foibles, his weaknesses and his imperfections, his inordinate vanity, his intemperate zeal, his headstrong sallies as a political partisan, and even his, shall we say, occasional indecencies as a member of an holy order? Who, while with such kindred feeling he vindicates the honours of departed genius, can be alive to the observation of the specks of his character, or insensible to the spell of this great master of language? It is here, indeed, that Parr never disappoints us. On such occasions, all his faculties are on the stretch, and nothing that is feeble or scanty, inadequate or indiscriminating, is presented to us as the result, but all in such ample measure and judicious liberality, that, in asserting the high claims of others, he gains an unanimous allowance of his own.

original authors. Some of the very satellites of Jupiter are superior in magnitude, and, perhaps, in lustre, to such primary planets as Mars and the Earth.'—vol. iii. p. 22.

Now, let us hear Johnson on the very same subject—

'This is a work' (the editing of Shakspeare) 'which Pope seems to have thought unworthy of his abilities, being not able to suppress his contempt of the *dull duty of an editor*. He understood but half of his undertaking. The duty of a collator is indeed dull, yet, like other tedious tasks, is very necessary; but an emendatory critic would ill discharge his duty without qualities very different from dulness. In perusing a corrupted piece, he must have before him all possibilities of meaning with all possibilities of expression. Such must be his copiousness of thought, and such his copiousness of language—Out of many readings possible, he must be able to select that which best suits with the state, opinions, and modes of language prevailing in every age, and with his author's particular cast of thought and turn of expression. Such must be his knowledge and such his taste. Conjectural criticism demands more than humanity possesses, and he that exercises it with most praise, has very frequent need of indulgence. Let us now be told no more about the dull duty of an editor.'—*Pref. to Shakspe.* p. 44.

We think it must be confessed that the author of the Preface sees his subject in many more points of view, and expresses himself with much greater precision of language than the author of the Review—that the one is accumulating several ideas, while the other is amplifying a single one—that there is more of logic in Johnson, more of rhetoric in Parr. Indeed, brief as Johnson is, he exhausts his subject—he repeats nothing, he omits nothing.

About this time, the two Irelands astonished the reading public by what Dr. Parr lived to call 'their great and impudent forgery,' on which occasion* Dr. Parr rushed forward to the very front rank of dupes, and headed the subscriptionists to the famous confession of faith. Such was the influence of our hero's disastrous star. If there were a bog or quagmire within compass, he was sure to be dipped over head and ears in it. He could never learn, in his literary course, to pick his way clean. In the present instance, his vanity and love of importance seem to have been the moving principles. We do not think highly of his taste on points connected with the English drama or English poetry, in which he was just as capable a judge, we have a notion, as Bentley himself; but the imposition was altogether so stupid that, except on this principle, we find a difficulty in accounting for Parr's easiness of belief. We doubt whether literary history has any thing more amusing,—and many an amusing picture does it present to us,—than the well known exquisite scene, in which, while the young impostor reads his trash,

Doctors

Doctors Parr and Warton lift up their hands in speechless ecstasy, and James Boswell calls for a glass of brandy and water, and chaunts out his *Nunc dimittis*. It would form no bad comparison to that story which Mencken tells so humorously of Kircher, who, when ‘*quidam adolescentes lasciviusculi*,’ some young wags had brought to him a paving stone, which they had chiselled with rude marks for his inspection, immediately began, ‘*viso lapide, tripudiare præ gaudio et pedibus terram pulsare, mox circulos, cruces et signa ad unum omnia tam concinne, tam apposite explicare ut nihil supra.*’ *

This incident in Parr’s life has been compared to Johnson’s patronage of Lauder. but there is a marked distinction, we think, between the two cases.* Johnson’s deception involved no question of taste, but was merely the consequence of his own habitual and sluggish indolence. He was too lazy to inquire for the books from which Lauder pretended to have derived his parallel passages, and therefore, as the least troublesome course, took their accuracy for granted. Parr would not have been deceived by Lauder; for his busy alacrity, on all literary subjects, would have led him to collate, compare, and examine such remarkable correspondencies. Johnson could not have been deceived down half a page by Ireland: his strong good sense and sound judgment would, on the internal evidence of the fabrications, and on an examination of the circumstances of the story, immediately have pierced through the thin veil of fraud, and rejected the imposture with indignation.

In 1800, Parr was called upon to preach the Spital Sermon, which he afterwards published—with a mass of notes, if not always illustrative of his text, at least illustrative of his unbounded range of philosophical and classical reading. He styles them, in a letter to Dr. Maltby, very important; the composition in three places equalling, in one surpassing anything that his mind, in its happiest moments, had produced; answers were to be innumerable, but he was to reply to none; his candour being manifested to all ranks, except bigots, atheists, and non-descript reformers.† The times might justify a metaphysical treatise on the nature of benevolence, for such this sermon was; it was the day of abstract principles. In the theories of universal philanthropy which the French Revolution had scattered abroad, there was a danger lest all the household virtues should be discarded, as too minute and mean for the attention of a philosopher. ‘The friend of humanity’ would willingly have benefitted his species, but could not find sixpence for the ‘knife-

* Menckenius de Charlataneria Eruditorum, p. 72.

† Vol. vii. p. 337.

grinder'—and Mr. Fantom (we allude to Mrs. Hannah More's admirable tale, which might appear about the same time as the Anti-jacobin verses, like them, a popular corrective to a popular delusion) was a person who could do good upon a great scale, but could suffer a neighbour to perish for lack of bread. Providence has so obviously drawn a circle about every man, within which, for the most part, he is compelled to walk, by furnishing him with natural affections, evidently intended to fasten upon individuals; by urging demands upon him which the very preservation of himself and those about him compels him to listen to; by withholding from him any considerable knowledge of what is distant, and hereby proclaiming that his more proper sphere lies in what is near;—by compassing him about with physical obstacles, with mountains, with rivers, with seas 'dissociable,' with tongues which he cannot utter, or cannot understand; that, like the wife of Hector, it proclaims in accents scarcely to be resisted, that there is a tower assigned to every man, where it is his first duty to plant himself for the sake of his own, and in the defence of which he will find perhaps enough to do, without extending his care to the whole circuit of the city-walls. The temper of the times, we say, might have rendered such a sermon (or essay rather) as this of Dr. Parr's not inappropriate; otherwise we are free to declare,—and we declare it the more freely, because the observation applies to other sermons of Dr. Parr's, though to none in the same degree,—that, in our opinion, metaphysics are out of place in the pulpit. The great aim of a Christian preacher is to bring the heart of his hearers into contact with the objects which Revelation presents to it, that by the steady contemplation of those objects, he may transfer something of their character to his own; as northern animals have been fabled to gaze upon what is white, till they become themselves insensibly white in their turn. There is ever a danger that the thing to be believed or to be done will be overlooked, in a scrutiny into the mental operation of belief, or the secret spring of action—just as the impression of pity for a person in tears would be lost upon a man who was only intent on observing the functions of the lacrymal glands; or admiration of the Apollo Belvedere be unfelt by him who was only musing about how many parts of lime the figure consisted of. Let the strength of the preacher be laid out in setting forth a vivid image of that to which his hearers are to conform themselves, and he may very safely leave the moral mechanism of the mind to itself, with the blessing of God, to work out the conformity. This was our Lord's manner of teaching. He tells the tale of the Samaritan, and contents himself with 'Go and do thou likewise.' He sets

sets a child in the midst, and is satisfied with saying, 'Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' And though it is true (as Dr. Parr somewhere observes, and as we have often observed for ourselves) that in our old divines, in Hooker for instance, in Taylor, or, above all, in Barrow, philosophical investigations not unfrequently occur,—divested indeed of technical language, even exhibiting the writers themselves as unconscious perhaps of the depth and accuracy of their own remarks, metaphysicians, as it were, upon instinct,—yet is it certain that their leading object ever was to set forth the great truths of Scripture in full, striking, expressive characters; and having thus committed them, under the favour of God, to the hearts of their hearers, they left them there to fructify they knew not how. Our meaning cannot be better illustrated than by comparing this Spital Sermon of Dr. Parr's with two of Dr. Barrow's, on the love of our neighbour. The subject is the same, charity—it was a favourite subject with them both—it is treated by both with signal ability—but with what different feelings do we rise from the perusal of the two authors, from the one with our head aching, from the other with our heart enlarged! Never may the English student of theology be weary of the study of Barrow! The greatest man of our church—the express image of her doctrines and spirit—the model (we do not hesitate to say it) without a fault—a perfect master of the art of reasoning, yet aware of the limits to which reason should be confined, now wielding it with the authority of an angel, and now again stooping it before the deep things of God with the humility of a child—alike removed from the Puritan of his own generation, and the Rationalist of the generation which succeeded him—no precisian, no latitudinarian:—Full of faith, yet free from superstition, a stedfast believer in a particular Providence, in the efficacy of human prayers, in the active influence of God's spirit, but without one touch of the visionary:—Conscious of the deep corruption of our nature, though still thinking he could discover in it some traces of God's image in ruins and under a lively sense of the consequences of this corruption, casting himself altogether upon God's mercy through the sufferings of a Saviour for the consummation of 'that day, which he desired with a strong desire to attain unto, when, his mind purged and his eye clear, he should be permitted to behold and understand without the labour and intervention of slow and successive thought, not this our system alone, but more and more excellent things than this.'*

The

* Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te suspicor, atque illum diem desiderare suspiciis fortibus in quo purgatâ mente et claro oculo non hæc solum omnia absque hæc successivâ

The Spital Sermon, however, is not, in our opinion, by any means the most favourable specimen of Parr's pulpit oratory. In the press of so much multifarious matter, we cannot pretend to give even the titles of discourses which occupy three thick and closely-printed volumes. In general, however, we may say, that they deal less in the solution of what is difficult in the *letter*, than of what is difficult in the *scheme* of Revelation—that they are more devoted to the contemplation of God's works and ways in the gross than in the detail—that the critic may certainly be seen in some, but in many more (in the best sense of the word) the philosopher—that the moralist prevails over the textuary. The divine whom Parr evidently admired beyond every other, was Bishop Butler. He admired the comprehensive grasp of his theology—the front which he presents to his adversary; meeting an objection by an answer which not only demolishes that, but every other of its kind. He admired the candour with which he ever admits difficulty where one really exists, or even suggests it where an opponent, unless a very sagacious one, would have overlooked it altogether. He admired the temper with which he handles all *honest* doubts, like a man who remembered that those who doubt have their souls at stake for their sincerity, no less than those who dogmatise; that *he* will be most likely to convince, who proves to the sceptic (what may very certainly be done) that unbelief has its difficulties too, and those far the most insuperable; and, like a man who remembered too, *qui pauca considerat, facile pronunciat*. He admired the great additional effect which Butler gives to his arguments by his modest manner of propounding them,—wilfully, as it were, underrating their value,—stating them to be worth so much, when the most ungenerous adversary in the world would say, nay, but they are worth so much more.

We will take the first sermon, as a specimen of the degree in which Parr's mind was imbued with the spirit of Bishop Butler. It is on Gal. iv. 4. 'When *the fulness* of the time was come, God sent forth his Son.' And the task which Parr imposes upon himself, is to obviate the objections to Christianity arising out of its *late appearance, partial propagation, and imperfect efficacy*.

Now this is precisely such a turn as Butler would have been likely to give to such a text, and in the meagre outline of the discourse (such is all we can offer) it will be seen how truly the style of argument is that of Butler too. On its late *appearance*, he contends, that had it been published a thousand years sooner, those who then lived might have still asked why it had not been published a thousand years before them—that if the redemption of

cessivâ et laboriosâ imaginandi cura, verum multo plura et majora ex tuâ bonitate et immensissimâ sanctissimâque benignitate conspiciere et scire concedatur.

man

man is liable to this objection, so is his creation—that as some portion of time must have preceded either event, the argument resolves itself into this, that we ought never to have been redeemed, nor indeed ever created at all—that the late appearance of the gospel is no real difficulty, for that if the attributes of God can be vindicated in the *permission* of vice, the vindication will equally extend to the *protracted* or *gradual* removal of it—that a delay of a thousand years before the gospel was announced seems much to us, but that if the world should last forty thousand years, or four hundred thousand, it would seem nothing—that, had an earlier epoch been chosen for ‘this fulness of time,’ much evidence from prophecy would have been lost—that had it been before the extension of one great empire, (in the time of Moses for instance,) or in the infancy of arts, letters, and concurrent historical testimony, many obstacles would have been opposed to its propagation—that had the age been barbarous, it might have been said that such an age was unfavourable to the detection of imposture. Finally, that its late appearance prepared the minds of men for a more ready reception of it, by first ministering to their curiosity, and then relieving them from a suspense which was painful, for that

‘in the gross mistakes and abject superstitions of the vulgar, in the uncertainty of the best philosophers and the impiety of the worst, we have the most convincing proofs that a divine revelation was not entirely unseasonable. All the instances of what reason did not do, being in reality more satisfactory evidences of its comparative insufficiency, than the romantic suppositions and confident assertions of some men concerning what it might have done.’—vol. ii. p. 28.

On the *partial propagation* of the gospel, he observes, that a people just delivered from a state of nature by a Numa or a Lycurgus, would be thought to offer a strange reason for a voluntary relapse, in saying that some neighbouring countries were still subject to the same evil, and were not provided with the same remedy; that God dispenses all his gifts in proportions apparently unequal;

‘that he deals them all out in various measures, and assigns to them various uses, quite regardless of all our churlish discontent and all our captious sophisms, ever intent upon the execution of that plan which himself has formed, by the methods which himself approves.’—

that the conversion of the apostles was effected by *degrees*—that the attachment of the Jews to ceremonial observances was weakened by *degrees*—that the light of the gospel rose on the Gentiles by *degrees*—that many truths, obscured by Popery, have been brought out by *degrees*—and that if the communication of God’s will be thus progressive amongst those by whom his gospel

is in fact known, it is only analogous to such a scheme of things, and not less reconcileable to God's wisdom, that nations should be found still ignorant of that gospel altogether ;—that, as a matter of fact, the knowledge of Christianity is, on the whole, upon the advance—that

‘ for this auspicious and extensive improvement in the religious state of men, every philosophical believer must acknowledge a visible though remote preparation of causes, in the wide diffusion of commerce, in the successful cultivation of science, in the invention of printing, in the discovery of the western world, and in a variety of other particulars which no friend to mankind can contemplate without wonder, or mention without exultation.’—vol. ii. p. 41.

That if it be asked whether it be a duty to diffuse a knowledge of the divine will amongst a people where the ignorance of it seems thus of divine appointment, the answer is, surely it is a duty ; for that human means are the only means of spreading that knowledge—that we ourselves received it through such means, and by such means transmit it—that where evil exists, there may be a proof, indeed, that God did not intend altogether to prevent the evil, but that where he gives the power to alleviate it, there is just the same proof that he intends it to be alleviated. With regard to the *imperfect efficacy* of the gospel, he still pursues the same line of argument—that it would have been extraordinary for the Athenians to say, because the laws of Solon have not prevented all irregularities, *therefore* we will strip them of that authority by which they prevent any—that because civilization is not complete, therefore we will be again barbarians. But that the edge of the objection may be taken off by the positive efficacy of the gospel—that it has relieved the horrors of war—that it has mitigated or annihilated slavery—that it has put an end to shows of gladiators—that it has abolished human sacrifices, and is now destroying persecution—that it has sweetened domestic life—stopped polygamy—elevated the sex, saved children from exposure—checked false patriotism—excited indignation at brutal indulgences—and that if it be said, that these advances are owing to civilization and the laws, it is still to be replied, that Christians made these laws, that Christians are the subjects of this civilization. All this, it will be easily perceived, is of that school of Theology, of which Bishop Butler is at the head, *facile princeps*.

Many of his sermons, and those some of the best, are expositions of scripture histories, wherein the motive of the agent, the morality of the action, and the practical lesson to be drawn from it, are followed out with great sagacity, and, where the case admits, with great feeling. Such is the sermon on the ‘ Man of God sent from Judah to Bethel ;’ such are the second and third sermons ‘ on

‘on Conscience,’ where the cases of Joseph’s brethren, of Saul, of David, of Belshazzar, of Judas, and of Herod the Tetrarch,—all conscience-stricken offenders—are investigated in ample detail, and by a very skilful anatomist of the human heart.* Under this head again may be ranked his sermon ‘on Private Prayer,’† of which we quote the opening as exhibiting Parr’s practical views of religion, and the light in which he saw it in our divine Exemplar. The text is from Matt. xiv. 23. ‘He went up into a mountain to pray.’

‘The judgments of men have in all ages been distracted, and their morals, I fear, injured by impertinent and invidious comparisons. Objects which are only distinct from each other, have been represented as contrary and incompatible, and their value, which changes with the circumstances of particular men, has been absurdly calculated from general rules and theoretic principles. Hence the idle debates that have been agitated, sometimes by the visionary philosopher, and sometimes by the melancholy recluse, on the comparative excellence of speculative and practical life, and of the social or solitary. Yet common sense will surely tell us, that speculation, unless coupled with practice, may confer intellectual superiority, but cannot imply any moral merit; and we may learn from the same direction, that if the temptations to vice be in the social state many, the opportunities for virtue in a solitary one are few. Let us not then deceive or torment ourselves with these senseless or fruitless researches. Let us not separate what ought to be united, or place those duties in a state of artificial hostility to each other, which have a natural tendency to confer and to receive mutual advantage. He that contemplates virtue most frequently, is likely to practise it most successfully. He that retires from the world to examine his heart in silence and solitude, will return into action with purer principles and calmer passions. The Saviour of the world ascended up into a mountain to pray; but it is also recorded of him, that he went about continually doing good. He dismissed the multitude that he might discharge his duty towards God; but he did not dismiss them till he had taught and relieved them. In the whole course of sacred history you will find our Saviour’s life a mixture of contemplation and action, of exemplary exactness that does not offend our good sense, and amiable freedom that does not relax our virtue. You meet him in the market-place, the synagogue, and the festal entertainment. You learn also that he withdrew himself from the crowd into deserts, or a mountain, or a garden; that he there held immediate intercourse with the great Father of Spirits, and employed himself in meditation, in fasting and in prayer.’—vol. vi., p. 344.

With some of the *doctrinal* sermons we must confess ourselves less satisfied. They fly from enthusiasm till they become frigid, ‘from beds of liquid fire, to starve in ice.’ They have often more

* Vol. v. pp. 3. 412-414.

† Vol. vi., p. 344.

reason than unction, and sometimes fall below the standard of our articles, our liturgy, and our catechism. Such are the three Sermons on the Lord's Supper.—Parr takes Bishop Hoadly's view of this sacrament, which is clearly not that of our church, though both attempt to hook the church in—(vol. vi. 181). Here, indeed, he is embarrassed,—*æstuat infelix angusto limite*,—and in his critical construction of St. Paul, (δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἑαυτὸς) which he would have to mean 'let a man *distinguish* himself as a partaker of the Lord's Supper, not of a common meal,' and not 'let a man *examine* himself,' as a step preparatory to it, he shows his skill in special pleading on a Greek word, which is one *crux* out of several for Hoadly, and those who think with Hoadly. He then triumphantly exclaims,

'Is any communicant, in our own or in any other house of worship, so grossly ignorant, so brutishly irreverent, as to not make a difference—a wide and important difference, between the sacramental bread and wine and an ordinary meal? Do any of you talk, or even think, of the cares or the pleasures of the world, when you kneel at the Lord's Table, as you talk and as you think of them when you are at your daily meals, or your occasional and harmless feasts? Does any man, reeking from the brothel or the tavern, presume to approach the Lord's Supper, and to share with his fellow-Christians in the banquet of that most heavenly food?'—vol. vi., p. 174.

Now, though it may be thought that such books as Weekly Preparations for the Sacrament may have frustrated their own good ends, and deterred many scrupulous persons from the Lord's Table, who, nevertheless, would have been very worthy to go there, still we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that St. Paul looked upon every man as fit to approach that table, of whom it could not be alleged that he was fit to be driven out of God's house with a scourge of cords—

Nec furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dixit
Servus—Habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.

This is all that can be said of such qualifications—that they shall at least protect the worshipper from the hands of the beadle. Dr. Parr, indeed, after having thus laboured to show that the testimony of St. Paul, as it is commonly received and interpreted, is inconclusive, does give it as his own opinion, backed too by that of Pythagoras,* that self-examination is a good thing, upon this or any other occasion; yet we apprehend that such names, however respectable, would be a very poor substitute for that of an inspired apostle, who spake, not according to expediency, but by command; and we must say that, on this and on some other

* Vol. vi., p. 176.

occasions, Dr. Parr discovers a disposition to stir foundations without any sufficient cause.*

Perhaps he erred here and elsewhere, by a wish to *simplify* in his theology more than is meet. Surely some *mystery* was to be expected, *à priori*, in any revelation coming from a Being who is known to us but in part, and to whom we stand in a relation which is known to us but in part. It would be an argument against its truth, were there in it no such dark spots. They stand as the image and superscription of that awful Spirit who impresses, more or less, his own unapproachable character on all his works. Still it is the infirmity of strong and inquisitive minds to be impatient of embarrassment. Parr felt it to the full; and with a certain degree of fretfulness at having to grapple with subjects too hard even for him, he is sometimes tempted to cut the knot which he is unwilling to abandon and unable to untie.† In general, however, he declines altogether entering into points of mystical divinity. ‘Dear Sir, (writes he to his friend, the venerable Dr. Routh,) we have not long to live, and let us do all the good we can to good men. No questions will arise hereafter about speculations abstractedly considered—neither yours nor mine. The great God and the Son of man are all in all.’‡ And again, in a strain of unusual earnestness, he says, in one of his sermons—

‘In the stillness of the closet, and amidst the solemnities of the sanctuary, I have sometimes doubted whether solid wisdom or sincere piety be much promoted by metaphysical distinctions or critical refinements, or enthusiastic declamations on what is called the personality of that Being in whom we all unfeignedly believe as the promised Messiah, as the beloved Son in whom God was well pleased—as the crucified Redeemer, to whom, after his resurrection from the grave and his ascension into heaven, hath been given a name that is above every other name.’

This momentous question we cannot here pursue, but commend our readers to the trustworthy guidance of Dr. Waterland, who, with the sword of the Spirit for his chief weapon, which is *the Word of God*, will make a way for them through those speculative difficulties which it is the business of philosophy to raise, and of faith to encounter.§

Again, some of the sermons may be considered *political*; that ‘On the Beneficial Effects of Labour’ is a very comprehensive view of a very important subject. The anatomical argument, from the structure of the human frame; the intellectual argument,

* See Butler’s Reminiscences, vol. ii., p. 210; and vol. iv., p. 267.

† Vol. vi., p. 257.

• ‡ Vol. vii., p. 677.

§ See his “Defence of some Queries,” and his “Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity.”

from the nature of our faculties, and the benefits that accrue, both to them and to us, from exercise ; the moral argument, from the peace of mind, the benevolent affections, and the progress in every virtue, which are the fruits of industry ; the powerful pictures of the opulent and indigent sluggard ; and the generous appeal to the justice and pity of the task-masters of our manufactories—all combine to make this sermon one of the most instructive and pleasing of the collection.* 'Those On the Death of the late King,' we like less ; the text is ill-chosen, if to be understood in the sense in which Parr understands it ; the learning is running to waste before such an audience, at such a moment ; and the review of the public and private events of the last reign breathes more the party politician than the calm divine ; introduced as they are by a figure of rhetoric, either as events which the preacher takes praise to himself for having hitherto abstained from canvassing in the pulpit ; or else by another figure, as events (and here he imitates the *non vidit obsessam curiam*, &c., of Tacitus, in his Life of Agricola) which the calamitous close of the monarch's life, and the eclipse of his understanding, had veiled from his sight. Still, after all his ill-selected preliminaries, his allusions to the Carbonari, to the queen, to 'military outrages,' (why should such topics be even touched upon within the walls of the sanctuary, and 'blood be thus mingled with our sacrifices'?)—after all his hints at the lack of wisdom in the councils of the sovereign, and his tasteless compliment 'to the brilliancy of diction, the plausibility of statement, and poignancy of invective,' of the man who, by his own confession, had abused these endowments to the slander of his king ;† after all these words of evil omen, Parr, carried away by the natural impulse of a heart which was all the while yearning after better things, pours forth a splendid but discriminative eulogy of the illustrious dead, and his patronage of learning, his easy access, his moral courage, his taste for manly sports, his love of agriculture, his protection (so far as it went) of the virtue of the nation by preserving the virtue of the court, are all features in his character set forth by one who can no longer find in his heart to speak grudgingly, or of necessity, even of a Tory King.

'Happy, then, most happy will it be for any of my hearers, if, upon meeting the personage whose death we deplore, at the awful tribunal of our common Judge, you, in the hearing of angels and archangels and the spirits of just men made perfect, should proclaim aloud, that in escaping from many dangerous temptations, in multiplying the comforts of your wives, your children, and your domestics—in promoting habits of temperance and industry among your inferiors, and encour-

* Vol. v. p. 237.

† Vol. v. p. 172.

raging your dependents, your neighbours, and your friends, to be grateful to their Redeemer and obedient to their God, you had been animated by the example of your beloved and revered King.'—vol. v. p. 193.

We return to the personal history of Dr. Parr.—It is the lot of all who live long, to follow to the grave those who, in the ordinary course of things, should have followed them, and of this bitter cup he had to drink deep. In the winter of 1805, his favourite daughter, Catharine, died of consumption—a disease that delights to fasten upon all that is interesting in person, in disposition, and in intellect.

'The activity of my mind in correspondence' (he writes, a few months after) 'has been much weakened by an event, the effects of which have been and continue to be very injurious to my health and spirits. I do not love to pour forth complaints. I have combatted affliction by change of scene, and by the soothing influence of friendly society; but the truth is, that my existence is bereaved of its sweetest consolation, and that my grey hairs are likely to go down with sorrow to the grave.'—vol. viii. p. 87.

In 1810, died Mrs. Parr, of the same insidious complaint; and before the year expired, his only surviving child, Mrs. Wynne, was laid by the side of her sister and mother, in Hatton church. She inherited a large share of her father's talent: but her marriage was an unhappy one; a separation followed; her youngest child remained with her, till it was carried off by the small-pox; her other two children (who, like this, were daughters) were not permitted to visit her even on her death-bed, and to her, therefore, to die must have been indeed to rest from her labours.—

'My domestic sorrows' (writes Parr to Dr. Burney, a little before this last bereavement) 'weigh me down, but I shall summon all my courage; and in truth, dear sir, I have a very deep and serious sense of the duties which I owe to my grandchildren, as their protector.' I had reckoned much upon the judicious and affectionate aid they and their poor mother would have had from Mrs. Parr, but these hopes are no more. I have long learned to value life chiefly as a sort of trust reposed in us by the Almighty, for promoting the good of his creatures, and as a state of discipline preparatory for a nobler sphere of agency. This conviction is firmly seated in my mind: it does not weaken any of the feelings which are natural to the human heart. No, Charles, but it invigorates them, and purifies them, and exalts them from the rank of weaknesses into incentives to virtue; and virtue, mingled with reflection, intention, and active exercise, raises the soul of man to the most becoming and most animating piety.'—vol. i. p. 653.

The close of Parr's life, however, grew brighter. The increased value of his stall at St. Paul's set him abundantly at his ease: he can even indulge his love of pomp—*ardetque cupidine currus*, he encumbers himself with a coach and four. In

1816, he married a second wife, Miss Eyre, the sister of his friend the Rev. James Eyre; he became reconciled to his two granddaughters, now grown up to woman's estate; he received them into his family, and kept them as his own, till one of them became the wife of the Rev. John Lynes, whose name is coupled with that of Dr. Johnstone, in this edition of Parr's works.—And here we will take the liberty of recommending to the editors, when the opportunity occurs, to arrange their materials in a more natural order, not suffering volumes of sermons and volumes of politics to succeed one another by turns—to give the dates of the several compositions at the head of each, wherever they can; the want of them having caused us much trouble, and left us, after all, in some doubt—to weed out many of the letters, which are of no interest, and only swell the work needlessly, from others which are of the greatest—to add an index, which would infinitely enhance the value of so many volumes which treat of so many matters, and in so desultory a manner—and to bestow greater attention upon the correction of the press, of which the errors are an absolute deformity to the edition.

In the latter years of his life Parr had been subject to erysipelas; once he had suffered by a carbuncle, and once by a mortification in the hand. Owing to this tendency to diseased action in the skin, he was easily affected by cold, and on Sunday, 16th January, 1825, having, in addition to the usual duties of the day, buried a corpse, he was, on the following night, seized with a long-continued rigor, attended by fever and delirium, and never effectually rallied again. There is a note, however, dated Nov. 2, 1824, addressed by him to Archdeacon Butler, which proves that he felt his end approaching, even before this crisis.

‘Dear and Learned Namesake,—This letter is important, and strictly confidential. I have given J. Lynes minute and plenary directions for my funeral. I desire you, if you can, to preach a short, unadorned funeral sermon. Rann Kennedy is to read the lesson and grave service, though I could wish you to read the grave service also. Say little of me, but you are sure to say it well.’

Dr. Butler complied with his request, and amply made good the opinion here expressed. He spoke of him like a warm and steadfast friend, but not like that worst of enemies, an indiscreet one; he did not challenge a scrutiny by the extravagance of his praise, nor break, by his precious balms, the head he was most anxious to honour. Dr. Parr's death was tedious, and his faculties, except at intervals, disturbed. He took an opportunity, however, afforded him by one of these intervals, of summoning about his bed his wife, grandchildren, and servants; confessed to them his weaknesses and errors, asked their forgiveness for any pain he might

might have caused them by petulance and haste, and professed 'his trust in God, through Christ, for the pardon of his sins.*' One expression, which Dr. Johnstone reports him to have used on this occasion, is extraordinary—that 'from the beginning of his life he was not conscious of having fallen into a crime.' Far be it from us to scrutinize the words of a delirious death-bed.—These must have been uttered (if, indeed, they are accurately given) either in some peculiar and very limited sense, or else at a moment when a man is no longer accountable to God for what he utters. The latter was, probably, the case: for in the same breath in which he declares 'his life, even his early life, to have been pure,' he sues for pardon at the hands of his Maker, and acknowledges a Redeemer, as the instrument through which he is to obtain it.

'During fifty days of suffering, (says Dr. Johnstone,) and during which time he was more helpless than the new-born babe, it needs no great flight of imagination to conceive that his fortitude and magnanimity were drawn upon to the utmost; except, indeed, when his position was obliged to be moved, and the cry of anguish could not be repressed, he never repined, he never complained. Ejaculations of pious hope and unfeigned confidence frequently broke from him in murmurs of thankfulness or prayer; and his countenance, except when he was tortured with pain, had that pleasing expression which usually attended his calm and more agreeable conversations. . . . On Sunday, the 6th of March, the approach of death became more manifest; the pulsation of the artery at the wrist was imperceptible; yet he awoke conscious—spoke to Mrs. Lynes, and knew those around him. Gratefully affected by the attention I endeavoured to show him, he appeared, from his attitude, repeatedly to bless me, and with the utmost emphasis of his dying voice saluted me as his *most* dear friend. The expression of his countenance, during the greater part of the day, was almost divine. He could take no food, yet, with short intervals of delirium, had the most complete possession of his intellect: not a murmur of impatience escaped him. Except the words of kindness he whispered to those about him, all he uttered was devotional; and such was his frame of mind till five minutes before his death. He then became insensible, and departed by an inaudible expiration at six in the afternoon.'—*vol. i. p. 837.*

On reverting to what we have written, it will be perceived that we have said very little of the politics of Dr. Parr. His friends will not blame us for this. Herbert's Country Parson was no politician, nor was Fuller's 'Faithful Minister.' We do not wish ill to Parr's memory; the spirit of our Review, we are sure, bears testimony to this; and in politics we hold of him, as of Milton, that 'he had but the use of his left hand.' How could it be

otherwise? What were the circumstances of Parr's life or character to qualify him for a politician? What was there in the labours of a parish or of a school, in the learned dust of a philosophical library, or in the retirement of a provincial town, or a country village, which was to fit him for weighing in a balance the affairs of nations? * To exhibit Parr, therefore, at any length pronouncing dogmatically upon public measures, and vituperating public men; directing, from his parsonage at Hatton, instructions to Dr. Bennet upon Irish affairs, when he was himself secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and resident in the castle; † or giving Lord Holland hints as to the topics of his speeches in parliament, and the proper objects of his attack there, ‡ would be as little agreeable to us, as we suspect such correspondence was to the parties who were honoured with it. Dr. Bennet, indeed, as usual, avails himself of the privilege of a school-fellow, and tells him his mind; and Lord Holland, we observe, after the manner of his illustrious uncle in his correspondence with Wakefield, is more willing to talk upon Cicero's 'Treatise de Republicâ,' than upon 'Wellesley versus the Orangemen, or Canning versus Peel;' § and is apt to throw out, as a tub for the whale, when that leviathan would willingly take his pastime with him in the Catholic question, some such small matter as the meaning of 'Cordyla' in an epigram of Martial, or the authority there, might be for making a dactyl out of 'opinio.' ||

Burke, too, in his letter of thanks to Parr, for the honourable post he had assigned him in the preface to 'Bellendenus,' praises the Latin, descants upon the general advantages of classical literature, excuses the public for their neglect of himself; in short, does any thing and every thing, rather than that which was the most natural thing of all to have done,—compliment Parr upon the political sagacity which that preface displayed. ¶ Nor does the circumstance of his Whig friends leaving their literary champion to a dead loss of 40*l.*, on this his first great effort in their favour, argue much (as his friend Homer ventures to hint**) for the value they set upon his political services. The truth was, Parr had too little discretion to be an useful ally. What Fox said of Burke, might have been said of him with at least equal truth:—

'He was certainly a great man, and had very many good as well

* He might have remembered what Joseph Scaliger says of Lipsius, who affected the character of a deep political writer. 'Neque est politicus, nec potest quicquam in politia; nihil possunt pedantes in illis rebus: nec ego nec alius doctus possumus scribere in politicis.'—*Scaligerana*. 1695. 8vo. p. 245.

† Vol. vii. pp. 92, 102, 103.

‡ Vol. vii. pp. 125, 142, 146.

§ Vol. vii. p. 160.

|| Vol. vii. pp. 127, 129, 130.

¶ Vol. i. p. 199.

** Vol. i. p. 419.

as great qualities; but his motto seemed to be the very reverse of *μηδὲν ἄγαν*; and when his mind had got hold of an object, his whole judgment, as to prudent or imprudent, becoming or indecent, nay, right or wrong, was perverted when that object was in question. What Quintilian says of Ovid, *si ingenio temperare quàm indulgere maluisset*, was eminently applicable to him, even with respect to his passions—*si animi sui affectibus temperare quàm indulgere maluisset, quid vir iste præstare non potuisset!*—vol. vii. p. 288.

But these passions drove Parr astray: his views changed as his feelings changed: he wanted that consistency in his estimate of men and measures, which is the result only of a judgment exercising itself upon the actual relations of things, and continuing fixed in its awards, so long as those relations do not vary. Early in life he voted at Brentford for John Wilkes. In 1787, he pronounced an elegant panegyric upon Lord North. Then the only fault of that statesman was, that he had prosecuted the American war* with too little vigour.† In 1793, he writes to Mr. Coke, ‘upon the war (with France), as well as upon the contest with America, artifice prevails for a time over plain dealing, sophistry over argument, declamation over wisdom, and natural pride over natural prudence. I detest the principle; I dread the event, and to every measure in detail, I anticipate disappointment and disgrace.‡ In the notes upon Rapin, written about 1783, we are told,

‘In the character of this extraordinary man, (Mr. Pitt,) we see a rare and magnificent assemblage of excellencies, as well natural as acquired; of attainments not less solid than brilliant; extensive learning; refined taste and discernment, both widely comprehensive and minutely accurate. By a kind of intuition he seems to grasp that knowledge of men and things, to which others are compelled to ascend by slow and patient toil. His genius, in the mean time, acquires fresh lustre from integrity hitherto uncorrupted, and I hope incorruptible. The fierceness of ambition he tempers, or is capable of tempering by the softest and most exquisite feelings of humanity.

Ὁ παῖ γένοιο πατρός [ἡπιώτερος]
τά δ’ ἄλλ’ ὁμοῖος.—*Soph. Aj.*

To the generous ardour of youth he has added the extensive views of age, and he may, without flattery, be said to possess at once the captivating eloquence of Callidius, and the yet more fascinating policy of

* For an authentic account of the events, both public and private, which led on to the crisis of the American war, see a recently published ‘History of the Province of Massachusetts’ from 1749 to 1774, from a MS. left by Mr. Hutchinson, then governor of the Province. Mr. H. is already known as the Historian of America, to whom Robertson so often refers as authority. We understand that a journal of the governor’s is likely to appear before long, kept with great accuracy from day to day, entering more into the secret details of those times, and continued for some years after his return to England, when he had much intercourse with ministers, and some with the king.

† Vol. iii. p. 106.

‡ Vol. vii. p. 235.

Scipio, "*est enim non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis sed arte quâdam ab juventû ad ostentationem earum compositus.*"—vol. i. p. 147.

In his preface to 'Bellendenus,' written about 1787, Pitt, this very Pitt, is the beardless senator—one of the foolish, the raw, the boyish counsellors who had taken the state by storm—one who thought one thing and said another—who acted from a love of experiment rather than from a prospect of success—who consulted the complexion of the body politic, whilst he sucked out its vital blood—whose knowledge of mankind, of mankind metaphysically, (which is an element of an orator,) of mankind historically, (which is an element of a statesman,) was absolutely nothing; his oratory, florid and sophistical; his sentiments at once turgid and jejune; his invective insolent, his jokes vapid.*

In 1790, Lord John Townshend is informed by Dr. Parr, that he has received a canvassing letter from Mr. Pitt, (the same Mr. Pitt,) and that from a sense of pure obligation to him, as he persuaded himself, on account of his treatment of a criminal recommended by him to Mr Pitt's consideration, he was disposed to give him his support; as though Mr. Pitt (which Lord John in his reply shrewdly observes) 'might not as well have hoped for his suppression of Bellendenus on the same account,'† for that work, it seems, was published after this act of grace had been performed by the minister, and, what is more, was published when the act must have been of much more recent date—and much more fresh in his memory. Finally, in 1807, we read in the 'Philopatris,' that 'no man was ever more applauded than Mr. Pitt in the zenith of his power, and that his talents will be most assuredly conspicuous in the records of history.'‡ Here again, as in the case of Bishop Hurd, it is probable that Parr, in spite of his mutability, was sincere in the opinion he expressed at the moment, but it was dictated under the influence of the feeling of the moment, and took the complexion of that feeling whatever it might happen to be. In his notes upon Rapin's History of Whigs and Tories, (to which we have already alluded,) there is constantly found a sober practical view of things which even we can cordially praise. In his private correspondence, of a later date, we meet with passages of a heedless and precipitate intemperance which all must as cordially condemn. It is true that the notes on Rapin were written at a time when the Coalition had thrown politicians of extreme parties into a most unnatural fit of mutual politeness, and the letters (many of them at least) when the voice of the nation had declared against the whigs, and driven them into a more than usual degree of exacerbation; this, however, is only to account for the inconsistency—not to excuse it.

* Vol. iii. pp. 118 120 *et seq.* † Vol. vii. p. 633. ‡ Vol. iv. p. 122.

In the 'Notes,' the influence of the crown, arising out of offices and honours which are at its disposal, may be justified to the satisfaction of every impartial friend to the liberties of his country.* It is less formidable in *reality* than appearance; it produces many advantages and prevents many evils which escape superficial observers—it is scarce strong enough to support itself 'against the *latent* but *growing* strength, the undefined and perhaps undefinable privileges of the House of Commons.'

In the 'Notes,' no reformation is advised except such as Lord Bacon recommends, such as should be wrought by men of moderation, 'who would follow the example of time itself, which innovateth greatly, but quietly.' There we are told, 'that if the moderate Whigs should have the merit of furnishing such reformers, we are encouraged by the experience of past ages to believe that the moderate Tories will not have the demerit of opposing them—that in the mean time the strength of both ought to be centered in a vigilant and resolute opposition to every audacious empiric, to every crafty impostor, to a herd of men who stun our ears with complaints of evils which, if imaginary, they wish to exist, and if real, they have been instrumental in creating.'—vol. iii. p. 631.

In the notes upon Mr. Fox's History, there are passages written in the same excellent spirit. On the subject of obedience, we quote with pleasure the judgment of Barrow, which, says Parr, 'furnishes us with a sure and safe direction for our instruction.' It is this:—

'Are the objections against obedience so clear and cogent, as are the commands which enjoin and the reasons which enforce it? Are the inconveniences adhering to it apparently so grievous as are the mischiefs which spring from disobedience? Do they in a just balance counterpoise the disparagement of authority, the violation of order, the disturbance of peace, the obstruction of edification which disobedience produceth?'—vol. iv. p. 494.

Here, then, moderation is the word. Now let us turn to the letters, for a practical commentary on these peaceable maxims.

'I have little inclination' (Parr writes to Dr. Gabell in 1818) 'at this moment for philology, for I breathe fierce indignation against the property-tax, fiercer against the military establishment, and most fierce against the royal confederates, of whom, I tell you plainly, that I would put every one of them to death as enemies of the human race. I don't love Napoleon, but, driven to a choice of evils, I am compelled to be undesignedly a Napoleonite; and this is plain English language, in that true English spirit, the decay of which will ultimately subject England to the miseries and crimes of a revolution.'—vol. vii. p. 497.

Where is the moderation here? We are equally at a loss to reconcile Parr's love for the church with his abuse of the clergy.

* Vol. iii. p. 541.

† Ibid. p. 627.

‘No man living feels deeper, or more sincere, or more ardent admiration than I do for the founders of the English Church; they were wise, good, and great, and my heart often blesses them.’—vol. viii. p. 490.

‘You know again,’ says he, in another place, ‘my firm and sincere attachment to the Church of England; an attachment not arising from the honest prejudices of education, or upon any sordid views of interest, but upon a sincere and well-founded conviction of transcendent excellence and solid utility.’—vol. i. p. 267.

‘I would not part with the Church, which is our bulwark against vulgar fanaticism,’—(vol. vii. p. 217.) says he again.

His letter to Dr. Milner, the late Roman Catholic Bishop, on his audacious assertion, that Bishop Halifax died a Catholic, is written throughout in the temper of a man who felt unfeigned indignation at an attempt to do the Church of England wrong. So are his remarks on Mr. Butler’s character of Archbishop Cranmer;—and are we not to think him in earnest, when he writes in one of his notes upon Rapin,—

‘It will be difficult to name a time, compared with the present, when the Church of England was adorned by prelates who were possessed of learning at once so elegant and so profound; who united such liberality of spirit with such purity of morals, and were distinguished by so much faith without timid credulity, and so much piety without trifling superstition.’—vol. iii. p. 685.

Yet, within six years of this very period, (during which we are not aware that there was any particular murrain among the bishops,) he tells Mr. Homer that ‘he thinks three bishops out of five are most desperate knaves.’* We should have taken no notice of this expression had it been a solitary one; it might have escaped in the gaiety of his heart; a mere idle word, such as he might have used when at his ease and amongst ‘his familiars;’ but in the course of Parr’s correspondence sneers at the clergy occur so frequently, that we think the church has some right to do more than mourn in silence at finding herself so often wounded by an arrow feathered from her own wing; at seeing the kid so unnaturally seethed in the milk of its mother. For instance, his neighbour concurs with him ‘in condemning regents, ministers, courtiers, placemen, aspirants, and worldly-minded *parsons*, whether bishops, dignitaries, priests or deacons, when they conspire to blindfold and enthrall their fellow creatures.’ † ‘He, like other *parsons*, has a predilection for mystery.’ ‡ ‘Here some sleek and bowing *court-chaplain* would say to me, &c. § ‘Was Lady — amused with the complimentary verses upon *bishops*? The subject, I believe, is continued, and I suspect that you would be more than amused if you

* Vol. i. p. 304.

† Vol. vii. p. 264.

‡ Ibid. p. 275.

were to see the just and poignant description of prelates who are not much in your favour, or my own.* ‘I hope Lord Grenville now sees what sort of stuff makes *bishops* and *priests*.’† ‘I give no quarter to the *parsons*.’‡ ‘*Priests*, like kings, never forget or forgive.’§ ‘You see the articles of my belief, and it happens upon this occasion, as it does not always among my *clerical brethren*, for I do, ex animo, think all that I profess.’||

Instances like these abound. Now if Parr thought that he was tickling the ears of his great Whig friends (for to them, we observe, these sneers are principally confided) when he was thus debasing his own profession, or that he was gaining their esteem whilst he was thus hallooing them on (of themselves nothing loth) to attack its more distinguished members, and even directing them to the place where they might fasten the fang with the greatest effect; ¶ if he thought he should gain from them the poor praise of freedom from professional prejudices, whilst he exulted in the defeat of one churchman by another, when the more appropriate feeling was to lament that there should be any contest among them at all,—‘Sirs, ye are brethren’—we venture to say that he was out in his reckoning. Sir Samuel Romilly, in one of his letters, hints as much: ‘I must not venture to speak as freely of judges *as you do of bishops*,’ is the language of that honourable man, himself surely as little of a time-server as Parr.

Parcît

Cognatis maculis similis fera,

is a law of nature, which cannot be broken without disgrace to him who does it violence. That Parr should have been anxious to obtain a seat upon a bench, where, according to his notions, he would have met with such worshipful society, is again strange; yet he makes application to Lord Holland for his interest, on the death of Bishop Horsley; and we know not what a churchman of lower pretensions to independence could have done more for himself than this. Whether Parr had any right to complain ‘of professional neglect on the part of his episcopal brethren,’** after what we have detailed, we do not presume to say; our intercourse with Christian Bishops has been very limited, but we imagine that their feelings in one respect must be very like those of a Hebrew Jew of our acquaintance, and that with him they would find some difficulty in bringing themselves to say,

- ‘Fair sir, you spat on me on Wednesday last;
You spurned me such a day; another time
You called me dog;—and for these courtesies
I’ll lend you thus much monies.’

* Vol. vii. p. 275.

† Ibid. p. 128.

‡ Ibid. p. 126.

§ Ibid. p. 136.

|| Ibid. p. 257.

¶ Ibid. p. 146.

** Ibid. p. 232.

That quickness of feeling, however, and disposition to abandon himself to its guidance, which made Parr an inconsistent man, made him also a benevolent one. Benevolence he loved as a subject for his contemplation, and the practical extension of it as a rule for his conduct. He could scarcely bear to regard the Deity under any other aspect. He would have children taught, in the first instance, to regard him under that aspect alone; simply as a being who displayed infinite goodness in the creation, in the government, and in the redemption of the world.* Language itself indicates, that the whole system of moral rectitude is comprised in it—*εὐεργετεῖν*, benefacere, beneficence—the generic term being, in common parlance, emphatically restricted to works of charity.† Nor was this mere theory in Parr. Most men who have been economical from necessity in their youth, continue to be so, from habit, in their age—but Parr's hand was ever open as day. Poverty had vexed, but had never contracted his spirit; money he despised, except as it gave him power—power to ride in his state-coach, to throw wide his doors to hospitality, to load his table with plate, and his shelves with learning; power to adorn his church with chandeliers and painted windows; to make glad the cottages of his poor; to grant a loan to a tottering farmer; to rescue from want a forlorn patriot or a thriftless scholar. Whether misfortune, or mismanagement, or folly or vice, had brought its victim low, his want was a passport to Parr's pity, and the dew of his bounty fell alike upon the evil and the good, upon the just and the unjust. It is told of Boerhaave, that, whenever he saw a criminal led out to execution, he would say, 'May not this man be better than I? if otherwise, the praise is due, not to me, but to the grace of God.' Parr quotes the saying with applause.‡ Such, we doubt not, would have been his own feelings on such an occasion.

In him, indeed, the quality of mercy may, in one sense, be thought strained—in its excess it was in danger of confounding right and wrong, of withdrawing a safeguard from morals by substituting compassion towards the offender for abhorrence of the offence. He saw in the poor prostitute, for instance, one who did not possess the same virtuous education as himself, but who did possess the same understanding, the same feelings, the same Creator, the same Redeemer,—one who had been once spotless, though now polluted—one who had been practised upon by wiles, and then branded by infamy,—one who had been abandoned by others, till she was taught to despair of herself; unused to kindness till she was dead to a sense of it, or to counsel, till she was too hardened to be reclaimed.§ In the indulgence

* Vol. ii. p. 163.

† Ibid. p. 61.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 171.

§ Vol. ii. p. 269-271.

of such feelings there may be the risk we have said; still they must be confessed to argue kindness of heart in him who possesses them, and self-knowledge, too, which rather directs him to take heed lest he fall himself, than be officiously active in casting the first stone at one who is prostrate. When, however, Parr, in his zeal for mitigating the criminal code, talks of women who have murdered their own children as ‘unhappy mothers;’ and laments the execution of a young man of twenty-two (a hardened villain upon his own showing)* for robbery, and adds some hundred pages afterwards in a note, with the most amusing *naïveté*, that he is sorry he omitted, in his former mention of this hopeful youth, that he had added rape to robbery,—in these and the like cases, his benevolence is misplaced; his feelings, however excellent, are running riot; and in his zeal for the interest of his client, he forgets that something is due to his country. But so it ever is with Parr—he never knows when to stop. Liberality in thinking is abstractedly a very good thing; let it, however, keep within bounds—let it oppose itself to its natural antagonist, bigotry, and all is well; but when it employs itself in removing all restrictions instead of prescribing such only as are meet, in confounding all distinctions instead of distinguishing with propriety, then it is a good thing abused.

What conclusion can be drawn, for instance, from the language of one who praises Bishop Horne as ‘orthodox,’ and calls Mr. Belsham’s translation of the Epistles of St. Paul ‘an excellent work,’ qualifying, indeed, (as is usual with Dr. Parr) by ‘I do not entirely agree with him on some doctrinal points’—of one who numbers amongst ‘wise and good men,’ such utterly incongruous names as Sir T. More, Erasmus, Johnson, and *Voltaire*!† Of one who has a word of praise for Archbishop Laud,‡ and a word of praise for John Wesley;§ who would be put down in the number of the latitudinarian divines, whilst perhaps their most leading characteristic was opposition to Popery;|| who felt very jealous for the honour of the Roman Catholic, and very jealous for the honour of the Unitarian;¶ who proclaimed the praises of Dr. Priestley from the pulpit in a manner surely too unqualified and ambiguous,** and defended Bishop Bull, ‘a man whom he most unfeignedly revered,’ from Collyer’s accusation, that the great polemic had not expressed an opinion on the consubstantiality of our Lord;†† who introduced the use of the Athanasian Creed into his church at Hatton, and was even an advocate for more than

* Vol. iv. † Bibl. Parr. p. 21. ‡ Vol. iv. p. 139. § Vol. iii. p. 597.
|| Field’s Life, vol. ii. p. 336. ¶ Vol. viii. p. 516. ** Vol. vii. p. 128.
†† Vol. i. p. 672.

all the pomp and circumstance of the established form of worship,* yet gave the sanction of his presence to a sermon of Dr. Priestley in a meeting-house at Warwick, and again, in a few days after, to the ordination of a minister in the same congregation.† We do not desire to deliver an opinion as to which of these particulars are worthy of imitation, and which unworthy, though an opinion we may have; but this we do say, that, taken together, they are utterly useless for the purpose of enabling a man to sketch out any definite and uniform course for himself, with Parr for his pattern. Yet catholic as was Parr's spirit, he had one reservation: his horror of fanaticism is such that he even hints at legislative interference to put it down;‡ if any restrictions on the extravagance of human opinion, exercised on matters of theology, be called for, it was here. But whilst his eye was engrossed by the evil which he magnified, Parr was not perhaps sufficiently keen-sighted towards another which was in reality no less. It was the cold, phlegmatic theology of one age that caused an explosion of zeal in another, and so it would do again. Wesley succeeded, because the times called him up; his fire ran over the country, because the trees were all dry. It was the same with Luther, and it is the same in all great revolutions. They make the hero, not the hero them. We do not think that the church of England has much to fear from the extravagance of sectaries, so long as she is true to herself; but if her sons so far forget the spirit that breathes throughout her beautiful services, as to transform themselves once more into mere essayists on morals, what happened before will happen again, and the sectarian furor (now, we suspect, on the decline) will be found to have only slumbered under the deceitful ashes, to burst out and blast us afresh.

One word on the style of Dr. Parr. That it is stately, measured, copious, abundant in fine diction, none can deny, but we confess that we should like it better, were it less perfect, less laboured, less rhythmical. In its structure it is weakened by

* One of the Doctor's peculiarities was his extraordinary fondness for church bells, and many and pressing were the calls upon the pockets of his friends and correspondents to contribute to those at the church at Hatton. He says himself, 'I have been importunate, and almost impudent, in my applications.' Campanology was a subject so much at his heart, that, in one of his letters, he intimates an intention of treating upon it at large. In the *Bibliotheca Parriana*, p. 479, is a long note on *Magius de Tintinnabulis*, in which he notices *Paccichelli de Tintinnabulo Nolano*, as the only learned work he had met with on bells. He does not seem to have fallen in with the commentary of *Angelus Roccha*, or the poetry of *Dellingham*, or the *Campanologie Rationale* of *Durandus*, or the huge folio of *Valentinus*, which would have been a great comfort to the Doctor's mind. What would he have said, however, to the incomparable theory of *Frater Johannes Drabicius*, who, in his book *De Cælo et Cælesti Statu*, printed at Mentz, 1618, employs 425 pages to prove that the principal employment of the blest in heaven will be in the continual ringing of bells!

† *Field's Life*, vol. i. p. 289.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 545, 9.

antithesis ; in its terms it is not the mother-tongue in which we were born. The natural language of this country is Saxon, not Latin. Why then should scholars, English scholars, be ashamed of their speech bewraying them ?

Δωρίσδεν δ' ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι.

Why should they have recourse to words and idioms of foreign growth, when they have such as will serve them quite as well at home ? It is not a mere affair of taste, but a serious evil to have two languages in a country ; especially in a country where the institutions, both civil and religious, enjoin much communication between the parties who respectively use them—the educated and uneducated classes. In the trial by jury, such difference of speech materially interferes with the degree of information imparted to twelve peasants by the counsel and the court, and therefore interferes with the administration of justice. In addresses from the pulpit, it disables the preacher from saying much to the edification of a rural congregation, ‘ he is a barbarian unto them,’* and the more learned the more barbarous. In this latter case, too, the evil is the more serious, owing to a lack of teachers in our church adapted to the lowest of the people. The Roman Catholic church, with that wisdom of the serpent which marks her construction throughout, provided such teachers in her friars. She took care, that if there were to be any priests of Jeroboam at all, they should still belong to the sanctuary—they should follow after her. Here was opened a natural and harmless vent for every stirring spirit among the inferior members of her congregation, who, in a church constructed like our own, assumes the shape of a methodist preacher, and joins the ranks against her. The evil is the greater, because that class of *poor* scholars, which in former times resorted to our universities as servants to their more opulent neighbours, is, in fact, annihilated. The name remains, the species is extinct ; and thus a gap is left in the graduated scale of our clergy, which should have been filled by spokesmen whose birth and connexions peculiarly fitted them to speak to the multitude in their own way, as it were ‘ in the Hebrew tongue, to which they would give the more silence.’ Now, the only manner in which the clergy can stand in this gap, is by writing their sermons in the *vernacular* language, (never was a word more misapplied than this, when used in reference to Parr’s sermons,) by systematically preferring Saxon to Latin or French derivatives wherever there is a choice, which will be very generally found : and who shall presume to say that compositions must be mean and vulgar, fabricated out of such a vocabulary, while we see it sustaining so nobly all

* 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

the simple history of the patriarchs, and all the sublime imagery of the prophets in the 'English undefiled' of our Bible? These remarks have been more particularly suggested by Dr. Parr's sermons at Hatton. Excellent as many of them are, we have no notion that his people could in general understand a great deal of them; not so much from the depth or intricacy of the argument, as from the exotic diction in which it is often conveyed.

We have nearly brought our paper to its close, and how little have we said of Parr as a *scholar*! Yet this, after all, was the character in which he filled space in the public eye. But so it is. What do these eight thick volumes supply in addition to his well-known classical publications, by which we are to measure him?

'Quibus indicis, quo teste probatur?'

We can pursue the quotation to be sure, and allow,

'Verbosa et grandis epistola venit—'

a long and learned letter to Professor Pillans is come on the use of the subjunctive mood—which is something; and from his other letters, many other observations, both on syntax and prosody, might be gleaned, enough to show how utterly disproportionate his achievements have been to his means, and only enough for this. For whether hindered by fickleness of taste, or aversion to continuous labour, or the embarrassment of literary affluence, or the fear of putting his fame in jeopardy, or by the mere mechanical difficulty of expressing his thoughts in signs that could be read, certain it is that he has written no one work whereby his place amongst scholars can be fairly determined. He has edited no classic; but has shown his qualifications for such a task by demolishing those who had edited one ill. He has composed no grammar; yet rushes upon every unwary transgressor against its nicest rules, and transfixes him with his grammatical obelus. He will not engage in lexicography; yet he overwhelms Dr. Maltby with materials for his *Morell*, and half quarrels with him because he will not adopt them.

Epitaphs, however, in Latin, he has written, and such as prove that this unaccommodating language was perfectly ductile under his hands; for he who can subdue it to such a purpose can subdue it to any thing—as he who can walk a tight rope can walk any where. If Parr ever failed, the fault was in the nature of the work, not in the inability of the artist. For one who dies young, of whom little is known, and, therefore, little can be said but that his friends mourn over him, there is a befitting pathos in the brief, unadorned Roman inscription, more eloquent than a jeremiad of lamentations. 'Oh, Absalom! my son, my son!' is the simple language of true grief—and '*Filio unico et charissimo parentes infelicissimi,*' tells a tale of domestic distress

distress which individual experience will, in general, fill up with bitter fidelity. In such cases, 'to imitate the noble Romans in brevity,' awakes a sympathy which the utmost babbling of loquacious sorrow never can. Such is the effect of the epitaph on Smitheman. But when the *character* of the deceased is to be expressed, the case is altered. Then to adhere strictly to the severe (we had almost said meagre) modes of the ancient inscription, is to sacrifice the dead man to the dead language, and to distort his limbs, in order that his bed may fit him. Such is the epitaph on Johnson. Parr lived to allow himself greater license, and by so doing, in all probability satisfied himself less, and all other men better. For, if this species of composition, as practised by the later Greeks and Romans, succeeded to the sensible symbols of a former age, to the shield which bespake the departed warrior, or the oar which was laid on the sailor's grave, and, therefore, still confined itself to the expression of a few matters of fact, we see no reason why these manacles of its barbarous origin should be binding upon us, on whom the ends of the world are come—or, if the stern republican of Greece or Rome, jealous of all superiority, was not disposed to lavish words upon the dead, however deserving, we see no reason why we, who are not yet at least republicans, should be phlegmatic too—or, if the heathen of eighteen hundred years since was fitly described by certain heathen terms, does it seem reasonable that we, who are not heathens, should be described (in order to save the Latin) in the same, or else not be described at all, any more than that a man who is killed by a cannon should be described (in order to save the Latin) as having been killed by a battering-ram—or, if the ancient epitaph was calculated to be placed on a stone by the highway side, do we see a reason for adopting a slavish adherence to its forms, when our own monuments stand in religious buildings, and should, therefore, have inscriptions breathing a religious spirit—

' Duo cum idem faciunt,

Hoc licet impune facere huic, illi non licet,

Non quo dissimilis res sit, sed quo is qui facit.'

Ter. Adelph. v. 4.

These, or some such considerations, weighed eventually with Dr. Parr, and his epitaphs became more circumstantial, more ornate, more Christian. Such are those of Burke, of Sir J. Moore, of Dr. Burney.

Parr's Greek reading was as boundless as his Latin. It is bursting its scarments in every letter and in every note that he writes.—'I must say of him, as was said of an old writer,'—and then comes the Greek. His friend has the gout, or he has it not, (for either case will serve his turn,) and then comes *chiragra* and

χειραργρα,

χειραργα, and a dissertation thereupon. He is opposed to a gigantic host of politicians, but then 'he says, with old Hesiod,' &c. He is in trouble, not, however, as other men are, but ἐν τρικύμῳ κακῶν; he gets out of it, and then τὸν λίμεν' εὔρε. He desires to illustrate the sentiments of a sermon or a pamphlet; and the philosophy, the oratory, the biography of Greece lie at his feet. As Attic Greek critics there were some superior to him,—as universal Greek scholars, perhaps none. Porson could not have produced the notes on the Spital Sermon, nor could Parr have written the Preface to the Hecuba. We mean nothing invidious in the comparison,—Arcades ambo. Neither of them has left behind him his fellow. Unhappily for the world and for themselves, they both forgot, the one in his appetites, the other in his passions, that 'prudent, cautious *self-controul*,' which Burns, who knew so well what it was to lack it, pronounced to be 'wisdom's root.'

We must end as we began, with expressing the difficulty we find in comprehending and producing Parr's character as it really was. We are lost in a maze of contradictions. Nor we only, but those who knew him from his boyhood upwards; witness that most clever and graphic sketch of him given by Sir W. Jones, in Greek:* he is there 'one great antithesis.' The key to him, however, is this, that he was the creature of feeling almost as absolutely as Rousseau. Hence, his conclusions being in obedience to the impulse of the moment, were in general 'too rash, too unadvised, too sudden;' both adopted and abandoned without sufficient consideration. His vanity was so extravagant as to make even Parr, with all the dignity of his intellect and acquirements, not unfrequently an object of ridicule to others, and, with all the advantages of a temper naturally cheerful, a tormentor to himself. It set him on the watch to spy out symptoms of disrespect where none was intended, and to exact punctilious attentions, which few pay without reluctance, and none will pay long upon demand. It blinded him to a lesson which the experience of life soon reads to any man, the lesson of his own insignificance—that his society, however agreeable to others, is not essential to their happiness—that they will forego it rather than have it with a tax—that, if he retires from the world, inquiries soon cease to be made about him; and, if he dies, his place is shortly filled up, and himself is forgotten. Parr wanted ballast—his judgment, was not equal to the task of keeping so powerful a machine steady. The disproportion of this faculty to the rest rendered him incapable of *sorting* his knowledge; of assigning to his speculations their proper place and relative importance. When he exhibits a

* Vol. i. p. 478.

great question to our view, he perplexes us by the multiplicity of cross lights he throws upon it, all equally strong. The prominent consideration which would naturally govern our opinion is made to lose its effect by a careful enunciation of the difficulties involved in it. The subordinate consideration, on the other hand, which might have been safely overlooked, is swelled into seeming importance by a plausible array of merits which had escaped us. Meanwhile our decision is neutralised, for we can only come to that of Sir Roger de Coverley, 'that much may be said on both sides.' Yet, fond as Parr was of balancing a point speculatively, so that it is not always easy to say which part he takes, in practice he could never hit upon the mean—he could never trace out the line between learning and pedantry, between liberty and licence, between insolence and servility—he was ever running against every post in the race of life, and ever wondering that others passed him by.

'At est bonus'—but, with all his splendid failings, he had splendid virtues too, and many indeed of his failings leaned to their side. Though stricken by poverty, he was never tamed into meanness; but emerged from sixty years' comparative want into affluence, with a spirit that would have done justice to the revenues of a sultan. In the worst of times he had crouched to no man, he had been in bondage to no man. Even then he seated himself in cathedrâ, and dictated a lecture, like one having authority, to prince or prelate, as it might happen.* He was frank, ingenuous, unguarded; incapable alike of uttering a falsehood and suppressing a truth—his maxim still was, *ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat*. Contrary to the way of the world, (Parr's way generally was so,) the prosperity of his friends tried his attachment to them, much more severely than their distress. He was very likely to pick a quarrel with them, when they were 'promoted unto honour,' either from a feverish suspicion of lukewarmness on their part, or from an ill-concealed pride of independence on his own; but if they or their children came to be in want, Parr was the last man to turn away from them when they would borrow of him, or to cut their acquaintance because they happened to be going to Botany Bay. Of his vast acquirements, he can scarcely be thought to have left behind him such a monument as he was capable of rearing up—no one great work which he could bequeath unto posterity, with the certainty that they would not let it die.†

'Burn

* Vol. i., p. 322.

† 'What was said of Salmasius,' (thus writes a friend,) 'may with justice be applied to Parr—that his learning ran to waste in petty quarrels and controversial pamphlets. He,

'Burn them all,' was one of the many conflicting directions he gave about his papers—so imperfect did he reckon them. His learning went with him to his grave, after having wasted itself for so many years in notes which apparently dripped from his common-place book into the press, in fugitive conversations, in desultory correspondence, and, in fairness we must add, in a most liberal communication of it to all who sought it at his hands. We do not mean to undervalue the works which he has committed to us—our opinion of their merits has been expressed in detail. Many of them are, no doubt, such as could have been produced by no other man alive; but still, as a scholar of the first magnitude, we could have wished that he should have been able to write on some one effort of his own, as his own sepulchral inscription—*si monumentum quæris, aspice*. This he was capable of doing, and has not done. He has entrusted a large portion of his fame to the memory of those who knew and have survived him; and when they, in their turn, shall be gathered to their fathers, it will be the classical antiquary alone who will be able to tell of the extraordinary erudition of Samuel Parr.

He, too, like that hero of letters, was one of the *promissores librorum*, and, as the "Cynthia of the minute" flashed across him, was filled by some great prevailing intention, which died ere it came to maturity. "I make my promises," says Warburton, "like a young courtier, and keep my countenance when I break them, like an old one,"—and so his republisher might have said likewise. There is enough in his enumeration of the formidable squadron of authors he had set apart for his life of Johnson, to furnish matter both for a smile and a sigh. He seems to have inherited something from each of those great men of the last age whom we most reverence; and the surprise is the greater that, with such arrows in his quiver, he should at last have missed the mark. With much of Bentley's bold independence, recondite classical knowledge, and ready and original application of it; Johnson's power of mind and precision of language; Warburton's comprehensiveness of grasp and variety of research; he has left nothing which can be thought, even by the warmest of his admirers, to have raised him to a parity with any of that illustrious trio. He wanted, indeed, the *calx et arena*—good sense to correct and chasten his speculations, sound judgment to discriminate proper objects of inquiry, and an unity of purpose to marshal and combine his resources. With these, how different would have been his fate! Instead of leaving to posterity a character motley, ambiguous, and compounded, in which there is much to blame, much to praise, but everything to laugh at, and compositions in which learning often loses its dignity, and talents their merited respect; he might exultingly have bequeathed to us a name of stable and unequivocal greatness, and works which would have insured him an indestructible fame.—*MS.*

ART. II.—Regulations for the Guidance of those who may propose to embark, as Settlers, for the New Settlement on the Western Coast of New Holland.

' 1. His Majesty's Government do not intend to incur any expense in conveying settlers to the New Colony on the Swan River; and will not feel bound to defray the expense of supplying them with provisions, or other necessaries, after their arrival there, nor to assist their removal to England, or elsewhere, should they be desirous of quitting the Colony.

' 2. Such persons as may arrive in that settlement before the end of the year 1830, will receive, in the order of their arrival, grants of land, free of quit rent, proportioned to the capital which they may be prepared to invest in the improvement of the land, and of which capital they may be able to produce satisfactory proofs to the Lieutenant Governor (or other officer administering the Colonial Government), or to any two officers of the Local Government appointed by the Lieutenant Governor for that purpose, at the rate of forty acres for every sum of three pounds which they may be prepared so to invest.

' 3. Under the head of investment of capital will be considered stock of every description, all implements of husbandry, and other articles which may be applicable to the purposes of productive industry, or which may be necessary, for the establishment of the settler on the land where he is to be located. The amount of any half-pay or pension which the applicant may receive from Government, will also be considered as so much capital.

' 4. Those who may incur the expense of taking out labouring persons, will be entitled to an allowance of land at the rate of fifteen pounds, that is, of two hundred acres of land, for the passage of every such labouring person, over and above any other investment of capital. In the class of "labouring persons," are included women, and children above ten years old. Provision will be made by law, at the earliest opportunity, for rendering those capitalists, who may be engaged in taking out labouring persons to this settlement, liable for the future maintenance of those persons, should they, from infirmity or any other cause, become unable to maintain themselves there.

' 5. The licence of occupation of land will be granted to the settler, on satisfactory proof being exhibited to the Lieutenant Governor (or other officer administering the Local Government), of the amount of property brought into the colony. The proofs required of such property will be such satisfactory vouchers of expenses as would be received in auditing public accounts. But the full title to the land will not be granted in fee simple, until the settler has proved, to the satisfaction of the Lieutenant Governor (or other officer administering the Local Government), that the sum required by Article 2 of these regulations (viz. one shilling and sixpence per acre) has been expended in the cultivation of the land, or in solid improvements, such as buildings, roads, or other works of the kind.

' 6. Any grant of land thus allotted, of which a fair proportion, of
at

at least one fourth, shall not have been brought into cultivation, otherwise improved or reclaimed from its wild state, to the extent of one shilling and sixpence per acre, to the satisfaction of the Local Government, within three years from the date of the licence of occupation, shall, at the end of the three years, be liable to a payment of sixpence per acre, into the public chest of the settlement; and, at the expiration of seven years more, should the land still remain in an uncultivated or unimproved state, it will revert absolutely to the Crown.

'7. After the year 1830, land will be disposed of to those settlers who may resort to the colony, on such conditions as his Majesty's Government shall see occasion to adopt.

'8. It is not intended that any convicts, or other description of prisoners, be transported to this new settlement.

'9. The government will be administered by Captain Stirling, of the Royal Navy, as Lieutenant Governor of the settlement; and it is proposed that a bill should be submitted to parliament, in the course of the next session, to make provision for the civil government of the New Settlement.—*Downing Street, 13th January, 1829.*

THAT, in the present circumstances of this Empire, it is urgently necessary to adopt some decisive measures for the extension of domestic agriculture, we have laboured to satisfy all who are interested in the good of their country—and especially of Ireland. In doing so, however, we have never assented to those who maintain that the extension of agriculture in these islands is the only means which ought to be adopted. On the contrary, we have endeavoured to shew that both Mr. Sadler and the other advocates for the cultivation of our own waste lands, and the opposite party who acknowledge Mr. Wilmot Horton as their leader, are in the right. The evil is great and pressing; and the remedies which have been suggested should all be called in for its alleviation. We are fully aware of the nature and extent of the difficulties which lie in the way of carrying into effect any plan that would at once afford the relief that is so desirable; but, at the same time, we are as fully persuaded that certain measures might be adopted,—some in these islands, and others in their dependencies—which would prevent the evil from gaining ground, and attaining a height which it is fearful to contemplate.

It is not our intention, however, here to entertain the large question of emigration. The New Settlement on the western coast of Australia, which we are about to describe, and 'the regulations' on which it is founded, evidently hold out no immediate prospect of affording the relief we have alluded to, in any very considerable degree; but, unless we are much mistaken, this intended new settlement is one which bids fair, in process of time, to vie with the other Australian colonies in wealth and population; possessing the additional advantage, of a more select and moral society

society, which the 'regulations' provide for. As a spot, equally favoured by climate with the other two, and superior in point of situation,—set apart, as it were, for the reception and encouragement of a respectable class of agriculturists, many of whom from the circumstances of the times, may find it expedient to seek an asylum in some distant country, it is not surprising that the attention of a very numerous body of this class, as well as of many wealthy individuals, should be drawn towards this quarter; and as the knowledge of its localities, extent, qualities, and promising advantages, is as yet extremely scanty, we are willing to persuade ourselves that some more detailed information than has yet appeared, drawn from an authentic source, may prove acceptable and useful, more especially to those who may feel disposed to try their fortune in this distant part of the globe.

The intended settlement is designated, in the 'Regulations,' as the 'New Colony on the Swan River';* but this is a name, we think, not sufficiently comprehensive for the extent of territory meant to be occupied. What its future designation is meant to be, we pretend not to know, but if its soil should prove as fruitful as its climate is fine, the position and aspect of this part of the coast might justify the name of Southern or Australian *Hesperia*; under which might be included all that line of coast from Cape Leuwin, the southernmost point of New Holland, in lat. $34^{\circ} 30'$, long. $115^{\circ} 12' E.$, to the lat. 31° , (or a degree or two more northerly), long. $115^{\circ} 15' East$; and from the former point easterly to King George's Sound, where an English colony has already been established. This extent of territory, between the sea-coast and a range of mountains parallel to it, hereafter to be described, may be estimated to contain from five to six millions of acres, the greater part of which, from the general appearance of the two extreme portions, (the only ones yet examined,) may be considered as land fit for the plough, and, therefore, fully capable of giving support to a million of souls. The description we are about to give of this territory is mainly derived from Captain Stirling, the intelligent officer who explored the country, and of which he has been appointed the Lieutenant Governor, and from Mr. Fraser, an excellent botanist, who accompanied him, and who was well acquainted with the soil and products of New South Wales, on the opposite side of Australia.

Captain Stirling, when commanding the *Success* frigate, was sent to New South Wales on a particular service, which the state of the monsoon prevented him from carrying into immediate execution. He determined, therefore, on the recommendation of

* The *Rivière de Cygnes* of the French is a translation of the *Zwanen Riviere* of *Vlissing*.

General Darling, the Governor, to explore, in the meantime, this western part of Australia, which was omitted to be surveyed by Captain King, on the ground that it had been *visited* by the French in the expedition of Captain Baudin: the result of that visit, however, is so unsatisfactory, and so very inaccurate, that we are rather surprised Captain King should have passed over so interesting a portion, geographically considered, as the south-western angle of this great country. Captain Stirling arrived at Cape Leuwin on the 2d March, 1827, stood along the coast, and anchored in Gage's Roads, opposite Swan River, which he afterwards ascended to its source in boats, and sent out exploring parties to ascertain the nature of the surrounding territory.

'We found,' he says, 'the country in general rich and romantic, gained the summit of the first range of mountains, and had a bird's-eye view of an immense plain, which extended as far as the eye could reach to the northward, southward, and westward. After ten days' absence, we returned to the ship; we encountered no difficulty that was not easily removable; we were furnished with abundance of fresh provisions by our guns, and met with no obstruction from the natives.'

Captain Stirling describes the weather as very different from that which the French experienced; but the latter were on the coast at the commencement of the winter season. They were apparently so alarmed at the gales of wind, the rocks, and the reefs, and the banks, that they hastened to leave behind them this part of the coast unexamined, with all convenient speed. The strong westerly winds that prevail throughout the year in the southern ocean to the southward of the tropic, appear to assume a northern direction near this part of the Coast of Australia. These winds were here found to be cool and pleasant, and were generally accompanied by clear and serene weather. The summer winds from the N.W. are not infrequent; and, coming charged with moisture from a warm region into a colder one, they are invariably accompanied by rain; but, in the immediate vicinity of the shore, land and sea breezes are constant and regular. The climate appears to be delightful. While the *Success* was on the coast—that is, in the autumn,—the average height of the thermometer was 75°, the extremes being 84° and 59°, the first occurring before the sea-breeze set in, the latter at midnight. The French found the temperature when at anchor, in June, from 14° to 17° of Réaumur, or 63° to 70° of Fahrenheit. On the mountains, Captain Stirling says, the temperature appeared to be about 15° below that of the plain. The alternate land and sea breezes create a moisture in the atmosphere which renders the climate cool and agreeable; the mornings and evenings are particularly so; and the nights are almost invariably brilliant and clear. Such a climate, it is almost unnecessary

sary to say, must be highly favourable to vegetation, which was accordingly observed to be most luxuriant. 'The verdant appearance,' says Captain Stirling, 'and almost innumerable variety of grasses, herbaceous plants, shrubs, and trees, show that there is no deficiency in the three great sources of their sustenance, soil, heat, and moisture.'

The general structure and aspect of the country may be thus described. From Cape Leuwin to Cape Naturaliste (the southern head of Baie Géographe), which is not quite a degree of latitude, the coast is formed of a range of hills, of uniform and moderate elevation, whose bases are a fine-grained granite, shooting up pinnacles into the superincumbent strata, composed of gneiss or schist. Above this lies a bed of sandstone and toadstone; and over these, defined by an accurately drawn horizontal line, is a bed of compact limestone: the latter, in some places, two hundred feet deep. The veins of quartz, mica, and feldspar, which traverse the schistose strata, are in many places highly metalliferous. The disintegration of the toadstone, mouldering away under the influence of the atmosphere, has left under the limestone cliffs a number of magnificent caverns, many of them remarkable for their extent and form, and some for the beautiful stalactites and incrustations which they contain.

From Geographer's Bay to the northward of Swan River, the whole coast line is a limestone ridge, varying in height from twenty to six hundred feet, and extending inward to the distance of from one to five miles. In those parts of the coast, not protected by exterior islands or banks, the sea-breeze has blown up the sand, and covered the sides of these limestone hills—a circumstance that appears to have given rise to the erroneous idea, that the western coast of Australia consists mostly of barren sandhills. Behind this ridge (whose occasional naked and barren appearance Captain Stirling also thinks may have caused the early and continued prejudice against the fertility of this western coast) commences a great plain, which occupies a space, from south to north, of undetermined length, (reaching, perhaps, to King George's Sound,) and varying, in breadth, from twenty to fifty miles. The eastern boundary of this plain skirts the base of an almost continuous and abrupt chain of mountains, to which Captain Stirling gave the name of 'General Darling's Range.' One of the points, the highest seen and measured by him, was about three thousand feet high. The average height is stated to be from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred feet. The base is granite; the sides, in many parts, naked; and the soil supports but little vegetation, except the Stringy-bark and some hardy plants. The plain, for about a mile from the base of the mountains, is strewn with fragments

of rocks and sand, and pieces of chalcedony, which then give place to a red loamy soil. Thus we have, first, the limestone ridge, of an average breadth of three miles, on the sea-shore ; then a plain, or undulating surface, of the average breadth of thirty miles ; and, lastly, the mountain range, rising abruptly from the plain, to the height of fifteen hundred feet, and extending, north and south, in a line nearly parallel with the coast, and apparently co-extensive with it ; terminating, probably, in the plain at or near King George's Sound, to the eastward of Cape Leuwin, where, as we have said, a British settlement has already been formed.

Captain Stirling observes, that coal was not found, because it was not particularly sought for ; but he is of opinion that the general character of the country is such as to warrant the belief that it might be found ; ' for,' he observes, ' all the concomitant strata or members of the coal formation are exposed on different parts of the surface, below which I had no opportunity to explore. Indeed, the carboniferous order of rocks is that which is most frequently exhibited throughout this territory ; and I have no doubt important results would arise from a proper examination into its mineralogical resources.'

With reference to a supply of fresh water, so indispensably necessary in every settled country, the researches made by Captain Stirling and Mr. Fraser were attended with the most satisfactory results. The former observes, that the clouds which are impelled against the western side of the range of mountains are condensed into rain, the water of which is conducted across the plain to the sea, in numerous streams, but chiefly by three principal rivers, terminating in estuaries, or salt-water lakes. These are—the Swan River opposite the Island Rottenest, the Rivière Vasse, and Port Leschenault, in Geographer's Bay. ' We found,' says Captain Stirling, ' a great number of creeks, or rivulets, falling into Swan River, more particularly on the eastern side ; and I am inclined to think, that the country generally is much divided by such water-courses. Its supply of fresh water, from springs and lagoons, is abundant ; for we found such wherever we thought it necessary to ascertain their existence.' ' At Point Heathcote,' he adds, ' we met with a remarkable instance ; for there the beach of a narrow rocky promontory is a bed of springs, and by tracing the finger along any part within four inches of the edge of the salt water, pure and fresh water instantly occupied the trace.'

Mr. Fraser's testimony leaves no doubt of the abundance of fresh water.

' I was astonished,' he says, ' at the vivid green of the Eucalyptus, and other trees and shrubs, so distinct from those of New South Wales ; but, on digging the soil to the depth of two feet, I found the
cause

cause to arise apparently from the immense number of springs with which this country abounds; for, at the depth above mentioned, I found the soil quite moist, although evidently at the latter end of an exceeding dry season; and from the same cause must arise the great luxuriance of the herbaceous plants on the banks, which exceeds any thing I ever saw on the east coast. They consist principally of the *senecia* and the *sonchus*, which here attain the height of nine feet.'

He further observes, that numerous active springs issue from the rocks of the limestone ridge, and particularly in Geographer's Bay, the whole coast of which, he says, 'is a perfect source of active springs, discharging themselves on the beach in rapid rills of considerable extent, every six or seven yards.'

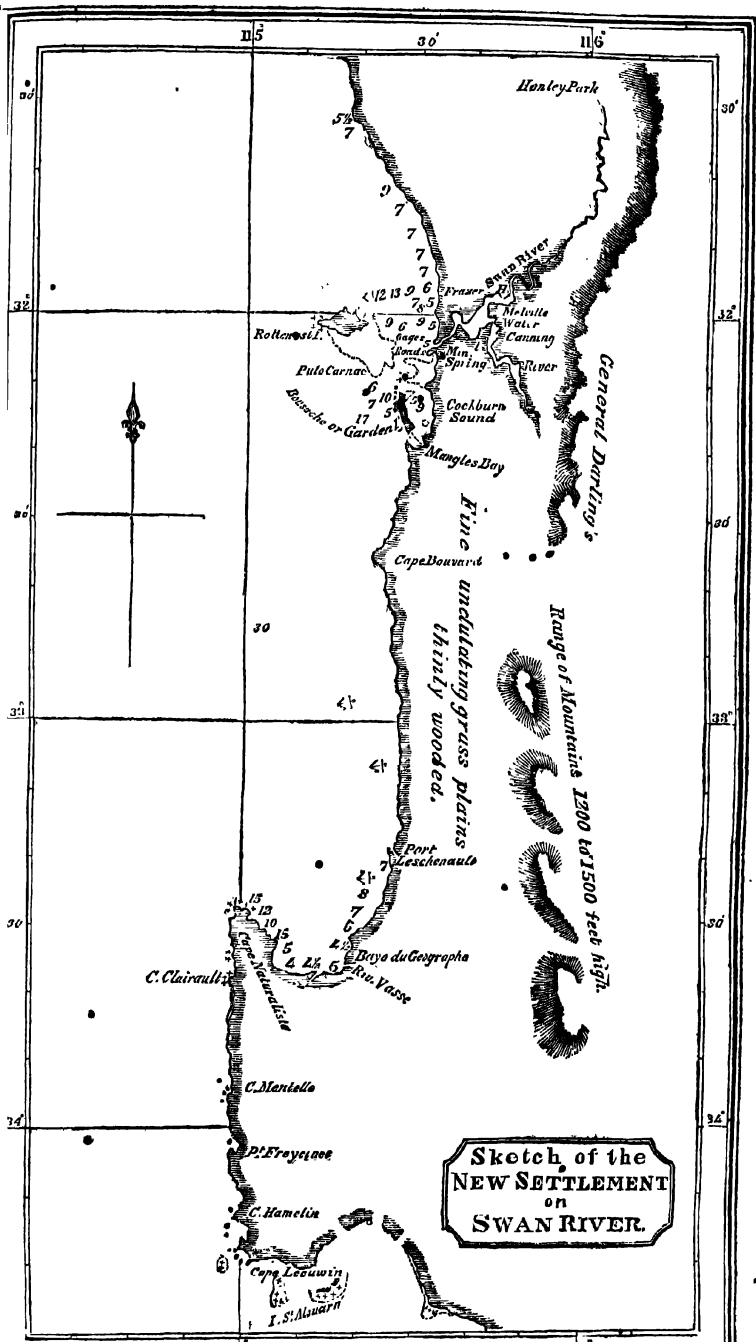
But as the prosperity of a colony must mainly depend on the facilities of approach, and the shelter and convenience which are afforded to shipping, we shall now take a general view of the hydrography of the coast, with which we have been furnished by Captain Stirling. He observes, that the regularity of the soundings, and the moderate elevation of the land, render the navigation of this coast safe and easy; but that care must be taken of the 'Reef de Naturaliste,' the shoals of Rottenest, Houtman's Abrolhos, and the rocks off Cape Leuwin. He says that anchorages, which afford protection from southerly and south-westerly winds, may be considered safe, except in the winter months; and there are three or four such places in the great Geographer's Bay, in which also are the two bar-harbours of Vasse and Leschenault. The position of this bay is precisely that of Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope—open entirely to the north-west. A good anchorage may be found on the north-east side of the island Rottenest; and close to the entrance of Swan River, there is an excellent roadstead (Gage's) for vessels of any size, where the water is smooth, the bottom good, the depth from three to twelve fathoms, the communication with the shore convenient, and the access easy, as well by night as day. It is sheltered by islands, by banks, or by the main land, on every part, except from the N.N.W. to W.N.W. It has this further advantage—that there a vessel may lie, in four or five fathoms, within one cable's length from the river's mouth, or from the beach of Gage's Bay.

But the best anchorage by far, on the whole coast, is in Cockburn Sound, behind the island Buache, into which is a channel from the sea, with not less than five fathoms water in it. Within the sound, there are variable soundings, from fifteen fathoms downward, and the holding ground every where good. 'I do not scruple to call it,' says Captain Stirling, 'at all times perfectly secure, and available for vessels of the greatest dimensions,

sions, as well as for any number of them.' Close to the beach of Buache Island, on the side of this sound, are seven fathoms of water. The main land facing the sound has a smooth and accessible shore, with deep water all along it, except on a very few shoal points. If this sound has an objection, it is that of its distance from the mouth of Swan River, which is six or seven miles; but this objection, as far as the river is concerned, is done away with by the safety and convenience of Gage's Roads, except in seasons when north-west gales may be expected. Cockburn sound, however, is the only anchorage that can with propriety be considered a port. 'Its value,' says Captain Stirling, 'is not to be estimated solely by its own merits; but it must be recollected, that no other is known to exist on the whole of the western coast, except Sharks' Bay, where the heat of the climate and sterility of the soil forbid the formation of an European settlement.'

Such is the general outline of a country on which it is intended to found a new colony;—one that, we hope and believe, will, in no great length of time, rival its sister colony on the opposite side of Australia. A few details of the nature of the soil and its productions may not be unacceptable to those whose attention may be directed towards this quarter; and the annexed sketch will assist in conveying a competent knowledge of the relative positions and bearings of the several places mentioned in this article.

Between the two heads which form the entrance into Swan River, there is, unfortunately, a bar, made by the continuity of the limestone ridge. Over this bar, the depth, at low water, is but six feet, and is therefore practicable only for boats or rafts. About a mile inside the heads, the water deepens; and then commences a succession of cliffs, or natural wharfs, with four, five, and six fathoms at their bases. The same depths are extended over a magnificent expanse of salt water, to which Captain Stirling has given the name of 'Melville Water;' and which, in his opinion, wants only a good entrance to make it one of the finest harbours in the world, being seven or eight miles in length by three or four in width, and having a depth of water from four to seven fathoms. This narrow entrance of the river, he thinks, might be made navigable by ships of burthen, without difficulty or great expense; to accomplish which, two modes present themselves. The first is, by deepening the channel over the bar, which is of soft and friable limestone; the other, by cutting through the limestone isthmus which divides the waters of the lake from the sea. 'I measured the distance,' says Captain Stirling, 'and found four fathoms of water on the inside, divided from the same depth on the outside, by four hundred and eighty yards of limestone rock.' When the town begins to rise, and substantial buildings are required,



required, the blocks of stone procured by quarrying this entrance will go far towards paying the expense of excavation.

Into this expansive sheet of water fall two rivers ; one from the north-east, which is properly the Swan River ; the other from the south-east, called Canning's River. Captain Stirling examined them both : the former to its source, the latter beyond the point where the water ceased to be brackish. They are both sufficiently convenient for boat navigation, even at the end of the dry season ; and any obstruction might easily be removed to make them more so, by which the productions of an immense extent of country might be transported by water-carriage.

Mr. Fraser remarks that nothing of the mangrove appears along the banks of the Swan River, the usual situation of this plant being here occupied by the genus *Metrosideros*. The first plain, or flat, as it is called, contiguous to the river, commencing at Point Fraser, is formed of a rich soil, and appears, by a deposit of wreck, to be occasionally flooded to a certain extent. Here are several extensive salt marshes, which Mr. Fraser thinks are admirably adapted for the growth of cotton. The hills, though scanty of soil, are covered with an immense variety of plants ; among others, a magnificent species of *Angophora* occupied the usual place of the *Eucalyptus*, which, however, here as on the eastern side, generally forms the principal feature in the botany of the country, accompanied by *Mimosa*, *Correa*, *Melaleuca*, *Casuarina*, *Banksia* and *Xanthorea*. The brome or kangaroo grass was most abundant. . On a more elevated flat, a little further up the river, the botanist observes that the ' magnificence of the *Banksia* and arborescent *Zamia*, which was here seen thirty feet in height, added to the immense size of the *Xanthorea* near this spot, impart to the forest a character truly tropical.' He says that about five miles to the eastward of the river, there is an evident change in the character of the country : extensive plains of the richest description, consisting of an alluvial deposit, equalling in fertility those of the banks of the river Hawkesbury in New South Wales, and covered with the most luxuriant brome grass. The *Casuarina*, so common near the limestone ridge of the coast, here disappears, and is succeeded by a pendulous species of *Metrosideros*, which continues to the source of the river.

' From this point,' says Mr. Fraser, ' the country resembles, in every essential character, that of the banks of those rivers which fall to the westward of the Blue Mountains in New South Wales, varying alternately on each bank from hilly promontories of the finest red loam, and covered with stupendous *Angophoras*, to extensive flats of the finest description, studded with magnificent blue and water gums, and occasional stripes of *Accacias* and papilionaceous shrubs, resembling the green wattle of New South Wales.'

The

The higher the river is ascended, the more extended the flats become, and the better is the quality of the soil. Here the country is said to resemble in character that on the banks of the Macquarrie river, west of Wellington valley; and though marks of occasional floods appeared on the lower plains, the upper flats had evidently never been flooded. The sides of the mountains were bare of underwood, and their summits covered with large masses of iron stone, among which were growing enormous trees of Angophora, and some straggling plants of Hakea. On a careful examination of this part of the country bordering the two rivers from the sea-coast to the mountains, Mr. Fraser says,

‘In giving my opinion of the land seen on the banks of the Swan River, I hesitate not in pronouncing it superior to any I ever saw in New South Wales, east of the Blue Mountains, not only in its local character, but in the many existing advantages which it holds out to settlers. These advantages I consider to be,

‘First, the evident superiority of the soil.

‘Secondly, the facility with which a settler can bring his farm into a state of immediate culture, in consequence of the open state of the country, which allows not a greater average than two trees to an acre.

‘Thirdly, the general abundance of springs, producing water of the best quality, and the consequent permanent humidity of the soil; two advantages not existing on the eastern coast. And,

‘Fourthly, the advantages of water carriage to his door, and the non-existence of impediments to land carriage.’

The animal productions, we may take for granted, are generally the same as those of New South Wales. The human species, in their physical qualities and endowments are the same. They have the same distinctive marks in the structure of their bodies, large heads, spare trunks, long and disproportionate limbs. They are hardy and active in their habits, and appear to possess the qualities usually arising from such habits—bravery, vivacity, a quickness of temper alternating between extreme kindness and ferocity. The latter disposition, however, was not put to the test by the exploring party who communicated with and left them without any misunderstanding, and indeed on terms of friendship. Most of them wore kangaroo cloaks, which were their only clothing. They carry the same kind of spears, and the womera, or throwing stick, as are used by those in New South Wales. In the summer months they frequent the sea-coast, where their skill in spearjng fish is described as quite wonderful. In winter they mostly adhere to the woods on the higher grounds, where the kangaroos, the opossum tribe, and the land tortoises are plentiful. These, with birds and roots, constitute their sustenance. They have neither boat nor raft, nor did the party fall in with any thing resembling a hut. They made use of the word ‘kangaroo’ and other

other terms in use at Port Jackson. The party saw only the three kinds of animals above-mentioned, and heard the barking of the native dog ; no other reptiles but iguanas and lizards and a single snake presented themselves.

Of birds, the list is somewhat more extensive. The emu is frequent on the plains, and that once supposed 'rara avis,' the elegant black swan, was seen in the greatest abundance on the river to which it has lent its name, and particularly on Melville lake. Equally abundant were numerous species of the goose and duck family. White and black cockatoos, parrots and parroquets, were every where found. Pigeons and quails were seen in great quantities, and many melodious birds were heard in the woods.

Seals were plentiful on all the islands. Captain Stirling says that it was not the season for whales, but their debris strewed the shore of Geographer's bay. The French, in May and June, met with a prodigious number of whales along this part of the coast, and sharks equally numerous and of an enormous size, some of them stated to be upwards of two thousand pounds in weight. Vlaming mentions the vast numbers of large sharks on this part of the coast, and he, as well as the French, found the sea near the shore swarming with sea-snakes, the largest about nine or ten feet long. Captain Stirling's party procured three or four different kinds of good esculent fish ; one in particular, a species of rock-cod, is described as excellent.

'The bottom of the sea,' says Captain Stirling, 'is composed of calcareous sand, sometimes passing into marl or clay. On this may be seen growing an endless variety of marine plants, which appear to form the haunts and perhaps the sustenance of quantities of small fish. When it is considered that the bank extends a hundred miles from the shore, and that wherever the bottom is seen, it presents a moving picture of various animals gliding over the green surface of the vegetation, it is not too much to look forward to the time when a valuable fishery may be established on these shores. Even now, a boat with one or two men might be filled in a few hours.'

The island of Buache is admirably adapted for a fishing town. The anchorage close to its eastern shore in Cockburn Island is protected against all winds ; and the island itself, of six or seven thousand acres, of a light sort of sand and loam, is well suited, as Mr. Fraser thinks, for any description of light garden crops. The side next the sea is fenced by a natural dyke of limestone covered with cypress, and in many places with an arborescent species of *Metrosideros* ; and all the valleys are clothed with a gigantic species of *Solanum*, and a beautiful *Brownia*. The soil in these thickets is a rich brown loam intermixed with blocks of limestone, and susceptible, Mr. Fraser says, of producing any description of crop.

Fresh

Fresh water may be had in all these vallies by digging to the depth of two feet. On this island Captain Stirling caused a garden to be planted and railed out; on which account he named it 'Garden Island;' we would recommend, however, that it should retain the name of Buache, though from the very slovenly manner in which the French expedition under Baudin slurred over this part of the coast, it would perhaps do them more credit to obliterate all traces of their ever having been here, than to retain the memory of their visit by the preservation of their nomenclature. The 'Rivière des Cygnes,' as laid down by M. Heirisson; enseigne de vaisseau, bears very little resemblance to the original, and must either have been undertaken in ignorance of the common principles of surveying, or laid down from recollection.

On this island, Buache, or Garden (as the party named it), Captain Stirling left a cow, two ewes in lamb, and three goats, where, he observes, abundance of grass, and a large pool of water awaited them. They would be, at all events, perfectly free from any disturbance from the natives. The entrance into Cockburn Sound is round the north point of this island, and between it and a small barren islet which was named Pulo Carnac, but which the French called Ile Bertholet. As the headlands, bays, and islands on this part of the coast had not been named, with the exception of the island Rottenest, before the visit of the French, we could wish, on every consideration, that the names given by them should be retained, were it only to avoid the example of Baudin, Freycinet, and the rest, who so unhandsomely gave new names to Flinders's discoveries on the southern coast, while he was held as a prisoner at the Isle of France. But the names given by Flinders have been restored,—while those of 'Napoleon's Promontory,' 'Josephine's Gulph,' and the rest of the Bonapartean family, have passed away.

Rottenest Island is the largest in this quarter, being about eight miles in length; it is of the same formation as Buache, but contains several saline lagoons, separated from the sea, on the north-east side, by a beach composed mostly of a single species of bivalve shell. Like Buache, it is covered with an abundant and vigorous vegetation, and a small species of kangaroo is said by Freycinet to be numerous upon it. Vlaming, who first discovered it, speaks in raptures of the beauties of this island, to which, from the multitude of rats, as he thought them to be, he gave the name of the 'Rats' nest.' The French call this animal the *péramèle à long nez*.

It is not to be supposed that a hasty visit could enable the party to explore the mineralogical resources of the country. It appears, however, by a list of the soils and rock formations in Captain Stirling's report, that he brought home specimens of copper ore, of lead ore with silver, and also with arsenic, two species

species of magnetic iron, several varieties of granite, and chalcodony, and of limestone, with stalactite, stalagmite incrustations, &c. The high cliffs of Cape Naturaliste abound with large masses of what Mr. Fraser calls 'an extraordinary aggregate,' containing petrifications of bivalve and other marine shells, every particle of which was thickly incrustated with minute crystals. Here, too, he says, veins of iron of considerable thickness were seen to traverse the rock in various directions; and he speaks of the caverns formed in the micaceous schistus between the granite and the limestone, as something very extraordinary. They contained rock-salt in large quantities, forming thick incrustations on every part of the surface, beautifully crystallized, and penetrating into the most compact parts of the rock. In many of these caverns were very brilliant stalactites and stalagmites of extraordinary size adhering to the nodules of granite which form their bases or floors, and which are from forty to fifty feet above the level of the sea.

In several parts of the limestone formation, mineral springs were found; one in particular was noticed within half a mile of the entrance into Swan River. It bubbled out at the base of the solid rock in a stream whose transverse area was measured by Captain Stirling, and found to be from six to seven feet, running at the rate of three feet in a second of time. It was thermal, saline, pleasant to the taste, and some, who partook of it, attributed to it an aperient quality.

Such is the outline of a country on which the government have determined to establish a colony, and over which they have justly, and we think judiciously, appointed Captain Stirling to act as lieutenant-governor. The plan on which it is to be founded is, in our opinion, unobjectionable. It promises the most advantageous terms to qualified settlers, and deserves only to be known to ensure as many of the most respectable agriculturists as may in the first instance be desirable. We think, however, that a maximum should be fixed of the quantity of land to be granted to any individual, or association of individuals, and a reservation made of a certain extent of land for the site of towns and their environs—all of which we have no doubt will have been provided for in the lieutenant-governor's instructions.

Captain Stirling is disposed to think that a range of mountains will be discovered beyond those of 'General Darling,' of much greater height; and he arrives at this conclusion from the cold wind which blows from the eastward; but if, as he states, there be a difference of 15° between the sea-coast and the first range, that alone we conceive to be sufficient to cause a very sensible diminution of temperature on the plain when the wind blows from these mountains. In fact, we are yet wholly ignorant of what rivers, seas, or mountains may exist in the interior of this great country;

country; but we have little doubt that the confined breadth of the new settlement will speedily lead to the necessity of an exploration of the eastern side of 'General Darling's' range, where there is every reason to believe that fertile plains will be discovered, intersected by streams of water flowing from the mountains to the eastward or northward; the frequent and heavily loaded clouds brought over the great expanse of ocean, deposit their contents on being obstructed by these mountains, and it cannot be doubted that an inconsiderable part only of the water is discharged on the western side. We suggested, in a former article, as the means of encouraging geographical research in the interior, that free grants of land, proportioned to the degrees of longitude discovered in proceeding from New South Wales westward, should be given as rewards to the discoverers; we would recommend the same thing for discoveries made to the eastward of General Darling's range of mountains. By thus proceeding in two opposite directions, the extent of our knowledge of this vast country would be wonderfully increased in the course of one generation.

We have already given Mr. Frazer's opinion as to the superior advantages, in an agricultural point of view, which this new colony is likely to possess over that of New South Wales. We shall now proceed to enumerate other important advantages which it may fairly claim over its sister colony; and one not least in its importance may be expected from that article in the 'Regulations' which prohibits any convicts, or other description of prisoners, being transported to this new settlement. In point of climate, these two colonies may perhaps be equally salubrious, though we are disposed to think that the western aspect and the sea-breezes may preponderate in favour of the new one;—this being, probably, milder, as the western sides of all continents and large islands are, than the eastern sides, in the winter, while the refreshing breezes cool the air in the summer.

'In my opinion,' says Captain Stirling, 'the climate, considered with reference to health, is highly salubrious. This opinion is corroborated by that of the surgeon of the *Success*, who states in his report to me on the subject, that, notwithstanding the great exposure of the people to fatigue, to night air in the neighbourhood of marshy grounds, and to other causes usually productive of sickness, he had not a case upon his sick list, except for slight complaints unconnected with climate.'

In geographical position it has an incalculable advantage over New South Wales. In the first place, it is not only much more conveniently situated than that colony, but is much nearer to, and has much more easy means of communication with, every part of the civilized world, the east coast of America perhaps excepted. The passages to it from England, and from the Cape of Good Hope,

Hope, are shortened by nearly a month, and the return voyages still more. The voyage from it to Madras and Ceylon is little more than three weeks at all times of the year, and only a month from those places to it; while for six months in the year, namely, from November to April, inclusive, when the western monsoons prevail on the northern coast of Australia, the passage from New South Wales through Torres Strait, always dangerous, is then utterly impracticable; and that through Bass's Strait nearly so to merchant vessels, on account of the westerly winds which blow through it at all times of the year, and which generally oblige them to go round the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land. The Success frigate left Port Jackson on the 17th January, and did not reach Cape Leuwin till the 2d February, being six weeks and two days; and Captain Stirling observes, that the only chance, by which the passage could be accomplished at all, was by carrying a constant press of sail. The colonial vessel that was to have accompanied him, being torn to pieces by bad weather, was obliged to put back to Port Jackson. The following table contains the distances between Port Cockburn and various parts of the world, and the estimated times in which passages would probably be made to and from it respectively:—

Place.	Distances. Miles.	Winds.	Time.	Proper Season.
From COCKBURN SOUND to				
Timor	1500	Favourable at all seasons.	12 days	All times of the year.
Java	1450	Ditto.	10	Ditto.
Madras	3500	Ditto.	25	Ditto.
Ceylon	3300	Ditto.	24	
Isle of France . .	3200	Ditto.	21	Ditto.
Cape of Good Hope	5000	Ditto.	35	Ditto.
England	10,500	Variable.	100	Ditto.
Van Diemen's Land	2000	Favourable.	14	Ditto.
Port Jackson . .	2400	Favourable in general	20	Ditto.
To COCKBURN SOUND, from				
Timor	1500	Favourable at all times.	15 days	At all times.
Java	1450	Favourable.	10	Ditto.
Madras	3500	Favourable by proper route.	28	Ditto.
Ceylon	3300	Ditto.	26	Ditto.
Isle of France . .	3200	Variable, generally favourable.	21	Ditto.
Cape of Good Hope	5000	Strong and favourable.	28	Ditto.
England	10,500	Ditto.	84	Ditto.
Van Diemen's Land	2000	Always contrary.		In Feb. & March may be made in 6 weeks.
Port Jackson . .	2400	*Generally impracticable, except in February or March, or by rounding Van Diemen's Land.		

Supposing the advancement of this new colony to be as rapid as we think it likely to be, the situation, in a commercial point of view, will merit attention. The wants of Europeans in India are nearly similar to those of the same description of persons in the West Indies. The supply of these wants, the productions chiefly of temperate climates, from the west coast of New Holland, may, in time, become, to the European establishments in Hindostan, of as much importance as the productions of the North American colonies were to the West Indies. The Malay islands are close at hand, and the consumption of British manufactures among this industrious people is very considerable, and would be much more so, if a speedy and direct intercourse could be had with them. In time of war, when the China ships, to avoid an enemy, frequently make the eastern passage, they come nearly within sight of the new colony, where they might refresh and land such articles as the colony might be in want of. We well remember the rapid progress in population, agriculture, and commerce, which followed the occupation of Singapore by the late Sir Stamford Raffles, owing to the immediate influx of Malays and Chinese; and we have no doubt whatever but that both Chinese and Malays would flock to Swan River as merchants, agriculturists, mechanics, or fishermen, in any number that might be required.

This colony is in the track of ships proceeding to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; it is in the track of ships from India to South America, a line of trade just commencing and likely to be much frequented. For some time to come the products of the Cape of Good Hope, particularly wine and live stock, will be required in the new colony, and also the tropical products of the Isle of France. All these advantages conspire to render it, in a commercial point of view, a position of great value. It will also, no doubt, become a convalescent station for the numerous invalids from India, not only of the East India Company's civil service, but also for the military forces, who, at a very short distance from their duties, might occasionally be re-invigorated in this pleasant country with a bracing climate, and restored to a proper condition for service, which a long residence in an Indian climate seldom fails to render them unfit for.

It requires only to cast an eye over the map of the world, to be satisfied that, with relation to our great Indian empire, the Cape of Good Hope and Swan River form two most important flanks, highly valuable in a political and military point of view. By their occupation two admirable naval and military posts are established, which may be said to command the great Indian ocean. From them troops may at all times, and more especially from the latter

latter, be speedily conveyed to India, to New South Wales, or Van Diemen's Land, as reinforcements, in the event of any of them being threatened with the attack of an enemy.

The last consideration we shall touch upon, which is not the least important, is the occupation of a spot which, in the hands of an enemy, might prove of serious inconvenience, not only to our other settlements in Australia and Van Diemen's Land, but to the whole of our India trade and possessions in time of war. We deem it, therefore, a wise policy on the part of our government, to form, as they appear to be doing, a cordon or chain of posts round the whole habitable portion of Australia, and thus prevent interlopers from making establishments that might greatly embarrass us. When these several colonies have once met, (which, if their present prosperous progress should continue, will ere long happen,) and in proportion as the population of each increases, the inhabitants will of necessity work their way by degrees into the interior. To complete this cordon, we take for granted that no time will be lost in establishing settlers on the coast of Geographer's Bay, and thus, by the gradual progress of colonization, connect the New Settlement with that already formed at King George's Sound. The first attempts will probably be in the neighbourhood of the two rivers which form the ports Leschenault and Vasse; though, as the French account states, both these rivers have bars across their mouths, which render them inaccessible, except by boats. The following account of this part of the coast, by Mr. Fraser, will show that the inland country is in no respect less valuable here than in the vicinity of Swan River:—

'On approaching Cape Naturaliste, the shores become bold, presenting immense masses of granite, projecting, in many instances, a considerable distance into the sea. The hills are bold and only partially covered with stunted species of Eucalyptus. They are divided by beautiful meandering valleys formed of the richest soil possible. These valleys are of considerable magnitude; as a proof of their fertility, I need only instance the astonishing luxuriance of the thistles and ferns, some of which measure eleven feet and a half. Each of these valleys is furnished with a small stream of water. The hills, although stony, are covered with a rich soil to their summits. They are clothed with the *Banksia grandis*, and a new species of *Xylophylla*. The rocks on the summit are lime.'

It has been said that, with the exception of a few articles, such as oil from the whale and seal fisheries, wool, timber, accacia bark for tanning, and a few cargoes of hides and skins, no other articles of export, the produce of the Australian colonies, are suited for the markets of Europe; and that, on account of the great distance, the

the colonists can entertain no reasonable expectation of arriving at a higher degree of prosperity than to support their families in comfort and plenty. Even this is something; but we dissent wholly from the proposition. We are satisfied that these colonies require only the fostering hand of the mother-country for a little while, to elevate them to a degree of prosperity equal to that of the United States, in proportion to their respective population; and, in this view, we think that the government is called upon, on sound political principles, to afford every possible encouragement that can be given, not to these alone, but to infant colonies in all parts of the world, as furnishing the surest and most constant markets for the demand and consumption of British manufactures, the supply of which will be limited only by the power they possess of making a return for the value of the commodities produced by the skill and labour of our artisans.

This power, we are persuaded, will ere long be called into active operation in the Australian colonies. It is admitted that the wool sent home is fully equal to the Spanish wool, without which our manufacture of fine cloths could not be carried on, and that the quantity brought to market has already interfered with the importation of Saxon wool; and we know of no reason why so valuable a product may not be extended in these immense territories, so as entirely to supersede both Spanish and German wools. If we are rightly informed, a progressively increasing trade is carrying on to and from these colonies; nor do we see the smallest reason why the list of exportable articles should not embrace, among many others, those of hemp and flax, always in demand at home, and for the growth of which the soil and climate are highly favourable. • Neither are they less favourable for the growth of cotton, though we may have some doubts as to the policy of encouraging the produce of this raw material, unless, indeed, a pertinacious adherence to the restrictive system of the United States should compel us to increase the present duty on their cotton wool, or to refuse the importation of it altogether; in which case, the Australian colonies might be able to enter into a competition with, or rather come in aid of, the western parts of India, for supplying the demand of that article in the English market. There is one species of produce, however, the growth of which would, beyond all doubt, be productive of infinite benefit to the mother-country and to the colonists—and that is tobacco. We are fully aware that asking from the government such protection as this would require, involves a question of revenue. A diminution of duty, however, giving rise to an increase of consumption, may, and in many cases does, produce an increase of revenue. The enormous duty levied on tobacco amounts, according

ing to the present prices, to not less than *one thousand per cent.* on its original cost. It is the diminution of this duty to a moderate scale that would alone enable the Australians to undersell the Americans in the market of Great Britain. That the soil and climate of these colonies are well adapted for the cultivation of this plant is, we believe, unquestionable; indeed, they have been proved to be so. There is no mystery in the mode of culture, nor in the subsequent preparation; no extraordinary degree of labour is required in the cultivation, and the rent of land can scarcely enter into the calculation of the charges. Its produce, as compared with corn, is known to be more valuable to the agriculturist in a manifold degree. We have before us a paper, containing some sensible 'Observations on the Cultivation of Tobacco in the Australian Colonies,' by a Mr. Donaldson, which, we believe, has been placed in the hands of government; and which, in our opinion, contains matter highly deserving of attention. The writer, after some preliminary observations on the policy of giving encouragement to the cultivation of this valuable narcotic, observes—

'The situation, at present, of our commercial relations with the United States of America seems to present the most favourable opportunity that could be wished, for making that distinction which would lead to the incalculable benefit of these new colonies, and, by reflection, to the British empire. The American government, in the exercise of those rights which belong to all nations to protect their own interests, without regard to the inconvenience or injury which others may sustain, has thought fit virtually to interdict the importation, into the United States, of British produce and manufactures. How far the measures they have adopted to this end have been governed by commercial or political wisdom; and how far they have evinced, upon this occasion, an unfriendly jealousy of the corresponding interests in this country, it is not, perhaps, very material to inquire; although it is very generally believed on this side of the Atlantic, and pretty extensively in America, that the injury likely to result from the new tariff will principally recoil upon themselves.

'It will, however, be unhesitatingly conceded, that the exercise of those rights is equally imperative upon Great Britain; and that, without feeling or evincing any thing like asperity, she ought to consider the interests of America entirely out of the question, in legislating upon a matter of transcendant importance to her own welfare. To what extent the tobaccos of her own colonies should receive protection by a diminished scale of duties, the wisdom of government and parliament will determine. But in the

the first instance, it ought to have a reference to the difficulties which the Australian colonies will have to contend with in the outset, and to the encouragement which it will be politic to afford, in order that the attempt may be simultaneous and extensive. The present duty on all foreign tobaccos, in an unmanufactured state, is three shillings per pound; and on manufactured tobacco, nine shillings per pound.'

The writer then proposes that, for a term of years at least, in order to give time for an effectual experiment, the duty should be reduced to two shillings per pound on all manufactured tobaccos, the growth of British colonies, in all parts of the globe. He quotes, as precedents for a distinction made in the amount of duties, those on rice, which, from the United States, is subject to a duty of fifteen shillings per cwt., while from Bengal it is only one shilling; and cotton wool, which is duty free from British colonies, and subject to a duty of six per cent., *ad valorem*, from all other parts of the world. He then proceeds to show the intimate connection which the subject has with the vitally important questions of our shipping interests and our maritime ascendancy; and, if the writer be correct in the premises on which the following statement is made, we think he has made out a case that is irresistible.

'On the *supposition* that Virginia and New Holland were both British dependencies, and in other respects the same, excepting distance and the cost of cultivation—that tobacco could be procured at Baltimore at twopence halfpenny per pound, and that the price at Sydney were twopence per pound (the quality being supposed to be equal, the freight and insurance from America one halfpenny per pound, and the freight and insurance from New Holland one penny per pound)—in this case the tobacco of each country would be delivered to the British dealer at the same price—namely, threepence per pound.

'But the consumer of the Australian tobacco would contribute more than twice as much to British navigation as the consumer of Virginian tobacco. The maritime distance is an *advantage*, in proportion to its extent, (inasmuch as, in the shorter voyage, ten vessels, less numerous manned, would suffice for a trade which would require, in the extended voyage, more than thirty ships, of a superior equipment,) provided the charge of navigation be counterbalanced by the price, in the market, of production of the commodity to be imported; that is to say, if a common price must be paid by the consumer, whether the production be of near or distant growth; and it is to be considered, not only that navigation creates seamen, but that the chief part of the cost of freight

paid to the owner of a British vessel is expended in British materials, artificery, and manufactures, which, in a ship, are brought into a course of rapid expenditure and consumption.

‘ If these *evident* advantages are obtained, on a *supposition* that Virginia and New Holland are alike British colonies, how infinitely is the argument strengthened by the *fact*, that the former is part of a territory whose government, by their commercially hostile measures, has rendered its interests diametrically opposite to ours !—that the trade in American tobacco, amounting to many thousand tons, is exclusively carried on in American ships, and by American seamen, to an amount which would most powerfully reinforce that *right arm* of our national strength, which the wisest politicians have ever regarded as the main bulwark of our power ! In other words, the present system materially tends to strengthen a power which already appears to entertain the purpose of disputing with us the empire of the sea ; while its converse would, in a much greater degree (because of the increased number of ships necessarily employed in an extended navigation), add to the preponderance which, happily, Great Britain as yet possesses.

‘ The encouragement of the growth of tobacco in our Australian colonies would not only be beneficial in the abstract, in those respects which have been already considered, but it would also give an impulse and excitement generally to the agricultural and commercial interests of the colonies ; and to a rapid increase of a sound and healthy population, which could not fail to accelerate the progress of *concurrent* improvements in every department connected with their prosperity and wealth ; tending to diffuse the British name and British laws through a fifth subdivision of the globe, which, at some remote period, may probably lay the foundation of a most populous, powerful, and flourishing empire.’

The first proceeding with regard to the new colony on Swan River will, of course, be that of surveying the whole country, and marking it out into sections, as is done in the United States and Canada, determining the positions of towns, and reserving a sufficient quantity of ground around them, and also allotments of glebe lands for churches and schools, as a provision for those who may be appointed to conduct the religious and moral education of the youth of the colony. We have mentioned the thirty-first degree as the northern boundary of the settlement ; but if the land continues good, there is no reason why it should not be extended several degrees farther to the northward. Any situation that is extra-tropical in this climate will admit of the til-
lage

lage of the land by European labourers; though the temperature may, perhaps, make it necessary for the workmen to suspend their labours for a few hours in the middle of the day during the summer months. We have no apprehension, however, of the settlers being interfered with by any attempt of a foreign power to plant a colony in this quarter, as between the Swan River and Shark's bay, in latitude 25° N., there is no harbour or roadstead on the coast where ships can lie with safety at anchor; and the country around the above-mentioned bay is so sandy and barren, and so wholly destitute of fresh water, as to hold out no favourable prospect for attempting a settlement there. In fact, the only portion of the whole of the western coast that gives promise of successful establishments is that which is just occupied, the two principal points in which are Geographer's Bay and the Swan River.

It remains only for us to offer a word of advice to the multitudes who we understand are preparing to take their flight to this new land of Goshen,—which is this: that no one should at present think of venturing on such a step, unless he can carry out with him, either in his own person or in his family or followers, the knowledge of agriculture, and the capability of agricultural labour. It is quite certain that, for the first few years, every settler must be mainly indebted for the means of subsistence of himself and family to the produce of the soil; beyond this the country itself, for the first year, will afford him nothing, with the exception, perhaps, of a little fish—the rest must be raised by the labour of the ploughman and the horticulturist. The only settlers, therefore, who can reasonably hope to thrive in the infant state of the colony must consist of this description of persons; any others, with very few exceptions, must inevitably be disappointed, if not irretrievably ruined. A clergyman, a schoolmaster, a land-surveyor, an apothecary, a few small tradesmen and fishermen, may reasonably expect employment and make themselves useful to the new community; as will also a limited number of house-carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and common labourers, the latter being required to assist in building habitations; but the unproductive class, or idlers, had better wait a few years before they embark for a country where, as yet, there is neither hut nor hovel, and where the '*fruges consumere nati*' have unquestionably no place in society. We cannot forget what happened, when, a few years ago, the government resolved to send out, at a very considerable expense, a number of new settlers to improve and extend the agriculture of the Cape of Good Hope; giving allowances to the heads of parties, proportioned to their respective numbers. On the arrival of the several parties, there

appeared, in the eastern district of that colony, such a heterogeneous mixture of mortals of both sexes, in the character of agriculturists and artificers, as was never seen or heard of before, —men and women milliners from Bond-street, who had all their lives been measuring out ribbons and lace and fitting on kid gloves; piano-forte makers, discarded menials, (we beg pardon,) gentlemen of the press, and attorneys' clerks, those worst of vermin in a society newly formed, whose occupation, as the two sister colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have experienced, instead of sowing grain, is to sow dissension among families and disaffection to the government; —there were, besides, ladies' maids and waiters at taverns, broken-down actors and galantee-show men,

‘Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ’—

and these persons, one half of whom had never seen a plough or a pick-axe, a shovel or a spade, went out to instruct the Dutch boors in the improvements of agriculture;—but they had a free passage out, and free rations at the cost of the public; and when these ceased to be issued, they were somehow or other disposed of in the wide waste of country that wanted population. Timur the Tartar said, in allusion to the king of Spain, ‘even the shrimp has its place in the ocean;’ and so the motley group of these ill-assorted persons found their several places, some among the boors in the wilds of southern Africa, some in the garrisons, and others in the capital of the colony.

There is, however, a corrective to this abuse, in the present instance;—the new colony is to be peopled at the expense of wealthy and enterprising men, who will of course take good care to select only such persons as are known to be of the productive class. It is not to them, therefore, who need it not, but to those isolated individuals who are about to try their fortunes in the new settlement, that we would wish to offer a word of admonition; those principally in our eye are half-pay officers of the army and navy, whose applications for leave to settle on Swan River we understand to be very numerous. What many of them are to do, when they arrive there, in their individual capacities, we are at a loss to conceive; unless, indeed, it be to build for themselves huts and cultivate their little gardens, on the produce of which, with their half-pay and exemption from rent and taxes, they may hope to subsist themselves and families in more comfort than at home. Some may, perhaps, be enabled to take out with them an agricultural family to place on the grants of land which may be assigned to them, proportioned to their means of expenditure on such grants. Others, who

who are not so fortunate, will, we fear, meet with disappointment; but they will only have themselves to blame, the regulations of government being sufficiently clear and explicit for their guidance, and for warning them against taking any imprudent step. The persons best calculated for effecting the improvement of the colony, and, at the same time, their own condition, must be looked for among the English and Scotch farmers; these cannot fail. To such we would recommend not to encumber themselves, and incur a great and unnecessary expense, by carrying out live-stock from home, but to take them from the Cape of Good Hope. At Algoa bay, which is perfectly safe for six months in the year, they may be supplied with every kind of domestic animal, in good condition and at reasonable prices, which may be carried to their destination in the short space of twenty-eight days. Seed corn and the seeds of culinary vegetables may be taken from home; but of young plants of peaches, pomegranates, oranges, figs and vines, it may be advisable to take a supply from the Cape of Good Hope. For these, and many other species of fruit, the climate is admirably adapted; and the vine, in particular, is just calculated for the limestone ridge which extends along the coast facing the western sun.

We are aware that there is a certain description of persons, some of whom affect to consider themselves as statesmen, who are not only averse from the establishment of new colonies, but promulgate the opinion that the sooner we get rid of the old ones the better. We have endeavoured to expose the absurdity and the mischief of such a doctrine. (No. LXVI. Qu. Rev.) Whether the northern seer, who is supposed to have broached such trash through the channel of the *Edinburgh Review*, as a branch of what he misnames *Political Economy*, inculcates the same doctrine into the minds of those 'babes and sucklings' to whom he now delivers lectures among the Academic groves of Upper Gower-street, we have not heard; but the merchant, who looks about for new markets for his wares, and the manufacturer, who requires new vents for his products, and the agriculturist, who is driven from his home by the pressure of high rents and taxes, are not likely to be smitten with such metaphysical nonsense, under whatever name it may be uttered; they feel too deeply the importance of our colonies, and hail the extension of them as new sources of individual and national prosperity. Nothing could more strongly evince this feeling than the eagerness with which persons in almost every rank in society have come forward to participate in the establishment of this new settlement on the western coast of Australia. The adventurers seem to have no doubt of its success; though some of them, we fear, may have entertained
somewhat

somewhat too sanguine notions as to the rate of its progress. The discouragement of colonization is certainly not the feeling of the great majority of the people of England, and it is equally certain that it is not the policy of this empire. Whatever may be the fate of the several British colonies at some future and distant period, it is something at least to have spread our laws and language, and moral character, over the most distant parts of the globe. The colonies that speak the language of Old England—that preserve her manners and her habits—will always be her best customers; and their surplus capital will always centre in the mother-country. It was not the opinion of our ancestors, that colonies were an incumbrance; they,—good, stupid souls,—imagined that colonies enlarged the sphere of commerce—that commerce required ships—that ships created seamen for manning the royal navy, and that the whole contributed to individual wealth, to the national revenue, and the national strength; and such we believe still to be the opinion of men of sound practical knowledge, whose minds are unwarpd by abstract systems and preconceived theories, to which everything must be made to bend. Such, too, was the feeling of that extraordinary man, who, with the solitary exception of England, exacted homage from every crowned head of Europe. This man, in the plenitude of his power, felt that something was still wanting to enable him to grapple with one little island, invulnerable by its maritime strength, the sinews of which he knew to be derived from its colonies: he felt that, deprived as he was of ‘ships, colonies, and commerce,’ England was able to stand alone among nations, and to bid defiance to his overwhelming power. That cunning fox, too, by whose councils he was occasionally guided, knew too well the degree of strength that England derived from her colonies, which he described to be her very vitals, and which could only be reached by a powerful navy. He designated them as the sheet-anchor of Great Britain—the prop that supported her maritime superiority—the strongholds of her power. ‘Deprive her of her colonies,’ said Talleyrand, ‘and you break down her last wall; you fill up her last ditch.’—*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*

Let England, therefore, we say, plant her standard on every unoccupied spot, if insular so much the better, of the habitable globe. The expense is trifling when compared with the inestimable advantages which will one day result to her from these outstretched members of her little body. We well remember how the first establishment of New South Wales was deprecated, and its failure predicted. One of the most interesting books that we know of, is the Journal of Colonel Collins, detailing the progress of

of that settlement from its commencement. Nearly of equal interest would be a correct diary of proceedings in this new colony, so different in the principles of its formation from all others, of modern nations at least, that we are acquainted with. The settlers have undertaken to occupy the territory at their own expense, and to depend solely on their own resources. They can derive no benefit, as the sister settlement did, from the cheap and nearly gratuitous labour of convicts, nor from the sale of their produce to the government, to feed those convicts together with the civil establishment, and a large body of troops, thus creating an immediate demand for agricultural products, highly beneficial to the progress of an incipient colony. With the exception of a handful of troops, to guard them against any sudden attack of the natives, the settlers on Swan River have nothing of the kind to stimulate their exertions. The want of such a certain and steady demand may retard, but will not ultimately prevent, the progress to that state of prosperity, which we sincerely hope this little settlement is destined to attain. The rapid march of New South Wales to her present point is unexampled, and may chiefly be ascribed to convict labour. The present scheme may be considered as an experiment, which will ascertain how far, without that labour, the same end may be obtained; at any rate the result, if successful, will undoubtedly be the formation of a more respectable community. That of New South Wales, we regret to see, is divided into parties, turbulent among themselves, and troublesome to the government which has done so much for them. The demagogues, who are, of course, the stronger party there, begin to talk of their independence, and are clamouring for a legislative assembly and trial by jury.

We have a word to say on this point. Whenever a colony shall have arrived at that state of population and prosperity as to be able to protect itself against any ordinary hostile attack, and to show resistance to the rule of the mother-country sufficiently strong to make it less inconvenient to grant its independence than to compel the continuance of its allegiance, we deem the best policy would be to allow it to follow its own inclinations. The colonies of North America have taught us a lesson on that head, by which we ought to profit. They felt themselves qualified, and were ready and desirous to govern themselves, and would have shaken off their allegiance in a very short time, whether England had taxed their tea and their stamps or not. That proceeding furnished a tangible pretext for resistance, in the absence of which an imaginary pretext would not have been wanting. In truth, it is pretty much with colonies as with children: we protect and nourish them in infancy; we direct them in youth, and leave them to their own guidance

guidance in manhood; and the best conduct to be observed is to part with them on friendly terms, offer them wholesome advice and assistance when they require it, and keep up an amicable intercourse with them. New South Wales, however, we need hardly say, has not arrived at that state of maturity, which would warrant her separation on such terms; and we have no doubt that, if suffered to indulge her whim, she would very soon, like the prodigal son, be reduced to 'feed on husks,' and, having felt the folly of her disobedience, would, like him, return to her parent, confessing that she had sinned, and imploring forgiveness.

As to the granting to this, or to any other colony, a legislative assembly, we conceive that his Majesty's government, with the examples of Canada, Jamaica, and some others of the West India islands before its eyes, will hesitate in giving way to any such clamorous demand. From the peculiar materials and construction of society in New South Wales, we deem it of all others the settlement least fit for receiving such an institution. To grant them their boon would be, in our opinion, to entail on them the greatest misfortune that could befall a society so constituted.* There would be, in the first instance, a constant struggle for power between it and the officer appointed by, and responsible to, the Crown; a perpetual lurking jealousy, lest one should be trenching on the ill-defined privileges of the other. What one proposed the other would oppose; and the best plans for the improvement and melioration of the colony would be nullified by constant impediments and counteractions; while heart-burnings, ill-humour, and party contests, would pervade the whole frame of society. The Cape of Good Hope, too, with its fifty-five thousand of white inhabitants, scattered over a surface of about five hundred by three hundred miles, is petitioning for a legislative assembly—that is to say, the English part of the population, which does not amount to more than about two thousand, or rather the two hundred out of these two thousand who may be established in Cape Town; nay, properly speaking, it is a part only of these two hundred who are calling out for a house of representatives. The Dutch inhabitants are perfectly satisfied to be governed by an officer appointed by the Crown. All they wish for is, that the affairs of the colony may be administered by an honest and upright governor—one who has no resentments to

* Of the total population of New South Wales, which, in round numbers, may be taken at 40,000, the Free Emigrants amount only to about

Native Children	7,000
Emancipated Convicts	8,000
Convicts in Servitude	20,000

40,000

gratify

gratify—who shows no undue partiality towards one set of persons over another—has no favourites to enrich at the expense of the public—no whims to indulge, occasioning a wasteful and useless expenditure of the revenues—but one who, in all his measures, has clearly and obviously no other view than that of the interests of the colony at heart. Such a one will prove a far greater blessing to a small colony than a representative assembly, whose members are but too apt to sacrifice the public to their individual interests.

We happen to know that the most respectable natives of the Cape of Good Hope are of opinion that the state of their small society, which is very much connected by ties of relationship, is not at all suited for the boon we have bestowed on them by the introduction of that institution which we value so highly—trial by jury; and that, in the country districts, it is found highly inconvenient, and in some places next to impossible, to collect a sufficient number of qualified persons to form a jury. To crown the absurdity of every little society wishing to govern themselves, the cod-fishers of Newfoundland are sighing after a representative government: we imagine we shall next hear of the liberated negroes of Sierra Leone petitioning to be represented by a black House of Assembly.

With regard to Jamaica, and some other of the West India islands, which have their Houses of Assembly, their systematic opposition to every measure proposed by the king's government, considering the precarious situation in which they stand, appears to us to be little short of insanity. They seem not to know that they are tottering on the very brink of a volcano—which the first blast of a trumpet from St. Domingo would cause to explode, and bury in one common ruin man, woman, and child. As it is, nothing but the king's armed force preserves them from destruction. And yet these silly people have been so unwise as to refuse to continue the supplies which they are bound to furnish to the troops who protect them; nay, even to throw out something in the shape of a threat to sever themselves from the mother-country, and seek for protection elsewhere. Is it possible that these people can, for a moment, forget that England protects them and their sugars at the expense of her other colonies? Do they not know that if she were to admit the sugars of the East Indies and the Mauritius, on the payment of equal duties, or, still more effectually, if she were to levy a discriminating duty on West India sugars, the sun of their prosperity would immediately set? Let the House of Assembly look at these things, and desist in time from using or abusing its little authority by a vexatious opposition to his majesty's government.

We

We are much less surprised at the proceedings of the Canadian House of Assembly. The evil in that quarter may be easily traced to the impolicy of granting to any conquered colony the exercise of its own laws and language when ceded at the end of a war. It is utterly inconsistent that men so completely on a level, in other respects, as Englishmen and Frenchmen, should live together in peace and harmony under a double set of laws, one for the conquerors and another for the conquered; nor is the keeping up two distinct languages likely to forward the amalgamation of such colonists. By the recommendation of the commissioners who were sent to the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch court of justice was superseded by the introduction of English laws, administered by English judges; previously to which it had been ordered that all law proceedings should be held and registered in the English language; that the same language should be adopted in all legal writings, such as deeds, transfers of property, indentures, &c., the consequence of which has been, that almost the whole of the Dutch part of the population speak and write English, the children are all sent to English schools, and there is no doubt that the next generation will know nothing either of Dutch law or the Dutch language. We are at a loss to know why the same experiment has not been extended to the Mauritius, which remains to this day as completely French as when we first captured it; nor do we see any reason why the same practice, late as it is, should not be put in execution in Canada. We entertain not the least doubt that the result would be the same as at the Cape, and be attended with the greatest benefit both to the English and the French part of the population of the two colonies above-mentioned.

This digression has led us somewhat beyond our original intention;—but the subject is so important, that we may probably be induced to take an early opportunity of resuming it in greater detail than our present limits will allow. Indeed, we have no doubt the day is at hand when questions of colonial policy will claim and obtain in the discussions of the cabinet, of the parliament, and of the press of this empire, a much larger space than circumstances have hitherto permitted them to occupy. The attention which the state and prospects of our colonies have begun to excite on the continent of Europe—and particularly the number of new works on such topics published in France—are important ‘signs of the times.’

ART. III.—*Letters from the West ; containing Sketches of Scenery, Manners, and Customs ; and Anecdotes connected with the First Settlements of the Western Sections of the United States.* By the Hon. Judge Hall. London. 8vo. 1828.

WE have often wished for some account of these ‘ Western Sections ’ of the United States from the pen of a genuine American ; and here we have caught one at last, such as he is, in the person of an honourable Judge, and, we believe, a jobber of land into the bargain. We acknowledge that we never had much doubt as to the general accuracy of the statements made by English travellers in those regions—(making due abatements for some little exaggeration, perhaps on the score of prejudice, or, in one or two instances, from motives of interest) ;—yet, as the Americans have always affected to throw discredit on the reports of such travellers, when they happened to be unfavourable to the state of the country and the people, and have shown their ill-humour, with us for believing anything they set down, we were not only willing but very glad to hear what a native Republican, of the highest grade, might have to allege in their favour. The little additional light, however, which his Honour’s very limited travels and still more contracted talent for observation have thrown on the state of these countries, really turns out more confirmatory than contradictory of the worst conclusions which could have been drawn from the accounts of any of his English predecessors.

The fact of the honourable author uniting with his judicial character that of land-jobber, it is right we should say, is not directly avowed ; but enough oozes out, in the course of his Letters, to show that ‘ his lot is cast in the Western States,’ and that he has a deep interest in their improvement—which, of course, he states to have made a much greater progress than we could have thought the mud-bottoms of the Wabash or the prairies of Illinois were capable of. One of his many reasons for visiting these regions, he tells us, was the uncertainty in which he remained as to their actual state and condition,—some having lauded them as the best of all earthly paradises, while others denounced them as a hell ; some ascribing to them health, fertility, and innumerable commercial advantages, while others persisted in filling them with swamps, agues, tomahawks, and musquitoes.—His Honour, therefore, exclaims, ‘ I will see into it, said I ;’ and off he sets, we know not how, from his native Pennsylvania ; but in a moment we find him ‘ fairly embarked, and gliding merrily down the Ohio,’ on the banks of which is situated Shawnee-town, the ‘ ultima Thule’ of his travels whether by land or by water. We are justified, therefore, in denying that

that his Honour the Judge has fulfilled his promise of 'seeing into it.' What, in truth, could a man see, even supposing him to have the gift of observation, between Pittsburgh and Shawneetown, whilst 'gliding merrily down the Ohio' in a *keel-boat*, 'navigated by eight or ten of those half-horse and half-alligator gentry commonly called Ohio boatmen?' The 'drolleries' of these nondescript animals indeed, and their 'River Melodies,' are recorded at great length by our venerable author; but we must cut them short—contenting ourselves with one sweet stanza which lulled his Honour to sweet sleep, as the rowers were 'tugging at the oar,' timing their strokes to the cadence:—

- 'Some rows up, but we rows down,
All the way to Shawnee-town:
Pull away—pull away.'

We readily believe all that he says of the sagacity and acuteness of his countrymen in mercantile and other speculations, and also about their keenness in discerning eligible places to settle in; and only wonder that ~~we~~ should have been fated to discover so remarkable a specimen of dulness in the shape of a Judge, born and bred in the midst of a society so lynx-eyed, that every old woman, he tells us, knows 'that Pittsburgh is full of coal and smoke; that in New Orleans the people play cards on Sunday; that living is dear at Washington city, and codfish cheap at Boston; and that Irishmen are plenty in Pennsylvania, and pretty girls in Rhode Island.'

It is rather fortunate for our author that he has no taste for antiquities, as a trip down a very small portion of the Ohio would not have gratified such a propensity. 'I should tread,' says he, 'with as much reverence over the mausoleum of a Shawnee chief (that is, provided he could find one), as among the catacombs of Egypt; and would speculate with as much delight on the site of an Indian village (alas! no such thing is now to be found within the limits of his travels) as in the gardens of Tivoli, or the ruins of Herculaneum.' What his other acquirements may be we are left to guess. He has certainly no talent for observation. Of the produce of the country, natural or artificial—of the manners, employments, amusements of these back settlers, of their condition and state of society—he tells us little or nothing. He affects to have some little taste for poetry, though we suspect he mistakes his forte, as music (which he despises) and poetry generally go together: the honourable Judge, indeed, avows that he 'finds no music so inspiring as the cracking of a coachman's whip.' He tries his hand, however, to hitch into rhyme some of Brother Jonathan's classical names of rivers and creeks:

'O'er

- ' O'er *Horsetail* when the stream was low,
Waded a bold misguided cow ;
False *Horsetail* ! caverns lurk below
Thy wave, that glitters joyously!
- ' Soon *Horsetail* heard a dreadful sound ;
Dead Man and *Big Seweekly* groaned ;
Raccoon and *Little Beaver* moaned ;
And ' *Possum* joined the symphony.' &c. &c.

This is Hall *versus* Wordsworth !

- ' Helvellyn far into the clear blue sky
Carried the lady's voice—old Skiddaw blew
His speaking-trumpet ; back out of the clouds
Of Glaramara southward came the voice—
And Kirkstone tossed it from his misty head.'

Of his legal talents the honourable Judge Hall gives no proofs ; neither do we discover the extent of his knowledge in ancient or modern languages. In one of the latter, however, there is a little monosyllable that has perplexed the intellects of the sage exceedingly. In approaching the rapids of the Ohio, he says,—

' The word *Chute* may puzzle you as much as it has puzzled me ; but it is the very identical word used by most of the writers on this subject. Whether it be a Greek, an Indian, or a Kentucky phrase, I cannot inform you—I have sought its derivation in all the languages with which I am conversant, without effect. In point of fact, it is applied to channels through which a boat may be said to *shoot* with the swiftness of an arrow,'—p. 185.*

To *shoot* a fall, we must admit, is an ingenious and happy suggestion, though we believe neither ' Greek' nor ' Kentuckian ;' nor is it quite new ; for we remember hearing the old steward of the household, when showing the portrait of Sir Francis Drake, and carefully pointing out to the pistol which the gallant admiral holds in his hand, gravely assure a group of tourists that ' that there pistol was the very pistol with which the admiral *shot* the Gulf of Florida.'

The Judge, however, if not much of a scholar, sometimes attempts to be witty and very facetious ; and even goes so far as to quiz Brother Jonathan on his ' blue licks,' ' lost creeks,' and ' muddy bottoms.'

' I once travelled through Illinois when the waters were high ; and when I was told that *Little Mary* would stop me, and that to get by *Big Mary* was impossible, I supposed them to be attractive damsels, who like beauteous Circe of old, amused themselves with playing tricks upon travellers. But lo ! instead of blushing, blooming, and

* ' Had the author consulted the French dictionary, he would have seen that the word *chute* is, Anglice, *fall*.'—Quoth the *Printer's Devil* (in the London edition of the Judge's work.)

melodious maids, I found torrents cold as ice, and boisterous as furies. Mary is too sweet a name to be thus profaned.'—pp. 209, 210.

His Honour is, no doubt, exceedingly gallant, and his devotion to the 'lovely ladies' so ardent, as sometimes to interfere with the resolution he made at setting out, of 'seeing into' the state and appearance of the country. Thus his time at Cincinnati was so much occupied with one of these 'lovelies,' 'a companion of his dancing days,' that 'I had only time,' says he, 'to discover that I was in a town of ample size and goodly appearance, where I met genteel forms and busy faces.' 'This may be one way of 'seeing into it,' but will not go far in letting his readers know what they may expect to 'see' in Cincinnati. Lest, indeed, his correspondent should suppose him capable of such bad taste as to be making remarks on the country, or 'thinking of statistics, with a fair lady at his side,' he plainly tells him—'I would not give one "merry glance of mountain maid" for the plaudits of the literary world. . . . So I shall write when I please, and court the girls when I can'—provided, one might hint, you please when you write, Mr. Judge, and when you kiss, are silent. We are, however, old-fashioned enough to doubt whether it is quite decorous in so grave a personage as this to publish to all the world how he delights in ogling the cherry-checked damsels at their chamber windows, as he sits lolling on horseback, in passing through the villages, even though his vanity may have led him to flatter himself that 'their sparkling eyes were directed towards him from every quarter.' Well may this worthy suspect, as he seems to do, in his first letter, that 'it might be questioned whether he had reached the years of discretion.' With us, however, it is no question. We repeat that a more silly book,—one more stuffed with boyish levities, unbecoming the author's age and character, we have rarely met with. His impertinence, with regard to England, was to be expected from the general tone assumed by American writers, and we were prepared for it; but his impertinence towards English travellers quite amused us. 'I will not imitate them,' he says, 'as, in the character of an *American* traveller, it will be expected of me that I tell the truth, though the former would not have imposed any such obligation.' (p. 178.)

'A disregard for time or place, when *profit* allures to distant regions,' his Honour the Judge tells us, is a 'national trait' in the American character; 'a Yankee will live where another man would starve,' and will flourish 'even in the midst of ruin.' This trait of character, he would give us to understand, will account for the vast crowds which pursue their way to that country in which his own 'lot is cast,' and where science and refinement have made such progress as to have sent already (we suppose to Congress) 'the

‘the statesman upon whose accents listening thousands have hung enraptured—the gentleman whose politeness pleases—and the maiden whose loveliness delights.’ To all this we have no objection if the Americans think so; but when the Honourable Judge proceeds to draw his grand comparison between the irruptions of the barbarians of the north of Europe, and the emigrations that are levelling the forests of the western sections of the United States, he must not expect to deceive either the European or the American reader. ‘The arm of flesh,’ he says, ‘was visible in all the operations of the northern savages. The country gained by violence was held by force; the blood-stained soil produced nothing but “man and steel, the soldier and his sword.” What a contrast,’ he exclaims, ‘does our happy country present to scenes like these!—people flocking from all nations, sitting down quietly together, and forming constitutions, without bloodshed or dissension.’ He very speedily, however, upsets his own statement, by telling us that, instead of ‘sitting down quietly, without bloodshed or dissension,’ the settlers were constantly engaged in ‘all the horrors of Indian warfare,’ which ‘were encountered to the fullest extent;’ that ‘the first settlers waged continual war; they fought *pro aris et focis*.’ We presume the learned Judge means, that the native Indians, and not the American settlers, fought for hearths and altars; at least all the world knows that the former were driven from *their* homes and massacred in cold blood by the latter. Again, we are told of the crowds sitting down in quiet and peaceful possession of the country—we presume of that part of it named the ‘Bloody Ground, from the exterminating character of its conflicts;’ and of ‘the severe engagements, in which the savages were always repulsed:’ to be sure they were!—the tomahawk was no match for the axe and the rifle. These scenes of slaughter and extermination, we are coolly told, were accomplished at a time when ‘fanaticism had vanished;’ when ‘the principles of the revolution had engendered liberal and original modes of thinking’—it was then, he says, that ‘the rifle and the axe of the Kentuckian were necessarily employed’—when ‘the savage was to be expelled!’ What a monstrous justification is this from the pen of a judge!—what notions of justice and humanity must that man possess who finds, in the extirpation of a whole race of men, an apology on the plea of necessity, and ‘a happy contrast!’ *Pro aris et focis*, truly! we do not envy their fire-sides—and altars they have none.

This happy country, however, *per fas et nefas*, has been wrested from its rightful owners; and we should now look in vain for a red Indian in Kentucky or Illinois. A more industrious and a more intelligent race, we admit, has succeeded to the property of the soil, and it is very natural for one who is deeply interested in peopling

peopling it, and thus to create a demand for acres, to represent the district in the brightest colours. 'It is the refuge of thousands,' says he, 'who have fled from poverty, from tyranny, and from fanaticism'—he might have added, from their creditors, from the pillory, and from the gallows.

'— All the *honours* that can fly from us
Shall on them settle,'

is still the rule, we believe;—and the Judge cannot need to be told that our quotation is from *All's well that ends well*. It is now, indeed, some time since we were told that 'there is no gallows in Pennsylvania;' and his Honour the Judge publishes the happy-intelligence, that the last solitary 'vile whipping-post,' on the banks of the Ohio, was torn from its place, and launched into the river, by the 'unenlightened mariners' of his 'keel-boat;' who, among their other 'drolleries,' seem to have amused his Honour vastly by the observation, that 'them that wanted to be whipped *mought* go after it' (p. 90). O Jephtha! judge of Shawnee-town!

When the Judge states that 'crowds of unhappy beings, whose homes have been rendered odious or unsafe by the mad ambition of a few aspiring sovereigns, have been driven hither,' we think he might have designated these 'crowds,' without doing them much injustice, as the voluntary victims of sedition, treason, and rebellion; and when he exults that, in his happy country, there is 'no Holy Alliance trafficking in human blood; no sceptre to be obeyed, no mitre to be worshipped,' we would remind him that there is, however, the unholy backwoodsman shedding Indian blood without remorse; that he has frequently himself represented 'profit' and filthy lucre to be the god of an American's idolatry—to whom all pay obedience; we would also remind him, that there is not only no 'mitre,' but no place of worship, no baptismal nor burial rites; but that when any of these 'unhappy beings' die, they are hurried into the woods, and covered over with a few feet of loose soil, not deep enough to prevent their being devoured by the wolves and bears; or they are thrown, like dogs, into a ditch.

In these backwoods of America, the 'unhappy beings' who crowd thither have at least one consolation; they are assured by this honourable Judge, that they will learn 'the practical value of that liberty which they only knew before in theory.' They will learn here, that 'although the Englishman may be *börn a freeman*, the American only is *bred a freeman*;' a distinction which his Honour does not condescend to explain, and which we confess our inability to comprehend—unless it be that the *bred freeman* assumes to himself the *liberty* of flogging an unfortunate nigger

nigger whenever he pleases ; of scalping an Indian when he can catch him ; gouging out the eye of a fellow-citizen, or despatching a criminal according to ' Linch's law.'

' No commentator has taken any notice of *Linch's Law*, which was once the *lex loci* of the frontiers. Its operation was as follows : when a horse thief, a counterfeiter, or any other desperate vagabond, infested a neighbourhood, evading justice by cunning, or by a strong arm, or by the number of his confederates, the citizens formed themselves into a "*regulating company*," a kind of holy brotherhood, whose duty was to purge the community of its unruly members. Mounted, armed, and commanded by a leader, they proceeded to arrest such notorious offenders as were deemed fit subjects of exemplary justice ; their operations were generally carried on in the night. Squire Birch, who was personated by one of the party, established his tribunal under a tree in the woods, and the culprit was brought before him, tried, and generally convicted ; he was then tied to a tree, lashed without mercy, and ordered to leave the country within a given time, under pain of a second visitation. It seldom happened that more than one or two were thus punished ; their confederates took the hint and fled, or were admonished to quit the neighbourhood.'—pp. 291, 292.

We should not much like to have a cause tried before his Honour, Judge Hall. It is quite ludicrous to observe how ingeniously he sometimes contrives to refute his own assertions ; to contradict in one page the facts or arguments he has adduced in another ; and when he labours most to establish his point, how certain he is to upset it by some glaring inconsistency. A few instances will suffice to exemplify this peculiar talent of the learned Judge :— ' Pittsburgh and its vicinity,' he says, ' may proudly challenge comparison in beauty of scenery and healthfulness of situation.' (p. 21.) Then we have a long description of valleys clothed in the richest vegetation—streams embellishing and enlivening an endless variety of Nature's loveliest pictures—and at last, animated by his own description, he exclaims, ' What a spot for a poet !' This spot, by the way, is pointed out as being close to the ' yawning caverns of Coal-hill ;' one of whose ' hideous mouths,' the coal and its engaging qualities, a few pages further on, are thus described :—

' It contains a large proportion of sulphur, and is hard, heavy, and of a deep shining black colour ; it is easily ignited, and produces an intense heat, but is very dirty, emits immense volumes of smoke, and throws up an unusual quantity of cinders and dust. These latter fill the atmosphere, and are continually falling in showers, to the great terror of strangers and sojourners, and with manifest injury to the dresses of the ladies and the white hands of eastern gentlemen. From this cause, everything in Pittsburgh wears a sombre hue ; even the

snow, as it falls, brings with it particles of cinder, and loses its purity by the connexion. But the people are now so used to the black and midnight appearance of objects in their city, as scarcely to be aware of its inconvenience; so that I once heard a lady exclaim, on witnessing a snow storm *out of town*, La! what *white snow*?—pp. 28, 29.

Such are the lovely valleys of 'Pittsburgh and its vicinity!' and the poetical spot is not only 'enveloped in its eternal veil of smoke,' but, as a proof of its 'healthfulness,' we are told that this 'veil of smoke' is supposed to produce a disease 'of an unsightly and incurable deformity, resembling the *goitre*.'

The 'slang which English travellers adopt in relation to everything American,' wonderful to relate, has been used, 'even by our countrymen,' says the Judge, 'in relation to Shawnee-town.'—'Shawnee-town,' says one American, 'is subject to inundation by high water.'—'Shawnee town,' says another citizen, 'is subject to the inundations of the river; and during those of the winter and spring of 1813, the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their houses.' Our friend, Morris Birkbeck, was greatly surprised that the inhabitants should *te. xiously adhere* to a spot from which they are *annually driven* by inundation. 'The Quarterly Review, the sharpest thorn of all in the side of the honourable Judge Hall, has said, 'a dirk is the constant companion of every gentleman in Illinois,' which, of course, includes the good people of Shawnee. Now all this is wormwood to the Judge, who holds his court, and his estate too, at and near this much-abused town, so 'delightfully,' as he says, 'situate on the banks of the Ohio, a few miles below the mouth of the Wabash;' an 'elegant' and thriving town that contains one hundred houses, of which 'five or six are of brick, several of frame, and the remainder of log;' which has besides two printing-offices, two banks, and two taverns. The audacity of the wicked creatures capable of libelling so noble a city, that is to be, though it may happen to be placed on the mud-bank of the river, in a 'bottom,' and 'often insulated when not actually overflowed,' distresses his Honour very much; but as usual, by his peculiar mode of denying the charges, he proves the facts. The Judge shines as a witness.

'The waters begin to swell in February or March, and continue rising for several weeks. The greatest rise, from the lowest to the highest point, is about fifty feet. The greatest floods, of which we have any account, were in 1813 and 1815, when the water covered all the streets, and entered the lower apartments of the dwellings, reaching nearly to the second floors. Since that time the inhabitants have not been expelled by the conquering element, although the water annually covers the plain in the rear of the town, and advances in front to their very doors. The inconvenience and alarm occasioned by the inundations are not so great as might be supposed. The alarm

alarm is little, and that little is imaginary, because the irruption is not sudden, nor accompanied with any violent current, or destructive consequence; and the inconvenience is temporary, as the waters subside in a few days, and the soil being sandy, and its surface uneven, no moisture remains. A small deposit of decayed vegetable matter is left, but not enough to corrupt the atmosphere; and even this, before the weather becomes warm, loses its deleterious quality by evaporation, or yields its juices to the vegetable kingdom.—pp. 221, 222.

How refreshing, in this warm climate, to have plenty of water on all sides—in front, in the rear, and up two pair of stairs! How consoling to the present inhabitants, to be told that, in some ‘ages’ hence, a change will be effected ‘equally advantageous to the navigation and to the *health* of the country!’

His Honour is exceedingly indignant with an English doctor, of the name of Johnson, for having drawn a comparison between Pennsylvania and the western countries, in favour of the former, and for ‘slandering a country a thousand miles off.’ Another Englishman, of the name of Hulme, incurred his displeasure on the same ground; and Birkbeck, that ‘excellent author, whose intentions are always upright,’ is rebuked in gentle terms for having ‘fallen into the usual error;’ but, a Yankee writer having observed that the numerous graves found in the woods struck him as quite unusual elsewhere, ‘and indicating a sickliness of climate quite alarming,’ our trader in land is very much shocked, and exclaims, ‘*Et tu, Brute!*’ He enters into a long discussion, the object of which is to prove that, as all who live must die, the number of dead must exceed that of the living, and, therefore, the number of graves affords no proof of insalubrity of climate. He maintains stoutly that the climate is not unhealthy, and in the midst of his zeal, and with his usual regard for consistency, observes as follows (p. 369):—‘The miasma which creates *our autumnal fevers* is supposed to be produced by the decomposition of vast quantities of vegetable matter, the undisturbed accumulation of ages, which lie buried in the forests, and in the channels of water-courses.’

In short, the scope of the honourable Judge’s book is to exaggerate the advantages of the ‘western country,’ in order to allure settlers to the pestiferous prairies of Illinois, as delusive in terms as those employed by the two English emigrants,

————— ‘Birkbeck and Flower,

• A “quaker sly, and presbyterian sour,”

The motley groups, which he describes as crowding to the west, are not exactly such as would induce decent and respectable persons to join the society. They remind him, he says, of a song, inviting to a camp-meeting:—

‘Come hungry, come thirsty, come ragged, come bare,
Come filthy, come lousy, come just as you are.’—

Neither are the hardships and miseries these poor creatures endure on the journey, in dragging themselves and their little all through woods and swamps, ‘trudging knee-deep in the mire,’ exactly calculated to stimulate others to embark in the same undertaking; he is kind enough, however, to console them with a distant view, from the summit of some high hill, of the land of promise. ‘Tired souls!’ he exclaims, ‘they have probably, long ere this, surmounted their fatigues, and found a happy home in the land of plenty, where, surrounded with fat pigs and fat children, they enjoy the only true *otium cum dignitate*.’ What a seducing picture! the ease and the dignity of fat children mixing with a fat sow and a whole litter of pigs!—

‘Rolling with pleasure in a sensual sty.’

And this state of dignified ease, he would give us to understand, is attainable by all descriptions of men in the swamps of the Wabash, and the prairies of Illinois, ‘with very little labour.’ No wonder, then, that

‘The mighty stream has not emanated from a single fountain—it comes compounded of various elements, flowing from a thousand sources, mingling and combining their discordant materials into one great and living mass. Industry sends her sun-brown children, avarice her minions, ambition her aspirants, and sorrow her heavily-laden offspring. Never, since the days when a romantic religious enthusiasm allured all ages, sexes, and conditions to the shrine of a favourite saint, has the world witnessed such party-coloured hordes, peacefully pursuing a common path to a common destination.’—p. 308.

He states, it is true, that many of these are too sanguine. ‘The old men would be blessed with wealth, the young men with honour, and the girls with husbands;’ and others fancy ‘a thousand terrors;’ ‘they dream of interminable forests and pestilential swamps, and at every step fancy themselves surrounded by noxious vermin and beasts of prey.’ Neither of them, as for once he truly observes, are right in their estimate.

‘The advantages of the western country consist in the great fertility of the soil, the profusion of all the products of nature, whether of the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom, the cheapness of lands, and the *newness* of the country, which affords *room and opportunity* for enterprise. These, together with its commercial advantages, the total exemption from all taxes and political burthens, and the comparatively *small portion of labour* requisite to procure the *necessaries* of life, certainly render this a *desirable* home.’—p. 317.

This we believe to be a *pretty* accurate statement; but what are we to think of the intellect of the writer who, having asserted,
at

at p. 317, that with a 'small portion of labour,' the 'tired souls' may not only procure all the necessaries of life, but expect to wallow in wealth, enjoying ease and dignity among fat-pigs and fat children;—what are we to think of this person, when we find him in the self-same letter, a few pages afterwards, writing thus?—

'Well, and when the emigrant has reached his journey's end, what then? Why then, my dear Sir, he very often finds that he had better have stayed at home. *Labour, labour, labour, hard, heavy, incessant labour*, is the lot of him, who proclaims war against the forest.'—pp. 324, 325.

His Honour is very indignant, with the Edinburgh Review, for saying that 'they (the westerns) are hospitable to strangers, because they are seldom troubled with them, and because they have plenty of maize and smoked hams.' This he pronounces to be a gross libel, and full of falsehoods:—

'No country is more "troubled" with strangers than this; they swarm the land, spreading themselves over it in every direction; every stream is traced, every forest explored, and the taverns of every little village filled and overflowing with the crowds brought hither by emigration, by curiosity, or by business. Many of these are needy adventurers from the very land whose writers thus defame us; who, destitute of the means of subsistence, and ignorant of the country, are indebted to its inhabitants for food to support, and advice to guide their steps. The hospitality of the west is best known to those who have experienced it;

"Meat for keen famine, and the generous juice
That warms chill life, her charities produce."

But if that hospitality be caused by the abundance with which Heaven has blessed our prolific country, it springs from that which I suspect seldom troubles these Scotch gentry, and whose charities, by the same rule, ought to be very sparing. The critic might have found a better reason; it is, that their hearts are as generous as they are brave—the latter quality not being denied them even in "the fast-anchor'd isle." The same spirit which glowed at Chippeway, on Lake Erie, and at New Orleans, still illumines the shadows of our western forests; in war it produced daring achievements—in peace it warms the heart to deeds of charity and mercy.'—pp. 219, 220.

As for ourselves, we might be quite sure to come in for 'a pretty considerable' share of his Honour's indignation, for having exposed the fallacies made use of by Messrs. Birkbeck and Flower to entice the farmers of England from their houses and homes to settle in the neighbourhood of the much-abused Shawnee-town, its insulations and overflowings.' We verily believe if this second Daniel should catch any of our brethren attempting to settle on the mud-banks of the Wabash (which heaven forefend!) they would run some risk of being scalped or gouged.

The

The Judge, however, is by no means singular among his countrymen in the abuse so lavishly bestowed on us. Without any design of inflicting such a torment, the Quarterly would seem to act as a blister on some of our thin-skinned brethren. A good-natured joke is construed into a sneer; salutary advice into insult; the mention of some peculiar trait of national character, into ridicule; yet, with all their abuse and hatred, they read and reprint us. God knows this country has little cause to be satisfied with the conduct of America; she has taken every occasion to injure our commerce, (as we have shown in our last Number,) without benefiting her own; and her unjust and ungenerous attempt to wound us at a time when maintaining a struggle for existence, is too recent not to be remembered. We have been told of forbearance and of endeavours to conciliate the good will of the Americans. We cannot think there has been any want of forbearance on the part of England; but while every American publication almost teems with abuse of this country, it appears to us that we might as soon expect to conciliate one of the Judge's rattlesnakes as the partisans of such men as Adams and Clay, whose hatred towards England is notorious, and to whose sect or party the honourable Judge Hall evidently belongs. This judicial blockhead, indeed, goes out of his way to make his silly and impertinent sneers at Englishmen. The Irish, Dutch, and French, he says, 'amalgamate easily with our people, adopt our habits, and live happily among us. But not so John Bull.' We are exceedingly glad to hear it. Then John, it seems, 'has an odd propensity for quizzing the natives, and many a box on the ear and tweak of the nose this may cost the poor gentleman on his hapless way; till he finds out at last that it is just as foolish to meddle with the folks on shore, as to be fingering about their "striped bunting" at sea.' In the same style is the following:—

'There is no people in the world whose national character is better defined or more strongly marked than our own. If the European theory on this subject be correct, is it not a little strange that our Yankee tars, whether on board of a frigate or a privateer, should always *happen* to play the same game, when they come athwart an Englishman? Is it not a little singular, that Brown in the North, and Jackson in the South, who I suspect never saw each other in their lives, should always *happen* to handle Lord Wellington's veterans exactly after the same fashion? Accidents *will* happen in the best of families; but when an accident occurs in the same family repeatedly, we are apt to suspect that it runs in the blood.'—pp. 238, 239. Again, in commenting on the 'charge of national vanity' made by our brethren of the *Edinburgh Review*, he says:—

'If a foreigner, in passing through our country, grasps at every occasion to make invidious comparisons, sneering at its population, manners,

manners, and institutions, and extolling those of his own native land, nothing is said of *national vanity*. When it was determined in England to tear the "striped bunting" from the mast-heads of our "fir-built frigates," and to "sweep the Yankee cock-boats from the ocean," no *national vanity* was displayed at all; when the very Review in question tells us that England is the bulwark of religion, the arbiter of the fates of kingdoms, the last refuge of freedom, there is no *national vanity* in the business—not a spice. But if a plain backwoodsman ventures to praise his own country, because he finds all his wants supplied, and his rights defended, while he is not pestered with tax-gatherers and excisemen; is not devoured by fox-hunting priests, pensioners, and paupers; sees no dragoons galloping about his cottage, and is allowed to vote for whom he pleases to represent him—all of which he has good reason to believe is ordered differently in another country—this is a "*disgusting display of national vanity*." If he ventures to exhibit a shattered limb, or a breast covered with scars, and to tell that he received these honourable marks in defence of his native land, on an occasion when the "*best troops in the world*" fled before the valour of undisciplined freemen, led by a Jackson* or a Brown, this is *very disgusting*.—pp. 120, 121.

The 'hero of New Orleans' is now at the top of the tree, but how long he may maintain his elevated situation, against the intrigues of the Clays and the Adamses, is another question. The American statesman 'is but born to die' and be forgotten. The

* What the exploits of this

. . . General Jackson,
'Whom the English turned their backs on,'

may have been in his 'bloody conflicts' with the native Indians, we profess not to know; but we do know that his conduct at New Orleans, for which he has been so applauded, was not such as, in the English army, would have promoted the captain of a company to a majority. 'On the approach of the 85th regiment,' says Major-General Keane, 'to the point of attack, the enemy, favoured by the darkness of the night, concealed themselves under a high fence which separated the fields, and calling to the men as friends, under pretence of being part of our own force, offered to assist them in getting over, which was no sooner accomplished than the 85th found itself in the midst of very superior numbers, who, discovering themselves, called on the regiment immediately to surrender. The answer was an instantaneous attack; a more extraordinary conflict has perhaps never occurred, absolutely hand to hand, both officers and men. It terminated in the repulse of the enemy, with the capture of thirty prisoners. A similar finesse was attempted with the 95th regiment, which met the same treatment.' The enemy thus repulsed, collected a large column, and was advancing towards our centre, but on Colonel Dale endeavouring to execute his orders to move forward and use the bayonet, 'the crafty enemy,' says the General, 'would not meet him; seeing the steadiness of his small body, gave it a heavy fire, and quickly retired.' The enemy now collected the whole of his force to make a last effort, but Colonel Thornton, moving forwards with a firm determination of charging, 'appalled the enemy, who, from the lesson he had received on the same ground in the early part of the evening, thought it prudent to retire, and did not again dare to advance. From the best information I can obtain, the enemy's force amounted to five thousand men, and was commanded by Major-General Jackson.'—And from this time to the day when our army thought fit to retire unmolested from the swamps into which they never ought to have gone, the 'hero of New Orleans' never showed himself in the field, but kept behind his entrenchments. In this we have no doubt he acted prudently, but not in any way to entitle him to the title of 'hero.'

Monroes,

Monroes, and Madisons, and Jeffersons, are sunk into the common herd; and the memory of Washington will probably be nearly extinct before the present century expires. His Honour the Judge, with his usual blundering, has unintentionally shown that the common vice of all democracies, modern as well as ancient, is neglect, indifference, and ingratitude towards those who have done them the best service; and although he means to represent, as in duty bound, the government of the United States to be the best of all possible governments, and Illinois, with its 'lost creeks,' 'dismal swamps,' 'cane brakes,' and 'mud bottoms,' the best of states, yet, with the philosophical nonchalance of Pangloss, he admits that men will die of autumnal fevers in the one, and in poverty and neglect from the ingratitude of the other. All, however, goes well in this best of countries, as is proved, among many other instances, in that of General Neville, who, 'like the Chevalier Bayard,' of whom the Judge has heard something, is said by him to have had a 'heart above fear, and an integrity without reproach;' who 'thought, felt, and acted with the pride, the enthusiasm, and the energy of a soldier;' who was an active citizen, a liberal promoter of all public improvements, and a careful guardian of the rights of his fellow-citizens—the friend of Washington and Hamilton. This man, who had done great service in the revolution, and who 'in prosperity was idolized, was in adversity forsaken;' and not only so, but 'stripped in his old age of an office on which he depended for subsistence;' and thus robbed and ruined, this good and useful man 'retired into Pennsylvania, where he lived in indigence and died in obscurity.' The fate of another revolutionary leader, General St. Clair, furnishes another striking example of democratical ingratitude. An American force, under this officer, had been defeated in the woods and wilderness of the Ohio by the *savages*, as the Honourable Judge Hall invariably calls the native Indians. 'He was tried, admired, blamed, applauded, and condemned!'

'The distinguished reputation gained by General St. Clair in the revolutionary war was insufficient to sustain him under this reverse of fortune. His popularity declined, his abilities were doubted, and his services no longer required. He retired to an obscure residence among the mountains of Pennsylvania. Here, in the most abject poverty, in a miserable cabin, upon a sterile and dreary waste, among rocks and precipices, (fit emblems of his career!) he dragged out a wretched existence, visited only by his sorrows,—except when a solitary traveller, impelled by curiosity to witness that which one of the ancients has pronounced to be a noble spectacle, penetrated the intricacies of the Laurel Mountain, to behold a great man in adversity.

'The general who had commanded armies, the governor who had ruled a province, the patriot who had nobly dared in the noblest of causes,

causes, endured these calamities in the country which had witnessed his deeds, and reaped the harvest of his exertions. He endured them without a friend to soften his bitterness, without a domestic to administer to his wants. Such is the fate of an *unsuccessful leader*, over whose fate the passage of a single cloud obscures the brilliance of a long career of glory, and is followed by ruin, darkness, and desolation!'—pp. 160, 161.

Judges, too, it seems, as well as Generals, are liable to the neglect and ingratitude of the rulers of republican states. Judge Addison, with 'a fine mind and great attainments; an accomplished scholar, great in theology as well as law, pursued a dignified course, equally serviceable to the country and honourable to himself;' and what was his reward?

'He became obnoxious to a dominant faction; was impeached, condemned, and hurled from a seat to which he had given dignity. Such are the effects of party spirit; its venom, like a poisonous miasm, pervades the whole atmosphere in which it is generated, and creates a pestilence which sweeps worth and worthlessness to a common grave.'

Our Judge, however, the honourable Judge Hall, has the consolation to know, that his predecessors in the western wilderness have been more fortunate. Steele Semple was 'a man of stupendous genius;' James Ross 'has few equals;' and Brakenridge, 'the eccentric, highly-gifted Brakenridge, celebrated for his wit, his frolicsome propensities, and strange adventures,—who cracked his jokes at the bar, and on the bench of the Supreme Court, as freely as at his own fireside;' and some half-dozen other 'droll fellows,' whose names are equally known to fame, 'exhibit,' we are told, 'a galaxy of eloquence and learning,' and shine with 'great brilliancy' on the bench and at the bar of Pittsburgh, in spite of 'her dingy aspect.' Whether the Honourable Judge Hall is destined to have his name enrolled among those worthies, and transferred into the same 'milky way,' which sheds so clear a light through the dingy atmosphere that hovers over this Birmingham of the back woods, time only can determine; but the impression which the perusal of these 'Letters from the West' has left on our minds, is, that, should his ambition lead him to aspire to a place in that brilliant circle, it will be only in the shape of an opaque nebula *inter stellas minores*.

Enough of this Judge Hall and 'the West.' Since we have been seduced into any allusion to the soreness of brother Jonathan under anything like criticism of the *minor moralia*, we shall venture to say one word more on that score in parting with this judicial luminary. How happens it that the Americans, those grand-souled equality people, are, five out of ten of them, such despicable *tuft-hunters* when they make their appearance in the old world?

ART.

ART. IV.—*The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham.* By Robert Surtees, Esq. 3 vols. Folio. Lond. 1816—1828.

‘**N**OR rough, nor barren, are the winding ways
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers—’

The poet who said this, gathered among those ways an amaranthine wreath for himself. Mr. George Dyer* has expressed a similar opinion, very beautifully, in prose. ‘It is no uncommon thing,’ says he, ‘to hear pursuits of this kind madet he subject of ridicule by men of fancy. What may not be so treated? But their importance and utility cannot be denied. It is not, perhaps, desirable to see men of the first genius shooting with this bow, because their sinews are formed for essays more pleasing and illustrious. But the scope of the antiquary is still wide and large. To his patient toil and plodding perseverance, the chronologist, the biographer, the historian, and the poet, stand eminently indebted; and works the most splendid in form, and which are constructed for the admiration of posterity, rise out of ordinary documents and researches, which may appear unpromising and trifling. Who can calculate on the consequence of a single date, sometimes to an individual, sometimes to a family, and sometimes even to the public?—*χαρις μικροισιν οπηδει*. Monuments, and their inscriptions, considered, in another point of view, as efforts of expiring mortality, which sighs for a little remembrance beyond the grave; or as tributes of surviving relatives and friends, who labour to preserve a name which they wish not to be quite obliterated, do but favour a wish natural to the human heart—a desire incident to the best and purest part of our species. Under the greatest debility of his frame, and amidst even a wearisomeness of existence, man still feels the tender and endearing tie of life, and is solicitous not to be forgotten; and he who preserves a monument from mouldering into ruin—who records a name, or who rescues an inscription that is nearly effaced, humours a useful propensity, the universal passion; and he is entitled, in his turn, not to be overlooked as a trifler, or as a labourer about nothing—*operare nihil agendo*.’

Even the humblest labourers among the ruins of time, such as the Old Mortalities of the Gentleman’s Magazine, are entitled to the respectful consideration which Mr. Dyer thus claims for them. But the local historian is sure of obtaining the gratitude of posterity, if he perform his task with faithful diligence: his name becomes far more intimately and lastingly connected with the city or district, the memorials of which he has collected, than that of any personage, however illustrious, who derives his title from it; and he erects for himself a more durable monument in

* History of Cambridge, vol. i., pp. 27, 28.

perishable paper than could be constructed of marble or brass. His work would have a great and continually increasing value within the narrow sphere of its subject, even if it were confined to that sphere; but it must be very imperfectly executed, if it does not contain some matter of illustration for the national annals, for the history of manners, for literature, philology, natural history, and various other departments of knowledge. No magazine is more miscellaneous in its contents than a book like this before us, which, though strictly methodical in its structure, is nevertheless, and of necessity, a farrago in folio. It is to be liked 'the better therefore,' as King Henry's eldest son in the ballad was, for the heterogeneous legitimacy of his features; especially when, as in the present case, the farrago is brought together by one who is endowed, not only with the erudition and the perseverance required for such an undertaking, but also with such talents and genius as seldom condescend so to be employed; and with a playfulness of characteristic humour, which every now and then breaks out like a gleam of sunshine, to cheer his own patient labour, and excite the reader to a smile when least expecting to be so surprised.

The general History of Durham is, in this respect, unlike that of any other county—that it has a thread of continuity in the succession of its bishops. No Rowland has given a map of it as it existed before the flood; and almost as little is to be said of its ante-ecclesiastical history as of its ante-diluvian. That portion of the bishopric which lies between the Tees and the Tyne, formed part of the Brigantian territory. The districts of Norham, Holy Island, and Bedlington, were occupied by the Ottadini. In the division of the Northumbrian kingdom, during the Heptarchy, Durham seems to have belonged to Deira; and the daylight of its history dawns when Oswald planted the cross in front of the army which had gathered round him to recover the throne of his fathers. The struggle appears to have been not merely between the heir of the kingdom, and one who had obtained it by conquest, but between the new and the old systems of religion; and the Christian king, after his victory, sent for missionaries from Scotland to complete the conversion of his kingdom. The first who undertook the office retired from it in despair, or in disgust. He was succeeded by St. Aidan, a monk of Iona: it is worthy of a passing remark, that this name is identified with Eudo, Otho, and Madoc—such are the mutations of language! The new faith must have spread slowly, if it had been propagated only by Aidan's exertions; for when he preached, it was in an unintelligible tongue, which Oswald interpreted to the congregation. When a place of abode was offered for himself and his companions, the saint made choice of Holy Island, then called Lindisfarne, to distinguish it from the other

other Ferne Islands, the little rivulet Lindis flowing into it at low water, from the main land ; and there Aidan's successor, Finan, built, or, in Saxon phrase, *betimbered*, a humble edifice, thatched with reeds. Such was the poor origin of the see of Durham. Oswald having become a popular saint, after he was slain in battle, a head was exhibited on the obverse of the capitular seal of Durham as that of the royal founder of the see ; but Mr. Surtees suspects, that this *caput Sancti Oswaldi* had originally performed the functions of a Jupiter Tonans, such appropriations of antique gems being not uncommon in those ages.

In those days, the limits of a diocese and a kingdom were co-extensive, as then, and for some time afterwards, were those of a parish and an estate. The abbots of Lindisfarne defended the ritual and the independence of their church against the assumed authority of Rome ; but Rome prevailed. The Culdee abbot in consequence withdrew, taking with him the monks who adhered to their old usages, and part of St. Aidan's reliques ; and two of his successors fixed their residence at York, and took from thence their episcopal title. The turbulent temper of St. Wilfrid served as the cause, and the inconvenient extent of the diocese as the pretext, for erecting Lindisfarne into a separate see ; and the division was perpetuated. St. Cuthbert became the second bishop of the new diocese ; in the wooden church of Lindisfarne he had his first sepulture ; and his first translation when that humble edifice was replaced by a stone cathedral, roofed with lead, in the time of his immediate successor. Lindisfarne was now the seat of learning as well as of sanctity ; and when King Ceolwulf endowed it with large possessions, abdicated his throne, retired thither, and introduced into the convent the use of ale and wine, the manner of life soon became comfortable enough to allure the idle and the dissolute, as well as to invite the weak and the studious. Unfortunately for those who, either for the love of luxury or of learning, had taken up their abode in such institutions, the wealth, the stores, (including those of the cellar,) which were to be found there, always attracted the Danes in their invasions. Lindisfarne was plundered and burnt by them in one of their earliest descents upon the coast ; and, in the calamitous beginning of Alfred's reign, the danger of a second spoliation and massacre was so great, that the bishop and his monks abandoned the cathedral for ever, taking with them their treasures, and, as the greatest of all, the body of St. Cuthbert, which then commenced its travels. After seven years' wandering, they rested at Chester-le-Street. There they laid the foundation of a new cathedral ; and Guthred, whom Alfred had raised to the tributary throne of Northumberland

added

added to the patrimony (as it was called) of St. Cuthbert, the whole country between the Tees and the Tyne.

There the incorruptible and wonder-working body remained one hundred and thirteen years in peace ! and then, in the unhappy days of Ethelred the Unready, a second migration became necessary, and the monks took shelter with the precious coffin at Ripon. After Ethelred had purchased peace, they set out on their return ; but when they had reached a place which is supposed to be the lofty eminence of Wardenlaw, five miles from the coast, and commanding a full prospect of the fertile vale of the Wear,—the holy body would proceed no farther. The procession, of course, halted, Wardenlaw itself not being more immovable than the Saint in his ark ; they fasted, they prayed, and on the third day St. Cuthbert communicated his pleasure to the Monk Eadmer in a vision : it was, that they should direct their course to Dunholme, where his church was to find a secure establishment for the future. The miracle was well performed, and no one of its kind (which is a common one) was more wisely intended ; the site which they had chosen was favourable for defence, and the promise held forth in the vision was likely to inspire the people with confidence for defending it. The river Wear, a clear and rapid stream, which Drayton has well described as turning its ' watery trail in many a snaky gyre,' forms, in some of those windings, the peninsula on which the cathedral and city of Durham were now to be founded, clipping, the poet says, that beloved place close in its amorous arms. The sloping sides of the eminence were, at that time, so covered with thick wood, as to make it appear not easily habitable ; but the small portion of level ground on the summit was cultivated. Thither the procession directed its course, and the zeal of the whole country, already excited by the return of the saint after his flight to Ripon, was doubly raised by this miraculous declaration of his pleasure. The first business was to erect a tabernacle or little church of boughs, as an immediate receptacle for his holy body, where it remained only till a small edifice called the White Church could be made ready to receive it. Gifts and oblations flowed in on all sides, and the whole population, from the Coquet to the Tees, turned out with one consent in the saint's service. The woods were cleared, the cathedral was begun, and from the hour when the travelling bier was rested there, the peninsula ceased to be a solitude ; the clergy and the workmen were with all speed housed upon the spot, and a city grew around the growing church. The work went on rapidly, when all who could be employed were eager to give their services, and no costs were to be calculated ; and in the third year after its arrival on the ground, St. Cuthbert was removed from the White Church to the new cathedral.

Extensive

Extensive as the possessions of the see already were, they were soon enlarged by donations from certain northern chiefs, and from King Canute, who visited the shrine, and, if Simeon's authority may be received without suspicion, alighted at the distance of five miles from the city, and performed the rest of the way, with all his retinue, barefoot. It was still further enriched by a choice collection of relics, and Ælfred, the collector, by a pious practice common in those ages, succeeded in 'conveying,' as the relic-worshippers, like 'the wise, it call,' the remains of Bede thither from Jarrow. The new city was successfully defended against an attack of the Scots; and the heads of their slain leaders, according to the barbarous usage of the times, were exposed on poles in the market-place. But Durham had its full share in the miseries which were brought upon England by the Norman conquest. Egelwin, its bishop, submitted to William at the same time with the Earls Edwin and Morcar, and swore allegiance to him at York. The fate of these earls is well known; they are among the many persons who have left names to 'point a moral and adorn a tale,' as melancholy examples that, 'if moral courage be wanting, personal bravery will not avail to exempt the possessor from the reproach of pusillanimity. The bishop was not more fortunate; but he may be better excused, because of his clerical character, for having sworn allegiance; and it does not appear that he broke that allegiance voluntarily. When the Norman Comyn approached the city with seven hundred troops, to effect the subjugation of the province, Egelwin met him on the borders, and warned him how dangerous it would be to irritate an indignant people. The advice was treated with contempt, and the Norman, in the insolence of military power, putting to death several of the peasantry on his way, entered Durham, and allowed his troops to quarter themselves upon the inhabitants, as if they had nothing to apprehend from the conquered Saxons. But the men of the bishopric approached the city during the night; at day-break they had surrounded it, they forced the gates, the soldiers were surprised and slaughtered. Comyn and his attendants defended themselves in a building which the Saxons set on fire, and they perished in the flames. The building was so near the cathedral that the western tower caught fire, and the whole edifice must have been destroyed had not the wind suddenly, as if by miracle, shifted to the east. But St. Cuthbert exerted himself in defence of his patrimony no further than to bewilder in a fog the first troops who were sent to take vengeance; and the merciless rigour with which that vengeance was exacted forms the bloody chapter in the history of the Norman conquest. Egelwin escaped into Scotland; he returned to bear a part in the effort which Edwin and Morcar made,—late,

and

and therefore unavailing, for the deliverance of their native land ; he was betrayed and taken ; and, being sent prisoner to Abingdon, is said, in the bitterness of his spirit, to have refused all food, and to have died by that slow and resolute manner of suicide.

The Palatine powers which the bishops of Durham have since enjoyed are, probably, dated from his successor Walcher, a native of Lorraine, who was appointed also to the earldom of Northumberland. This union of the civil and ecclesiastical authority grew out of the circumstances of the times. In a province so near the Scots, and so remote from the seat of government, it was necessary that there should be a local authority, invested with full powers to act as any emergency might require ; and those powers might more safely be entrusted to a prelate than to an hereditary baron. Hence, also, as consequent appendages, those franchises arose ; by virtue of which the bishop exercised every right of a distinct sovereignty. Walcher would not have been unworthy of his elevation, if he had restrained his officers in their exactions ; by neglecting to do this he drew upon himself a share in the odium and punishment which they deserved. A Saxon noble, of high birth and character, Liulph by name, complained to him of the oppressions which were practised under cover of his name : the culprits added to their guilt by murdering Liulph, with part of his family, in the night ; the bishop took no measures for punishing the guilty, and fell himself a victim to popular vengeance. This brought upon the province a second chastisement as dreadful as the first.

The next bishop, William de Karileph, was promoted thither from the Abbey of St. Vincent's in Normandy. Like the other prelates whom William brought from that country, he was able, ambitious, learned, and munificent ; had they not been devoted to the see of Rome, there were no men to whom power could have been so well entrusted, and there were none by whom wealth was so worthily employed. Pursuant to their system of superseding the secular clergy in the cathedrals by the Regulars, he translated the monks from Wearmouth to Durham, and began the present cathedral upon a plan which he had brought with him from France. The building was continued by his successor Ralph Flambard, who is said to have purchased his promotion from William the Red King, and whose name is odious in history, as the most rapacious of that king's instruments. He was a low-born, uneducated, grasping, profligate man ; and he provided most largely for his nephews and natural children out of the possessions of the bishopric. But adversity was not without its uses to him ; when he had obtained his pardon from Henry, and was removed from all affairs of state, he employed his ample revenues in useful

useful and magnificent works ; and though he had lived with little appearance of religion, fear came upon him in his latter days : he remitted all debts which were due to him, left his effects to the poor, and being, at his own desire, carried into the cathedral, there, in the presence of the prior and brethren, he made restitution, by the ceremony of offering his ring at the high altar, of the possessions or privileges which he had detained or violated. The golden signet was attached to his deed of restitution, but has long since been torn from it. Galfred the Red, a peaceful and good man, succeeded to the see, and is supposed to have been the first prelate who exercised his privilege of coining money. Upon his death, William Cumin, a Scotchman, who is called Chancellor to the Scotch King, got possession of the bishopric by intrigue, and forgery, and force. Some of the monks escaped to York, and there elected their dean, William de St. Barbara, and a war ensued between the intruder and the canonical successor ; a partition treaty was then made, by which Cumin retained the castle of Durham and a third of the revenues,—but hostilities were soon recommenced ; and the strong situation of Durham, which had induced the representatives of St. Cuthbert to chuse it for his resting-place, served now to make it a fastness for one of the most atrocious ruffians in that barbarous age ; and the cruelties which he exercised there, upon his prisoners, were such, that the place was called a hell upon earth. Cumin, however, was one of those villains who, when they can no longer defy the arm of justice, contrive to elude it : he appeared before the bishop in the garb of a penitent,—submitted wholly to his mercy,—and obtained pardon on the easy terms of an ecclesiastical penance. After which William de St. Barbara held the see during the remainder of his life in peace.

Hugh Pudsey was his successor, at the early age of twenty-five : his youth occasioned scruples at Rome, which cost him a journey thither ; but it was regarded with great satisfaction by the people of the County Palatine, who hoped to be protected by a prelate in the vigour of his age. Pudsey was so far implicated in rebellious proceedings against Henry II., that he was glad to compound by the payment of a large fine in money, and by surrendering the castles of Durham, Norham, and Northallerton. He retained in age the ardour and ambition of his youthful temper ; and when, upon investing him with the earldom of Northumberland, which he purchased from the crown, Richard Lion-heart observed with a smile, that he made a young earl of an old bishop,—the reproof conveyed in that pointed speech was probably felt even less than it was intended. The prelate now prepared

prepared for accompanying Richard to the Holy Land, in a state of magnificence which was then, perhaps, as much in character with a Bishop of Durham as it would have been with Mark Antony : a silver throne was erected in the splendid galley which was built for his passage ; his culinary vessels were of silver,—and if such utensils as were made of this material in Utopia were included among the *vasa diversa* of the same metal, it was not in contempt of such wealth, but in ostentation of it. But Richard, who thought his wealth more desirable than his personal services, borrowed from him the treasure which he had accumulated for this expedition, and left him at home with the government north of Humber, and the offices of Justiciary of England and Governor of Windsor. This arrangement cost Pudsey, in its consequences, dearly ; and more dearly did the crusade cost the Palatinate, in the sums extorted, first by the bishop from the people, as their contribution for the king's ransom, and afterwards from him by the king on his return. Pudsey appears to have had no other virtue belonging to his station than that of munificence,—happily a common one in those ages, and that which has left the most enduring monuments for posterity. This he possessed in an eminent degree. Darlington church is one of his works, Elvet bridge, at Durham, another,—and the west chapel of the cathedral is his work also.

The next bishop, Philip of Poitou, went to war with the monks. He placed the convent in a state of siege,—endeavoured to starve them there,—killed their cattle,—destroyed their fish weirs,—demolished their oven,—and tried the effect of fire and smoke upon them through the doors and windows. It is more to his credit that when King John resisted the Pope, he stood resolutely by his sovereign, and, dying under sentence of excommunication on that score, was buried by laymen, without any religious ceremony, in unconsecrated ground. Morgan, Prior of Beverley, was elected to succeed him ; but he chose rather to lose the bishopric than disclaim the honour, as it was deemed, of being Henry the Second's son,—regarding the honour of his mother as lightly as she herself had done. Passing over the next five, who were 'all of them bishops' in their turn, we come to Robert de Insula, or Halieland, a man of low birth, and of whom this characteristic anecdote is recorded, that having given his mother an establishment suitable to her own rank, and asking her once, when he went to see her, how she fared, she answered, 'Never worse !' 'What troubles thee ?' said the bishop ; 'hast thou not men and women enough to attend thee ?' 'Yea,' quoth the old woman, 'and more than enough ! I say to one—go, and he runs ; to another—come hither, fellow ! and the varlet falls down on his knees ;—and, in

short, all things go on so abominably smooth, that my heart is bursting for something to spite me and pick a quarrel withal !' The ducking-stool may have been a very needful piece of public furniture in those days, when it was deemed one characteristic of a notable housewife to be a good scold, and when women of a certain description sought, in the use of vituperation, that sort of excitement which they now obtain from a bottle and a glass. "

Then came the magnificent bishop, Antony Beke, who once gave forty shillings for as many fresh herrings ; and hearing some one say, ' This cloth is so dear that even Bishop Antony would not venture to pay for it,' immediately ordered it to be bought and cut up into horse-cloths. Mr. Surtees speaks of him thus :—

' The Palatine power reached its highest elevation under the splendid pontificate of Antony Beke. Surrounded by his officers of state, or marching at the head of his troops, in peace or in war, he appeared as the military chief of a powerful and independent franchise. The court of Durham exhibited all the appendages of royalty : nobles addressed the palatine sovereign kneeling, and, instead of menial servants, knights waited in his presence-chamber, and at his table, bareheaded and standing. Impatient of control, whilst he asserted an oppressive superiority over the convent, and trampled on the rights of his vassals, he jealously guarded his own palatine franchise, and resisted the encroachments of the crown, when they trenched on the privileges of the aristocracy. When his pride or his patriotism had provoked the displeasure of his sovereign, he met the storm with firmness, and had the fortune or the address to emerge from disgrace and difficulty with added rank and influence. His high birth gave him a natural claim to power, and he possessed every popular and splendid quality which could command obedience or excite admiration. His courage and constancy were shown in the service of his sovereign. His liberality knew no bounds ; and he regarded no expense, however enormous, when placed in competition with any object of pleasure or magnificence. Yet, in the midst of apparent profusion, he was too prudent ever to feel the embarrassment of want. Surrounded by habitual luxury, his personal temperance was as strict as it was singular ; and his chastity was exemplary in an age of general corruption. Not less an enemy to sloth than to intemperance, his leisure was devoted either to splendid progresses from one manor to another, or to the sports of the field ; and his activity and temperance preserved his faculties of mind and body vigorous under the approach of age and infirmity.'—Vol. i. p. 34.

In verse, also, Mr. Surtees has touched upon this prelate, if we are not mistaken in supposing the unedited Poem on the Superstitions of the North to be his own :—

' There valour bowed before the rood and book,
And kneeling knighthood served a prelate lord ;
Yet little deigned he on such train to look,
Or glance of ruth or pity to afford.

There

There time has heard the peal rung out by night,
 Has seen from every tower the cressets stream;
 When the red balefire on yon western height
 Had roused the Warder from his fitful dream;
 Has seen old Durham's Lion-banner float
 O'er the proud bulwark, that, with giant pride,
 And feet deep plunged amidst the circling moat,
 The efforts of the roving Scot defied.

' Long rolling years have swept those scenes away,
 And peace is on the mountain and the fell;
 And rosy dawn, and closing twilight gray,
 But hears the distant sheep-walk's tinkling belk.
 And years have fled since last the gallant deer
 Sprung from yon covert at the thrilling horn;
 Yet still, when Autumn shakes the forest sear,
 Black Hugo's voice upon the blast is borne.
 Woe to the wight who shall his ire provoke,
 When the stern huntsman stalks his nightly round,
 By blasted ash, or lightning-shivered oak,
 And cheers with surly voice his spectre hound.'

' Of this black Hugh take the following legendary account:—"Sir Anthon Bak, Busshop of Dureme in the tyme of King Eduarde, the son of King Henry, was the maist prowde and masterfull busshop in all England, and it was comonly said that he was the prowdest lord in Christienty. It chaunced that, among other lewd persons, this Sir Anthon entertained at his court one Hugh de Pountchardon, that for his evill deeds and manifold robberies had been driven out of the Ingliche courte, and had come from the southe to seek a little bread, and to live by stalyng. And to this Hughe, whom also he employed to good purpose in the warr of Scotland, the busshopp gave the lande of Thikley, since of him caulled Thikley-Puntchardon, and also made him his chiefe huntsman. And after, this blake Hugh dyed afore the busshop; and after that the busshop chasid the wild hart in Galtres Forest, and sodainly ther met with him Hugh de Pontchardon that was afore deid, on a wythe horse; and the said Hugh looked earnestly on the busshop, and the busshop said unto him, 'Hughe, what makethe thee here?' and he spake never word, but lifte up his cloke, and then he shewed Sir Anton his ribbes set with bones, and nothing more; and none other of the varlets saw him but the busshop only; and ye saide Hughe went his way, and Sir Anton toke courage, and chered the dogges; and shortly efter he was made Patriarque of Hierusalem, and he sawe nothing no moe; and this Hughe is him that the silly people in Galtres doe call *le Gros Vencur*, and he was seen twice efter that by simple folke, afore yat the forest was filled in the tyme of Henry, father of King Henry yat now ys."

Great as were the expenses of this munificent prelate, his revenues more than kept pace with them; and he left greater wealth

in horses, robes, furniture, plate, and jewels, than any of his predecessors. He was the first bishop who was buried within the cathedral: respect for St. Cuthbert's body had hitherto prevented this injurious practice; and so much respect was shown to those relics on this occasion, that the corpse was not allowed to enter at the door, but a way was broken for it through the wall, near the place of interment. The next bishop, Richard Kellow, declined the honour of such an interment, and, according to his own desire, was buried in the chapter-house, near the steps of the bishop's throne. He, indeed, had possessed the bishopric in times which made him far more alive to the peaceful duties of his station than to its pomps and vanities;—it was during the unhappy reign of Edward II., when the Scotch laid waste the northern counties as inhumanly as the Normans had done: famine and pestilence—in the appointed course of nature—had succeeded; and contemporary historians have recorded circumstances so dreadful, that modern readers, in their humanity, would disbelieve them if they could,—so willingly do we seek shelter in incredulity from that which troubles us. During these miserable years, Bishop Kellow was 'the vigilant and faithful guardian of his afflicted province'; his death was a release to himself, but a misfortune for the people: for, by the influence of Queen Isabella, the 'she-wolf of France,' Lewis Beaumont, one of the same wolfish blood, was obtruded upon the chapter to succeed him. This wolf in shepherd's clothing exhibited some characteristic proofs of his ignorance, and his temper, during the ceremonies of his consecration. His clerkship seems to have been such as would hardly, in old times, have saved a felon from the gallows, unless before an indulgent judge. Meeting with some words in the official instruments which he was unable to read, or to pronounce, he passed them over, saying, in his native French, let them be taken for said: presently he came to the expression *in ænigmate*, and skipping that too, he exclaimed, *Par Seynt Lowys, il ne fu pas curteis qui ceste parole ici escrite!* This ceremony was performed at Westminster. On his way to Durham, a messenger met him at Darlington, sent to warn him that there were marauders in the way; he disregarded the warning, and at the Rushyford, 'where the road crosses a small and sullen rivulet, in a low and sequestered spot, well calculated for surprise and the prevention of escape,' Gilbert Middleton, a Northumbrian gentleman and free-booter, at the head of a party of horse, made the bishop and his brother prisoners, and the Roman cardinals in his company, who were charged with an embassy to Scotland. The King had dealt harshly in some affair of the marches with one of Middleton's relations, and therefore it was that Middleton, in vindication of the family

family honour, adopted the pious resolution of robbing the Bishop of Durham. 'The times,' says this pleasant writer, 'were lawless; the government weak; and the gentry of the north were frequently obliged to take upon themselves the defence of their own property; and with all its hazards and inconveniences, the life of a freebooter had some romantic, and some substantial attractions, which seem to have rendered it very difficult for a borderer, who had once adopted it, to retrace his steps towards the paths of allegiance. Under the first Edward, the gentlemen of the English march were faithful subjects; under his feeble successor, they were frequently, rather from necessity than choice, freebooters and outlaws.' Middleton rifled the whole party; allowed the cardinals to proceed, that they might take measures for raising the bishop's ransom, and carried the bishop and his brother across a tract of threescore miles to Mitford Castle, which the freebooter occupied by the right of the strongest. A heavy ransom was paid, which Middleton, however, did not long enjoy; for in his turn he was surprised, and sent prisoner to London, where the gallows had its due.

Beaumont, while he was intriguing for this promotion, had made large promises of zeal and activity in the defence of the province, which had suffered, he said, under the hands of a weak and aged monk. Edward, however, had occasion to reproach him for having brought more evils upon the people, by his supineness, than they had ever endured under his venerable predecessor. Better days were at hand; the bishop lived to hear of his brother's successful expedition into Scotland, and of the victory of Halidon-hill. He himself appears to have borne no part in the important transactions of the times; his public works were few and unimportant, his private expenses enormous, the means for them were raised by extortion; and he left behind him an ill name and a splendid tomb. It is proof of a great improvement in the age that two persons were nominated to succeed him, one by the convent, the other by the king, either of whom, by his character and attainments, was worthy of so high a station. Graystones, the subprior of Durham, and the historian of his church, was one; but he yielded without resistance, if not without regret, to the king's pleasure, and Richard Bury, author of the *Philobiblion*, succeeded to the see. His installation was celebrated with unusual magnificence, the king and queen, Baliol king of Scotland, and the two archbishops, being among his guests. Bury was one of those rare men upon whom the most liberal gifts of fortune are well bestowed;—literature had not in those days, perhaps it has never had, a more munificent or discriminating patron,—*plures libros habuit quam omnes pontifices Angliæ*. He had a library in every
one

one of his manor-houses, and his private chamber was always literally so *littered* with books, that it was not easy to set a foot to the ground without treading on them. A seal of his was, in its kind, the noblest specimen of Gothic art in its purest state. The sons of the northern gentry were educated in his palaces, and preferred as they grew up, by his bounty and influence, either in arms or in learning, according to their disposition and deserts. Such a man was a blessing to his diocese, an honour to his country, an ornament to his age, an example and a light to after times. He held the office of Chancellor of England, and High Treasurer: he was employed in the most important negotiations, enjoying always the entire confidence of a sagacious king; and he upheld the liberties of the English church, by prohibiting the publication of papal bulls or provisions within his jurisdiction. His charities were unbounded; his gates were daily opened to the poor; and his living liberality defeated the avarice of his executors, who, instead of treasure, found his coffers filled only with linen and sacerdotal vestments. His very curious Philobiblion has been six times printed, and we are glad to know that an edition of it is at this time preparing for the press.

The battle of Nevil's Cross was fought under the pontificate of his successor, Thomas Hatfield. Of that battle, closely connected as it is with the history of Durham, Mr. Surtees has given a lively account in his text, and brought together many curious particulars, *more suo*, in his notes. Hatfield also was a prelate whose qualities justified King Edward's choice, and rendered him altogether worthy of his station. Some of the fairest ornaments of the cathedral are of his age. He repaired all the residences belonging to the see, built Durham Place in the Strand, and became the second founder of Durham House in Oxford, which, under its present name of Trinity College, has produced its full proportion of eminent men. Bishop Fordham holds a less honourable place in history: he was one of those prelates who condemned the opinions of Wycliffe, and he was also one of those counsellors who contributed to bring on the ruin of Richard II.; but, being removed by a lenient sort of degradation to the see of Ely, he there passed the remainder of a long life in peace. A popular rhyme still says of his successor, that

Bishop Skirlawe was good to his people,

He built a new school-house, and heightened the steeple.

This fortunate son of a sieve-maker built many other useful and splendid edifices, and was one of the chief contributors to the great tower of York Minster. Cardinal Langley, who succeeded, trod in the steps of his munificent predecessors; and with a sort of feeling which cardinals have seldom shown, he procured permission

mission from the Pope to place a font in the Galilee, where excommunicated persons were allowed to bring their children for baptism, and Mr. Surtees adds, to partake themselves of the sacramental office ;—but surely they could have partaken no further than as assistants. Mr. Surtees asks, is not the name of Galilee, thus appropriated to the consolation of miserable penitents, derived from the text,—*ite, nunciate fratribus meis ut eant in Galileam, ibi me videbunt*: (Matt. xxviii. 10.) The Galilee, which was a place of burial for noble persons, appended to churches, before sepulture was allowed within the body of the church, is said, by the Abbot Rupert, to have been so called, because the Benedictines were sent every Sunday to make a procession round their cloister, and halt at certain stations, in memory of the resurrection, and of the various times at which our Lord, after his resurrection, appeared to his disciples. His last appearance was on a mountain in Galilee, and, therefore, that name was given to this place of burial, where the procession made its final halt. Cardinal Langley, according to his own will, was buried in the Galilee, in his own chantry,—*cum solemnitate*, says the Register, *non tamen ea qua decuit*. It must have been difficult to content the person who made this entry; for the hearse was drawn into the nave of the cathedral by four stately black horses, which, with their velvet housings, and with all the tapers which had been borne at the funeral, became the sacristan's perquisite.

His successor was one who, being of a high and haughty parentage, felt in turbulent times the blessed effects (for such in his case they were) of having chosen a peaceful calling. He was by the father's side a Nevill, by the mother's a Plantagenet; but, while his brothers and his kinsmen made and unmade kings, and were the scourge of their country, he seems to have taken no part in their intrigues,—to have partaken only of the noble spirit of his race, not their ambition or their violence; and to have passed his life in the quiet and becoming discharge of his functions. He died before his kinsmen perished in the storm which they had raised. Of the three succeeding prelates, Booth, who was promoted to the see by Queen Margaret's influence, submitted to the victorious party after the battle of Hexham, and was translated to York; nothing remarkable is related of Dudley; and Sherwood having been raised by the House of York, was regarded with suspicion by Henry VII., and therefore retired to Rome and died there. Richard Fox was his successor—one of the able servants of a sagacious king. He is said to have thrown himself into Norham Castle, when besieged by the king of Scotland in person, and to have defended it resolutely against several hot assaults; but, after sixteen days, he was relieved. Mr. Surtees doubts whether he performed

performed this service in person ; it is certain that he brought about the peace with Scotland, and negotiated that marriage which led to the union of the two kingdoms, being the best service that ever was performed to both. The free grammar-schools of Taunton and Grantham were founded by him, and the college of Corpus Christi at Oxford. He lived to a great age, and died Bishop of Winchester—a translation which is accounted for by his probable desire to reside in a quieter country, and a milder climate. No former prelate had done so much toward reclaiming the marauders of the English border : he fulminated his excommunication against those of Tynedale and Redesdale ; and especially ‘ against the vagrant priests, who wandered with their lawless hordes from place to place amidst the wilds of Northumberland, partaking in their plunder, and mingling reliques of barbarism with the rites and sacraments of the Christian church.’ Many of them, in fear of his power, accepted his proffered mercy.

Bishop Sever has left only a name in the history of the sec. Bainbrigg bore a greater part in political affairs ; was translated to York, and died a cardinal at Rome, by what was in those days a very Roman and cardinal-like death : he had given his steward a blow, and the man poisoned him. Ruthall was bishop when the standard of St. Cuthbert, ‘ which as often as it had been hazarded brought victory home,’ was displayed at Flodden ; being, it is believed, its latest appearance in the field. Next in succession are the great name of Wolsey, and the good one of Cuthbert Tunstall, the friend of Sir Thomas More and of Erasmus—a man ‘ respected even by his adversaries, and without a private or personal enemy.’ Half disposed to admit the arguments of the Reformers, and not denying the abuses of the Church of Rome, yet afraid of the consequences of innovation, and repressed by the weight of ancient and received authority, Tunstall seems to have long hovered in opinion betwixt the Reformers and their opponents ; and it is not wonderful if, at a period when the minds of the best and wisest men were perplexed and divided, he sometimes betrayed a degree of weakness and irresolution which forms almost the only shade in his character. But, during the Marian persecution, ‘ he refused to persecute others for opinions in which he had himself felt doubt and indecision.’ When a reformed preacher (Russell was his name) was brought before him upon charges which must have proved fatal if they had been received, and which the bishop knew he would not deny, he manifested a Christian feeling which had been wanting in Sir Thomas More, and which evinced a degree of moral courage beyond what Tunstall had been usually supposed to possess. ‘ Hitherto,’ said he, ‘ we have had a good report among our neighbours ; I pray you bring not
this

this man's blood upon my head ;' and he dismissed him without examination. He protected also his nephew, Bernard Gilpin, from persecution to the utmost of his power ; yet he so far resented the perseverance of that admirable man in the reformed faith, that he struck his name out of his will ; an act more regretted by Gilpin for the feeling which it implied, than for any loss that he sustained by it. This was the more remarkable, because Tunstall loved his nephew, and knew his worth ; and because, in this very will, he had given a proof of the strength of his attachments, requesting that, if he should die in London, he might be buried near the grave of Thomas Linacre, his old friend. So greatly was he respected, that he was the last of the ejected bishops who was deprived ; and the see thus vacated was not filled till after his death. His epitaph concludes in a manner so literally appropriate to some of his contemporaries, that for that reason it has a singular impropriety—*VERTITUR IN CINERES aureus iste senex.*

Tunstall saw the first evils of the Reformation. The passions of men were then ' so raised, and their self-interest,' says Bishop Kennett, ' so prevailing, that it is rather a mercy of Providence that most things were done so well, than it is a matter of complaint that some things were not done better.' Mr. Surtees thinks that the dissolution of the chantries, and other small foundations, which served as chapels of ease, especially in the extended parishes of the north, was that part of the work of destruction which is most to be regretted. In many of these lesser foundations, he says, ' the utility was frequently in an inverse proportion to the smallness of the foundation ;' and had they been preserved, a deficiency would not have existed at this day in many places, which it is not easy to replace. On this subject he touches with characteristic feeling, when describing the hamlet of Embleton, with its ancient chapel.

' This little oratory, four miles distant from the mother church, through foul roads and deep clay, is now the only one remaining of four chapelries which were once dependant on the church of Sedgfield. All of these probably owed their establishment to the devotional feelings of individual territorial lords, who generally considered a family place of worship as an indispensable requisite near a manorial residence.

' In most of these little chapels the religious feelings of the patron would be increased by the recollection that he knelt amongst the ashes of his ancestors, to whom he should himself be gathered, and for whose soul's repose a chantry was generally instituted.* The Reformation

* On the foundation of these family chapels, the parishioners were generally required to attend divine service at the mother church on the greater festivals, and on the anniversary of the patron saint ; a regulation which, though primarily intended to secure both the dignity and revenue of the parent church, yet had the not less important effect of preventing the contracted and isolated feelings which a gentleman, listening every Sunday to his own clerk only, and surrounded by his own immediate dependants, might be supposed liable to acquire.

mation swept away, almost indiscriminately, chapel and chantry. The endowments chiefly returned to lay hands; and during the struggling birth of the Reformation the people, deprived of their old pastors, and neglected by their new ones, were left in a state of almost utter darkness. The old tree, with all its cankered boughs and caterpillars, was stubbed and burned; and it was long before the new set afforded to the remote districts of the north either fruit or shelter.'

As poor cures make scandalous priests, so may it be said that wild countries make wild men. The priest and curate of Newcastle are both included in a list of border thieves in Tunstall's times; and his predecessor, Bishop Fox, describes those of Tyne-dale and Redesdale, as repeating by rote a service which they could not read, *publicos et manifestos concubinarios, irregulares, suspensos* (not in the way they should have been suspended, for they were both thieves, and chaplains to thieves), *excommunicatos et interdictos*. But in those chapels and chantries which were supported with family feeling, or even with family pride, it is likely that persons of good character would be employed; and, in the case of conventual impropriations, the inability of the vicar to maintain hospitality was probably the only injury which the parishioners suffered, the convent being always able to supply them with suitable ministers. But the Reformation at the same time swept away the chantries, and transferred these impropriations to laymen, who usually bestowed the cures upon those with whom they could drive the hardest bargain; using, without any sense of conscience, the power which, with very little of such sense, they had obtained; and thus bringing a scandal upon the reformed church, and a lasting injury. The northern provinces, being the wildest part of the kingdom, suffered most by these changes; and when Pilkington, the first Protestant bishop, was appointed to the see of Durham on Tunstall's death, he found his diocese in a state which it was more easy to lament than to rectify: it was almost destitute of Protestant preachers, and the old superstitions 'lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel were ever so little stirred, came to the top.' Pilkington, though 'a grave and truly reverend man, of great learning, piety, and such frugal simplicity of life as well became a modest Christian prelate,' brought with him from Geneva a taint of puritanism, which could not any where have shown itself more injuriously. He objected to the surplice, because he thought its introduction might be traced to the Novatian heretics; and he objected, in Bucer's words, to the square cap, because the head is round! However, though he disliked these things, he did not refuse to wear them; but, while he represented wisely to the government how injurious it was to quarrel, for ordinances of mere form and circumstance, with men

of real learning and piety, at a time when, and in a country where, there was such great need of such men, he did not show the same degree of tolerance toward other feelings, in defence of which much more might have been pleaded. Mr. Surtees intimates that he went great lengths, in compliance with Whittingham, his iconoclastic dean, in defacing the ancient monuments of the cathedral. Nothing could have been more likely to exasperate tempers which were already disposed to rebellion : there were busy spirits always at work in preparing one ; and when that insurrection, which was the last attempt of the Roman Catholics to re-establish their religion by force of arms, was suppressed, the confiscations which followed produced a more extensive change in the landed property within the bishopric than any preceding revolution since the Norman conquest. The forfeitures, which should of right have vested in the see, were taken by the crown ; and Mr. Surtees suspects that several of those gentlemen, who were implicated in the rebellion, owed their lives to the same entail which eventually preserved their estates ; for their execution would immediately have let in the heir, whereas, by sparing them, the crown obtained possession of their life estates : a singular consequence of law subtlety, which it is pleasant to find in cases like these wherein mercy was so much to be desired.

Bishop Pilkington had so much of the puritanical spirit, that he named all his children out of the Old Testament,—this being one of the distinctive whimsies of the sect. But he saved such fortunes for his two daughters as were deemed unseemly for a bishop to have accumulated in those days, giving them 4000*l.* each : the courtiers are said to have beheld this with envious eyes ; and the Queen to have regarded it with displeasure, and to have deprived the bishop of a thousand a year in consequence. The Saxon ancestor of this prelate is said to have escaped from the Norman conquerors once when they sought his life, by disguising himself as a thresher, in a barn ; after which escape, ‘ partly alluding to the head of the flail, (falling sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other,) partly to himself, embracing the safest condition for the present, he gave for the motto of his arms—‘ Now thus ! Now thus !’ Richard Barnes, the next bishop, was translated to Durham, from Carlisle, by Burleigh’s favour ; but Leicester, who always desired as much to injure the church as Burleigh did to establish it, exacted from him long leases to the crown, to the great detriment of the see. Barnes gives a bad account of his ‘ stubborn churlish people, who showed but, as the proverb is, *Jack of Napes charity in their hearts.*’ In the clergy, however, he found ‘ a good readiness to apply their travails to their calling, except in his own cathedral ;—an Augean stable,’ he calls it, ‘ whose

'whose stink is grievous in the nose of God and man, and which to purge far passeth Hercules's labour.' The malicious of this country, he proceeds, 'are marvellously exasperated against me; and whereas at home they dare neither by words nor deeds deal undutifully against me, yet abroad they deface me by all slanders, false reports, and shameless lies, though the same were never so inartificial or incredible, according to the northern guise, which is never to be ashamed, however they belie and deface him whom they hate, yea, though it be before the honourablest—*Pessimum hoc genus hominum ex aliquo invidit laudem sibi quærens.* Barnes is the bishop of whom so honourable an anecdote is related in Bernard's Gilpin's life. He has the merit also of having dealt mercifully with witches;—a notorious sorcerer and enchanter, Alison Law by name, being sentenced by his master chancellor to no heavier punishment than to do penance once in the marketplace at Durham, with a paper on his head; once in Hart Church, and once in Norton Church.

Matthew Hutton succeeded, and held the see five years; after which, he was translated to York;—one of a hasty and ungovernable temper; but with the true kindness of heart, and the generosity, and the manliness which are often the redeeming qualities wherewith such a temper is accompanied. When the Lady Margaret Nevill, one of the unfortunate Earl of Westmoreland's daughters, was condemned to die for being taken in company with a seminary priest, this bishop not only sued earnestly for her pardon, in letters which might alone redeem his character, but, till her pardon could be obtained, took her into his own house, when she had no other help, and brought her back by his persuasions, and not less, perhaps, by his kindness, to the reformed religion in which she had been bred up.

'It is not always easy,' says Mr. Surtees, 'to define the exact bounds between human virtues and human frailties; and if a strong consciousness of talent, and a reliance on his own powers, sometimes broke forth into asperity and violence, Hutton's conduct, on other occasions, is equally stamped with an honourable independence of sentiment which was by no means general in his age or profession. This prelate was no sycophant, who durst preach before a court on the instability of kingdoms, and the change of dynasties, and durst ring in Elizabeth's ear the funeral knell of a successor.'

Toby Mathew succeeded him,—one of the merriest and the wisest, the most amiable and the most learned of men. He was the son of a Bristol merchant; had been educated at Oxford; and was successively Student of Christ Church, Master of St. John's, Dean of Christ Church, and Dean of Durham. The good sayings of men are remembered longer than their good deeds; many
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of his have been recorded ; but it is remembered of him also that he was one of the ablest controversialists and most eloquent preachers of his age, steady in his friendships, and liberal in his bounty. ‘ I will tell one act of his of double piety,’ says Sir John Harrington, ‘ done not long since. He made a journey, accompanied with a troop fit for his calling to Bristow, to see his mother, who was then living, but not able to travel to him. After much kindness showed unto her, and much bounty to the city, he went to visit his other mother of Oxford ; and coming near the town with that troop of his retinue and friends to the water, it came into his mind how, that time forty years or more, he passed the same water, as a young poor scholar, going to Oxford ; and remembering Jacob’s words,—“ with my staff I passed over this river Jordan, and now I pass over again with these troops ;” he was so moved therewith, that he alighted from his horse, and going apart, with devout tears of joy and thankfulness, he kneeled down and used some like words.’

Bishop Mathew’s wife was most episcopally related ; she was the widow of Archbishop Parker’s son,—she was the daughter of Sir William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester ; and she had four sisters married to four bishops. Harrington says of her, she was ‘ the best reported and reputed of her sort in England, and that she and her husband lived together by St. Paul’s rule, using the world as if they used it not. *Tobiaæ ædes et divitum aula et pauperum xenodochium indies fuere.* From this scene of splendid hospitality and correspondent bounty he was translated to York at the age of threescore : that archiepiscopal see he held two and twenty years, preaching almost to the last, with unabated zeal and persuasiveness ; and when his work was done, he fell asleep in the Lord : his widow survived him little more than a year, and bequeathed his library, consisting of about three thousand volumes (a great collection in those days) to the public use of York Cathedral. There were not two worthier persons in that age, nor more eminently fortunate, except for one great cross,—their eldest son was perverted to the Romish religion, and became an intriguing jesuit.

His successor, James, though praised for hospitality, which was ‘ a special grace for a bishop,’ accumulated a considerable fortune, which shows that he is not to be praised for certain other virtues quite as specially becoming his station. Mr. Surtees has a note so much in his own manner concerning this bishop, that it would be wronging both reader and author not to give it a place here :—

‘ This Bishop James (says Mickleton in Latin, which it will be more for his credit to translate into English) was a *little* inclined to hoard his

his money and save an estate for his family, but bating this, as kindly and quiet a bishop as ever lived, hurting nobody, thwarting nobody, jostling nobody off the king's high-road, but quietly ambling along on his own episcopal pad, with *rather shabby lack-lustre* purple housings. All this I could not tell the reader before, (I. lxxxvii.) because the present bishop (who also rides his Palatine pad very peaceably and very fairly, considering the roughness of the road, but his housings are much brighter, and his purples keep their lustre wonderfully) had not then placed Mickleton's precious MSS. in the Episcopal Library *in usum*, &c. &c. Well! when poor Bishop James had been scolded to death, and lay cold in the abbey, the Palatine lieges soon found out that his successor Neile was 'not a whit better, for ~~he~~ seldom entertained the gentry—no, not even at the *Quarter Sessions*; and it evidently appears, from Neile's own letters in the same worthy collection, that he kept only one or two servants in his absence at the castle, and that small beer was brewed on the spur of the moment, on any emergency; yet was Neile a liberal patron of letters.

'And deem not, though it be my lot to paint
A prelate swayed by grovelling love of gold,
That all who wore the mitre of the saint,
Like James, or cyder-sparing Neile, I hold.
There were whose liberal virtues might atone
Their predecessor's frailties trebly told;
Learn'd *Bury*, *Tunstall* mild, and *Hatfield* bold,
Morton and *Cosin*, we as such may own,
And such, if fame speak truth——

'There are at least fifty beneficed clerks, and a few laymen, who, whether they have read "*Harold the Dauntless*," or no, will easily find out a proper name and epithet to close the rhyme.'

King James is said to have scolded his namesake, the bishop, 'so roundly and roughly in his own castle at Durham, that mere vexation brought on a fit of stone and strangury, which in three days put an end to his life.' For the sake of both the Jameses, one may hope that there is much exaggeration in the statement; and in justice to both we may think so, for neither was the king so ill-natured a man as to give such way to anger—nor the bishop, it may be believed, so weak a one as to have so little command of mind. Neither could the cause assigned for this 'royal objurgation,' which Mr. Surtees supposes to have been the bishop's contest with the citizens of Durham relative to parliamentary representation, have drawn upon him this displeasure; for in such a contest James would be far less inclined to favour the citizens in their claim, than the bishop in his opposition to it. In Bishop James's time (1614) there was one of the heaviest and longest snows which has ever been remembered in the north of England. The Parochial Register, of Wotton Gilbert, states that it began
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on the 5th of January, and continued to snow more or less every day, (the heaviest fall being on the 22nd of February,) till the 12th of March,—to the great loss of cattle, and of human life as well.

Bishop Neile came next ; his grandfather, rather than make shipwreck of his conscience, ruined his fortunes, by abandoning his employments at court when the Six Bloody Articles were promulgated. His father was a tallow-chandler in Westminster ; at Westminster he was educated, and went from thence, ' being then a poor and fatherless child,' to St. John's, Cambridge, as a by-scholar, on Lady Mildred Burghley's foundation ; ' without the goodness of which my most honourable foundress and patroness,' the bishop says, gratefully, in his will, ' I think I should never have been sent to the university ; but that the best of my fortunes would have been to have become some bookseller's apprentice in St. Paul's churchyard, to which trade of life Mr. Grant, my schoolmaster here (Westminster), persuaded my mother to have disposed of me.' Had Neile been thus disposed of, his name might now have appeared in title-pages, in the place appointed for publishers, instead of carrying with it in history an ill odour as having belonged to one more noted for courtly assentation to King James than for anything else that has been recorded of him. But it is justly remarked by Mr. Surtees that Neile's attachment to the ritual of the church of England, and the share he had in setting forth the Book of Sports (which still serves as a text-book for sectarian calumny) rendered him particularly obnoxious to the puritans. Of his ability and general desert it is proof sufficient that Burleigh was his patron ; and it is said that when he preached before Elizabeth, the queen was so well pleased that she bade Burleigh remind her to promote him. The manor-houses belonging to the see had been left by his predecessor in a state of great dilapidation ; he repaired them all at a vast expense ; and his London residence was so much the resort of learned men, that it was commonly called Durham College. Laud, when Bishop of St. David's, was one of the persons who had apartments assigned them there ; and it will not be considered by any upright mind discreditable to Neile, that he should have been implicated in the same parliamentary censure with Laud, as inclined to arminianism, and as favouring Popish doctrines and ceremonies ; the charge being false upon the second point, and in the other implying what was meritorious. Neile also, in what was then an ordinary course of promotion, was removed to York ; and little is to be said of his successors, Montaigne and Howson. Morton, who was next in order, fell upon evil times.

This excellent prelate was one of nineteen children, the son of
a mercer

a mercer at York—a man of such repute in his calling, that there was not, during a long course of years, any mercers in that city who were not either immediately, or mediately, his apprentices. The stock of his paternal descent was traced to that of Archbishop Morton; the Bishop, however, ‘contenting himself with the sober fame of his father’s good character, would not receive, nor so much as look upon, a very fair and large descent of his pedigree when it was presented unto him, though he liberally rewarded the person who presented it.’ His first preferment was to the rectory of Long Marston, near York, four years before what is called the great plague began in that city (1602.) During this visitation, ‘he carried himself with so much heroical charity,’ says his biographer, ‘as will make the reader wonder to hear it. For the poorer sort being removed to the pest-house, he made it his frequent exercise to visit them with food, both for their bodies and souls. His chief errand was to instruct and comfort them, and pray for them and with them; and, to make his coming the more acceptable, he carried usually a sack of provision with him for those that wanted it. And because he would have no man to run any hazard thereby but himself, he seldom suffered any of his servants to come near him, but saddled and unsaddled his own horse, and had a private door made on purpose into his house and chamber.’ It was probably during this plague that the village of Simonside (in the chapelry of South Shields) was, according to tradition, so entirely depopulated, that the nearest townships divided the deserted lands. There is another tradition worthy of notice, that when the plague raged with great violence at Shields, the persons who were employed about the salt works entirely escaped the infection.

Morton was at first bishop of Chester, when several of his clergy, in the spirit of those unhappy times, objected to the surplice, the sign of the cross at baptism, and the marriage ring; and this induced him, after several conferences with these scruplers, to compose his defence of the three innocent ceremonies. He left puritanism couchant in one diocese, and when he was translated to Durham, found it rampant in the other. Sentence had just before been pronounced there in the spiritual court against Ellinor Green, for scandalous abuse of her minister, James Wallace, vicar of Grindon, by uttering these and other words: ‘Thou a minister! Thou a devil! Out rogue! Out thief! Out whore!’ The last expression was, I suppose,’ says Mr. Surtees, ‘so familiar with her on these occasions, that she applied it without much attention to *propria quæ maribus.*’ She was sentenced to acknowledge her fault publicly in time of divine service, and to pay costs. Before his removal to Durham he held the see of Lichfield, and, while residing

residing in that city, he detected, 'in opposition to the reigning prejudice of the age,' the then famous imposture of the Boy of Bilson.

'It is scarcely possible to speak in adequate terms of Bishop Morton's prudence, generosity, and moderation, in exercising the rights, and employing the revenues, of his opulent see. His palatine prerogative he exercised with the utmost mildness: for wreck he never demanded more than an acknowledgment sufficient to preserve the rights of his successors; in deodands and forfeitures, of which several important instances occurred during his pontificate, he never claimed above one-fourth, and, in every case of peculiar distress, he remitted the whole forfeiture. In the still more important privilege of wardship, he conducted himself with the most exemplary kindness and forbearance, considering himself bound to act as a parent and guardian both to the person and estate of the minors. Fines on the renewals of leases (one chief source of the ecclesiastical revenues) he never settled himself, but referred them to the arbitration of four indifferent and neighbouring gentlemen; and with the view of preventing the possibility of misrepresentation or imposition, either from his steward or servants, as often as he quitted his diocese, he left a commission with the high sheriff, and some other gentry, to determine all differences which might arise in his absence betwixt himself and his tenants. Temperate, or even rigidly abstemious himself, he exercised a noble hospitality towards others, and a perpetual charity to "poor scholars, strangers, and travellers." Lastly, he enriched no relative, and "never purchased one foot of land, nor other temporall possession, in all his long life, notwithstanding his plentiful income; but as his revenues increased, so were they expended in hospitable, charitable, and other Christian uses." Bishop Morton was not less vigilant in the execution of the duties more immediately belonging to his profession. He discharged himself many of the offices which are generally committed to the care of a chaplain. He regularly examined all candidates for holy orders, and, without strictly confining himself to the testimonial of an University degree, admitted into the ministry only those of whose learning and piety he was himself personally convinced. Placed in a country where the errors of Popery were still extremely prevalent, and where a gross ignorance of all religion was, perhaps, scarcely less common, he zealously enforced, amongst his parochial clergy, the instruction and public catechising of youth, and printed and distributed every year "many thousands of catechisms according to the forme in the book of common prayer, throughout all the dioceses where he had been bishop." By his own controversial labours, or by personal conference, he procured the conversion of several distinguished persons from the church of Rome, "and, by God's grace, brought them to the true church of England." To his own Protestant clergy, he was a liberal and bountiful patron; and it is, perhaps, not the least of his merits that he was, under Divine Providence, the chief instrument in exciting the very pious and learned John Donne, after dean of St.

Paul's, to take holy orders, offering freely to resign to him his then living of Long Marston, and afterwards, from time to time, kindly and constantly supplying his necessities. He disposed of his spiritual preferments to none but his own chaplains, or to such persons, of whose ability for the holy office he was well convinced; and it is not the least testimony to the credit both of the bishop, and of those who owed their promotion to him, that not one of them, in the hour of trial, deserted the interests of the establishment either in church or state.'—vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

Yet when the London mob was excited, by the movers of rebellion, against the bishop, this excellent prelate, on his way to the House of Lords, was almost torn to pieces. 'Pull him out of his coach!' cried some; others, 'nay he is a good man;' others, 'but for all that he is a bishop!' 'I have often,' says his biographer, 'heard him say, he believed he should not have escaped alive if a leading man among that rabble had not cried out, "Let him go and hang himself," which he was wont to compare to the words of the angel uttered by Balaam's ass.' At that time he was seventy-six years of age, and, on that account, when the protesting prelates were, for this act of duty, committed to the Tower, he was remitted to the custody of the usher; and then, so little had he regarded the mammon of unrighteousness, that he had scarcely wherewith to defray the fees and charges of his confinement. Bishop Morton, indeed, was a man, who, if he had belonged to an idolatrous church, would have been canonized for his virtues. His secretary has told us that, 'for his manner of lodging, diet, and study-garments, they might have been of another Anthony; for he never could endure a soft, much less a down-bed, but either a mattress, or a single quilt, which was his usual lodging. His study-gown was sometimes of a coarse black hairy rug; and his constant diet (when not visited by strangers) was one meal a day, through almost the whole course of his life; which, in his middle age, and before he was bishop, was usually a supper; in his declining age, and after he was a bishop, usually a dinner, and that but a rare and slender one to himself, though bountiful and plentiful to all others his commensals. He very seldom or never drank strong drink, and wine most rarely, and that in a very small quantity, as perhaps it might warm his mouth, but scarcely his stomach.'

The bishop remained unmolested after this, during three years, at Durham House in the Strand. He was then again committed to custody for the crimes of retaining in his possession the seal of the county palatine, (which was not one belonging to the see, and so transmissible from bishop to bishop, but his own private seal, bearing his own arms and impress,) and of having baptized the Earl of Rutland's child, according to the prohibited ritual of the
English

English church. Six months he was confined upon these charges, and presently after his release, episcopacy was abolished by the ruling faction, and he was thus deprived of the small remaining revenues which he had till then received from the possessions of his see. But Morton had no personal enemies; his inoffensive life, his excellent character, and his extreme old age, disposed even the merciless members of the Long Parliament in his favour, and they settled upon him an annuity of eight hundred pounds by an unanimous vote. This was a much larger maintenance than had been reserved for any of his brethren; but, like other allowances to the faithful clergy, the Parliament troubled not itself concerning the payment. No fund was assigned from which it was to arise; and Morton would have been left to subsist upon the charity of his friends, if old Sir Henry Vane had not interfered in his behalf, and obtained one thousand pounds for him, in part of the grant, from Goldsmith's Hall. It is the best thing recorded of that Sir Henry Vane; and there can be no better proof of the estimation in which the bishop was held, there where his character must best have been known, than that this act of kindness should have been rendered to him by such a person at such a time. 'Thus,' says his biographer, 'the old bishop was like Elias, fed by birds of prey, and, indeed, *aqua ex silice* is the best resemblance of what he got back from them that had taken all. This "part of payment" was all that he ever received. With it he paid all his debts, and purchased an annuity of two hundred pounds from the Lady Saville, in the minority of her son, Sir George, which Sir George confirmed when he came of age. It was a great providence of God that this good bishop fell into the hands of persons so just and noble as both of them were. And, indeed, there was such a generous contest between a pious bishop and a noble baronet; as the one was troubled at nothing more than that he had not an estate to repay what he had received over and above the strict value of the purchase; and the other was so sensible of his worth and sufferings, as to proffer the pension for the quarter current at his death, (in case he left not an estate sufficient to bury him like himself,) after he had repaid double the sum received for the purchase!'

In the eighty-fourth year of his age the bishop was turned out of Durham House by the soldiers who were placed there in garrison. He then, for a short time, at the earnest solicitation of the Earl and Countess of Rutland, became an inmate of their family; but the air and quiet of the country were better suited to his declining years, for which reason, and also because he was unwilling to live at the charge of others while he could support himself, he left them, and resided for awhile at Flamstead in

Hertfordshire, afterwards at Luton. Some circumstances, however, induced him to return to the metropolis, with the intention of ending his days there; and he was on the way, with some three-score pounds, ('which was then his all,') when Sir Christopher Yelverton overtook him, entered into discourse with him, and asked him who he was. Morton knew Sir Christopher, who, like many others, had complied with the times, and he replied, 'I am that old man the Bishop of Durham, notwithstanding all your votes!' And being asked, after some further talk, whither he was going, 'to London,' he made answer, 'to live a little while, and then to die.' The conversation ended, so much to the satisfaction of both, that the good old bishop gave up his present purpose, went home with Sir Christopher to his house at Easton Mauduit, and there became tutor to his son, afterwards Sir Henry Yelverton, though it is not to be supposed that he undertook the ordinary labours of such a charge. Here he remained, receiving in that family all the tenderness and respect which a parent could expect from his children; and there in his ninety-fifth year, he died, not of any natural decay, but of an infirmity which had long exercised his patience, and impaired his strength, and yet left him so much, that in that extreme old age, when relief from his affliction was impossible, he lay upon his death-bed almost a month before he was released. It was not necessary to accept Sir George Saville's proffered bounty; after bequeathing 40*l.* to one of his servants who attended him in his last illness, and 10*l.* to the poor of Easton, there remained enough to discharge his funeral expenses, and provide a small monument. The funeral was intended to be private, but most of the neighbouring gentry and clergy voluntarily attended, and bore his pall. In the words of his epitaph

*post plurimos pro sanctâ ecclesiâ Christi catholicâ
exantlatos labores,
elucubrata volumina,
toleratas afflictiones,
diuturnâ (heu nimium!) ecclesiæ procellâ
hinc inde jactatus,
huc demum appulsus,
bonis exutus omnibus
(bonâ præterquam famâ et conscientiâ)
tandem etiam et corpore
senex et cælebs
hæc requiescit in Domino.*

This 'undejected,' because heavenly-supported prelate,' so his secretary assures us, 'always said and thought that, had the practice of thousands and ten thousands among 'us, both clergy and laity, been, in any measure, answerable unto the professions of
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the truly (so called) Protestant religion, we had needed neither Presbyterian nor Independent reformation; but our sins being ripe unto the harvest, there was no preventing of either the fire or sickle of God's justice from reaping that glory in our calamities which we robbed Him of in our prosperity.'

Round-heads had now displaced square-caps. A faction whose dissent from the Church of England originated in such pitiful motives as their dislike of the surplice, the sign of the cross, and the square cap, had proceeded from schism to rebellion; they succeeded in the struggle, and their chiefs were not backward in dividing the spoil among themselves. Sir Arthur Haslerigge helped himself plentifully out of the see of Durham. It would have been fortunate for this distinguished leader in the parliamentary cause, if he had fallen in the field like Hampden, or been cut off by a natural death, like Pym, during the course of the war; his 'immortal memory' would then have been patriotically toasted to this day. Even if he had, after the Restoration, died a traitor's death, he might have obtained some portion of compassion from posterity, if not of respect. But he lived long enough to see the complete success of the rebellion which he had been mainly instrumental in instigating, and the total disappointment of the hopes (if any such he ever entertained) of erecting a constitutional government upon the ruins of the monarchy. He lived long enough to be made disgorge the vast possessions which he had acquired by rapacity and tyranny; to know that he was hated by the nation; to fear that justice, from which nothing but Monk's interference, in consequence of a promise, saved him;—to die 'eating his heart,' in confinement; and to leave a name which even the zealots of rebellion have not taken into favour. In the days of his prosperity, Haslerigge was called Bishop of Durham. But his appetite was not confined to parks, palaces, and manors; this dragon had a taste for collieries as well, and casting, as the owner complains, 'a more than Ahab's eye on the poor vineyard of Harraton,' was even worse than Ahab, for he neither offered the owner money nor exchange, but took collieries, land, and cattle for himself. It was in vain to seek justice from the committee in Durham; 'Sir Arthur's long sword and bent fist were too hard for law, right, and reason.' It was worse than vain to petition the 'Parliament of the Commonwealth of England!' The petitioner was fined 7000*l.*; and the like enormous mulct was imposed upon Lilburne who was concerned in it, with sentence of banishment for life to both. Hedworth, the owner of these 'subterranean vineyards,' (the fruits of which his descendant Lord Durham enjoys at this day,) concludes the narrative of his grievances by an appeal as loud as that of Ajax. 'This Master Hedworth piously wished that

that the 'ugly troop who called themselves soldiers, but acted to him, on his own ground, like savage bears and wolves,' might be 'clapt up in that place that would have kept them safe till they were fully fit for the gallows, their deserved portion;' and that Colonel Hacker might, in the end, have as sharp sauce as Ahab had to his vineyard. The parliamentary soldiers, in this part of England, very faithfully followed the example of their leaders; and, as appears by documents which Mr. Surtees has brought to light, 'vested their earnings, corporately and regimentally, in the purchase of the crown lands—a piece of conduct,' he observes, 'which would not have disgraced their wary brethren of the Covenant.'

One of the pamphlets of that age is said, in the title-page, to be
Printed in the year

That sea-coal was exceeding dear.

The remembrance of this inconvenience, which the Londoners had suffered during the stoppage of their supply from Newcastle, made 'the committees of both kingdoms conclude and agree among themselves, that some of the most notorious delinquents and malignants, late coal-owners in the town of Newcastle, be wholly excluded from intermeddling with any shares or parts of collieries;' 'but as the parliament might find a difficulty in *driving on the trade*, they did not conceive it for their service to put out all the said malignants at once, but were rather constrained, for the present, to make use of those delinquents in working their own collieries as tenants and servants.' The more stubborn and *wealthy*, therefore, were selected for example; and the others had this favour shown them! *Væ victis* in all such wars! even in this, which was certainly carried on with less cruelty than any other civil and religious war in any age or country. The oppression which was exercised, and the ruin which was produced, involved one part of the nation in guilt, and the rest in misery.

The *middling gentry* in the bishopric, as Mr. Surtees calls them, were mostly parliamentarians; the more ancient and opulent families were uniformly on the king's side. The sequestrators' books show a remarkable sturdiness of the tenantry, in 'refusing particulars,' when they were called upon to give such information as the committee wanted. They manifested also a disinclination to come to any terms with their plunderers—a conduct which arose from their 'attachment to their old landlords, a very natural distrust of the new, and the general distress and uncertainty of the times.' How must the good old times of Bishop Morton have been regretted in those unhappy days! In England, as in Germany, it was good living under the crozier; and the crozier then had given place to the sword, under which it is bad living any-
where.

where. Among the ecclesiastical anecdotes of that age, Mr. Surtees preserves a tradition, still current at Bishop's Middleham, concerning their intrusive vicar, John Brabant. He was a soldier in Cromwell's army; but preferring the drum ecclesiastic to the drum military, he came with a file of troops to Middleham, to eject the old vicar. The parishioners made a good fight on the occasion, and succeeded in winning the pulpit, which was the key of the position, for their proper minister; but Brabant made a soldierly retreat into the chancel, mounted the altar, and there preached, standing, with a brace of horse-pistols at his side. Right, however, had little chance when Might ruled; and the old vicar, who had held the living forty years, was ejected. He lived to recover possession after the Restoration; and Brabant, who would else have held a place among Calamy's confessors, conformed in time, and had interest enough to obtain the benefice upon the old man's death. In those days, and for some time after, it appears, by the parish-books, that due provision was made for comforting the preacher's inner man. Such items as these occur:—for six quarts of sack to the minister that preached when we had not a minister, 9s.; for one quart of sack bestowed on Mr. Jellet when he preached, 2s. 4d.; for a pint of brandy when Mr. George Bell preached here, 1s. 4d.; for a stranger that preached, a dozen of ale; and, when the dean of Durham preached here, (at Darlington,) spent in a treat with him, 3s. 6d.

Among the best intentions of Cromwell, (and he was not wanting in good ones,) was that of erecting a Northern College at Durham. The plan was never matured, either as to discipline or endowment. Oxford and Cambridge, which were both in possession of the sectarians, petitioned against it; and, at the Restoration, 'it totally disappeared amongst some worse things built on the same rotten foundation.' The time, it may be hoped, is not far distant, when a northern university will be founded; and in lasting honour will the memory of that excellent lady be held, who has made known her intention of contributing to it with a munificence unequalled in later times, and unsurpassed in former ones. A set of men had addressed Cromwell, in the name of the county, expressing their adherence to his person and government; but such was the loyalty of the old families, that the petition was signed by only one person considerable for his name and connections. During the suspension of the palatine privileges, members for the county and city were sent to parliament in 1653, 1654, and 1656; but not to Richard Cromwell's parliament. No where was the Restoration, which was every where so earnestly desired, more heartily rejoiced in. Seven gentlemen of the county palatine, after that event, were nominated for knights of the Royal Oak; but the design of instituting

tuting such an order was laid aside, conformably to that system of policy which neglects the old adherents on whose principles and fidelity it can rely, and bestows all its favours and rewards upon old enemies, whom a clear sense of their own interest has converted into new friends. The better part of the inhabitants lost no time in petitioning for the restoration of the rights belonging to their church and their county palatine, 'as ancient as the very common law of England, both of them having their very essence from a constant and uninterrupted prescription.' They touched upon the large proportion of calamities which, during the rebellion, had fallen to their lot, having at several times borne the pressure of two armies; yet, they said, 'had all these temporal burthens and sufferings been light unto them, compared to those spiritual ones of impoverishing and banishing their bishop, dean, prebendaries, and other the grave and orthodox ministers of the county; whereby their adversaries had endeavoured the utter overthrow and extirpation of the true Protestant religion, established by law in the church of England, the consequence whereof had deprived them not only of all divine and public worship of God, by the constitution of holy church and the law of this land established, but even of the holy sacraments, decent marriages and burials, occasioning thereby the leprous spreading of errors, heresies, schisms, and atheism.' They petitioned, therefore, for the restoration of their liberties and privileges belonging to the county palatine, and of 'that ancient church government by bishops, deans, and prebendaries, which is and was established by law.'

Above sixteen hundred names were affixed to this petition. It spoke the undoubted sense of a county which had no common claims to consideration; the voice of the nation was in accord with it; episcopacy was restored; and, among the new bishops who were appointed, John Cosin was nominated to the see of Durham. No man better deserved such preferment, for his worth, his sufferings, and his constancy; and no choice could have been more grateful to the county. Cosin, who was born at Norwich in 1595, was son of a citizen in that place, and had given early proof of his love of learning, and piety, and sense of duty; for when he was thirteen years of age, his father died, and left him several houses in Norwich, the whole of which he gave up to his mother, reserving only to himself an annuity of twenty pounds, for his maintenance at Cambridge. There he was successively scholar and fellow of Caius College, and, in his twenty-first year, recommended himself to the favourable notice of Bishop Overall, and was afterwards appointed his chaplain and librarian. One cause of this his first preferment is said to have been, that he wrote

wrote a fair hand—a useful accomplishment at all times, and probably a rare one in that worst age of English handwriting. Losing early his first patron, he found one as well disposed toward him, and more powerful, in Bishop Neile, who appointed him one of his domestic chaplains. Soon afterwards, he was instituted to a prebend in the cathedral of Durham, and collated to the rectory of Brancepath, upon which he married. His wife was sister to Blakiston, the regicide:—miserable are the times in which families are thus divided! Cosin soon became peculiarly obnoxious to the Puritans, for the ‘Collection of Private Devotions’ which he published in 1627. He compiled it, at King Charles’s desire, for the use of the Protestants in the Queen’s household, whose principles were supposed to be in some danger; and the book manifested a wish to conciliate the Queen and the papists, by affecting, as far as might rightfully and farther than could prudently be done, an external conformity with Roman Catholic forms. For this reason, some of the prayers were divided into *hours*; and, with this view, the frontispiece was designed, in which, as Mr. Surtees says, the chief *offendiculum* lay. It had the three letters, I.H.S., upon which a cross was raised, encircled with the sun, two angels supporting it, and two females in the act of adoring it. No wonder that this was called, in puritanical language, a lewd title-page; and that the book itself was termed a book of Cozening devotions. It was attacked by Prynne, one of the most honest, and by Burton, one of the most ferocious, of a malignant faction; and Cosin in consequence became a marked object for puritanical calumny and persecution. One of his fellow-prebendaries, Peter Smart by name, was strongly infected with that *virus*; he had omitted no opportunity of attacking his brethren of the cathedral, and at length preached a sermon there, so outrageously seditious, that not to have noticed it judicially, would have been inviting further insults. In the sermon, he called the altar a damnable idol, and reviled the bishops as ‘Rome’s bastardly brood,’ who ‘still doated upon their mother, the painted harlot.’ For this he was most properly prosecuted in the High Commission Court; and, on his refusal to recant, was degraded, exuted of all his preferments, and fined five hundred pounds;—for which he was well recompensed by four hundred pounds a year from the faction which he served: enjoying thus at once the reputation of a confessor, the comforts of a goodly pension, and the lively hope of rancorous revenge, which was more especially directed against Cosin.

Cosin had joined with the other members of the chapter, in prosecuting this turbulent and mischievous man; but so far was he from being his enemy, that he had written to the high court
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in his favour. But, because of the Book of Devotions, Cosin was a popular object of attack, and therefore Smart attacked him, complaining to the house of commons, as soon as the tide of rebellion had set in, of his superstition and popish innovations in the church of Durham. The charges which he alleged against him were some absolutely false, others falsely represented: in one of the heinous facts alleged, which was the purchase of certain copes, the accuser himself had been aiding and abetting; and the heaviest offence, that of 'setting up the picture of our Saviour, with a golden beard and blue cap, done in glass by a popish glazier,'—was shown to amount only to this, that the painted windows in the cathedral had been repaired 'by a popish glazier dwelling in Durham, and ordinarily employed there in respect to his skill, and not to his religion.' For such offences, however, he was sequestered from all his benefices, being the first victim of puritanical persecution who suffered by vote of the Commons. Not satisfied with this, the merciless faction who domineered in that house exhibited twenty-one articles of impeachment against him at the bar of the house of Lords. They were so merely frivolous, that after five re-hearings Cosin was dismissed on bail, and never again called on to attend. But a member of the Commons accused him of having seduced a Cambridge scholar to popery, and upon this charge he was committed to the custody of the sergent at arms. The accuser had not thought it necessary to make any inquiry into the truth or falsehood of the story; and Cosin not only refuted the charge, but proved that, after using every effort to reclaim the youth, he had brought him to read a public recantation, and punished him by expulsion from the university. At this time he was master of Peter-house; and being now ejected from his mastership by the Earl of Manchester's warrant, he deemed it prudent to consult his personal safety. Accordingly he withdrew; and then officiated as chaplain to the protestants of Queen Henrietta Maria's household, subsisting upon a small pension assigned him by the French court, on account of his connection with the Queen. And here, during seventeen years of exile, he effectually refuted, by the course of his life, those slanderous imputations, which only malignity could have prompted, and only prejudice believed. 'Assailed by argument and by sophistry, with poverty on one hand and offers of splendid preferment on the other, an exile in a foreign land, he defended his own principles, confirmed those of his wavering brethren, and adhered not only to the profession, but to the ceremonials and discipline of the English church, with exemplary boldness and fidelity.' No body of men have ever done their duty in trying times with more exemplary fidelity than the clergy of the church of England.

During

During the calamitous age of the great rebellion, and the disgraceful reign which followed it, popery made numerous proselytes among time-servers and adventurers, statesmen and philosophers, freethinkers and fanatics, the weak and the wavering, the ambitious, the unprincipled and the wicked; but the clergy who were perverted were very few, and not one person of eminence among them. The most remarkable were Cressy, the church historian, one of the most credulous of men; and Goffe, who had one brother a regicide, and another a dutiful and suffering minister of the established church. During these years of exile, Cosin compiled his 'Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures,' trusting thereby to make it manifest, he said, 'that those men who do now so basely endeavour to seduce the sons and daughters of the church of England from the grounds and truth of our religion (which is no other than what we have received from Christ and his universal church),—and who untruly term us novelists, are, in truth, the greatest novelists of any in the world,'—a truth which, in this erudite work, he has incontestably proved.

Cosin was an old man at the restoration, in his sixty-fifth year. Eight only of his sixty-eight predecessors, in the course of a thousand years, were thought to have equalled him in munificence and bounty, and by none of these was he excelled. He found every thing dilapidated, and when, in pursuing the repairs, some monitor reminded him of his children, his answer was, 'the church is my first-born.' Almost all the episcopal palaces had been ruined. Haselrigge had demolished that at Auckland, and begun a new one there for his own residence; this new building, Cosin, 'from some strange superstition,' says Mr. Surtees, pulled down: it is not the only instance of the feeling with which houses, the foundation of which had been laid in iniquity, were regarded at that time;—in its place he erected the noble palace, which has had so many worthy occupants, and which is at this time occupied so worthily; and he added to it the chapel, 'with all its splendid inventory of books, plate, and ornaments, for the service of the altar.' The bishop still retained so much of that feeling which had made the puritans cry out against him as a papist, that he thought nothing could be too splendid or costly for that service. Among his papers there is a goldsmith's receipt for one hundred pounds, in 'part payment for the plate and workmanship of the covers of a bible and common-prayer book.' He built the Bishop's Library, at Durham, and stored it with books for the use of his successors and the clergy of his diocese. In his private correspondence with his secretary, of which four volumes are preserved at Auckland, there is scarcely a letter in which

which his anxiety for completing this library is not apparent; all small fees on institutions, &c. he desired might be paid in books for this collection, and, like a man who used books (in Izaak Walton's whimsically applied expression) 'as if he loved them, he entered into all the minutiae of binding, lettering, and arranging them.' His munificence was extended to the college of which he had been master, where he gave 1000*l.* in books to the library, rebuilt the east end of the chapel, and founded five scholarships; three scholarships he also founded in Caius College, where he had been educated. Fortune had made him large amends in the way of wealth, for his privations during the years of his exile;—most of the leases held under the see had expired during that time, and the renewals enabled him not only to repair the dilapidations which war and waste had occasioned, to found almshouses, to make innumerable benefactions, and maintain the princely hospitality suited to his station in those times, but also to leave possessions to his family which are estimated at not less than 20,000*l.* But in that family the bishop had his cross; one of his daughters was an unworthy woman; and the only son who survived him he had imprudently entrusted to the Jesuits, during his abode at Paris, for classical education, and they, as by their religion bound to do, perverted him. The father for a time reclaimed him; but in weak or obstinate minds errors take root like diseases in certain constitutions, and Bishop Cosin, like Bishop Mathew, lost his son by a separation more grievous than that of death. The young man went back to France, and professed there in some religious order. During the latter years of his life the bishop was afflicted with the stone, a disease much more* frequent in those times than now, and especially among men of studious lives. Yet, under the pressure of this disease, and at an age exceeding the ordinary term of human life, he continued diligently to visit his extensive diocese, 'anxiously enforcing the residence of the parochial clergy, and pressing, with firmness, the restoration of the ruined and neglected chapels in the north, as the best means of resisting the inroads of sectaries of all descriptions.' This he did, till his disease was so aggravated, that he was obliged to leave his coach and be carried in a sedan chair through every paved town, during the whole journey. He died in London, of dropsy in the chest, and was interred in his own chapel at Auckland.

Baxter, who disparages Bishop Cosin with a sectarian feeling, says that he was of 'a rustic wit and carriage,' yet more affable and familiar at the Savoy conference than any other of the bishops.

* In the History of the Dissenters, it is called 'the instrument of death to the divines of that century,'—'the rack of ministers in that age.' The diminution of this disease must undoubtedly be owing to some general change of diet.

But no man's person and aspect could more perfectly have seemed his station and his calling. There is a fine portrait of him engraved in the present work; and he is described 'as tall and unbending under the weight of years; of an open, manly demeanour, with even some mixture of country plainness and occasional asperity of manner; of a commanding presence, and a countenance in which frankness and dignity were mingled.' Mr. Surtees has given some characteristic extracts from his correspondence. A vein of asperity sometimes shows itself there in sharp sayings, seasoned however with wit, and with a confession of his own infirmity of mind in this respect.—'I pray you once again,' he says, 'fail not, to let me have the accounts, &c. out of hand; for if I have them not, I shall fall into a discontented and fretting mind, which is apt to bring the fits of the strangury upon me; which I hope, therefore, you will prevent.' Of a person employed under him he says—'he thrust himself in to be my officer, with no other intention than to deceive and cheat me, if by any means he could; which art he hath perfectly learnt when he served Sir Arthur Haselrigge and others against the king.' And when his correspondent had put in a good word in favour of a certain Mr. Ward, who appears to have been no uncommon sort of character, the bishop replies:—'I say, too, that Mr. Ward is *an honest gentleman*—but, let me tell you, *as troublesome an honest gentleman* as any in the county.' Mr. Surtees has inserted 'the charge of the judges' entertainment by the bishop in 1661; when, according to the testimony of those who were participant, they were entertained nobly, and ate and drank abominably. Sack and canary figure in the account, but French wines in a larger proportion: there is a charge for 'melted pewter, and other cut and spoiled, and for dressing such as were bruised.' Margaret Hall had fifteen shillings for her five weeks' *sarvice* in feeding the fowls; and Mrs. Glover had three pounds for washing all the linen. Among his papers is also a bill of charges for five sturgeon taken at the Booth fishery; these fish, as well as whales, porpoises, and *thulepolls* (?), being his right: the charges upon them, and for preparing and shipping them for presents, amounted to five pounds seven shillings, in consequence of which the bishop desired his steward to catch no more.

His successor Nathaniel, afterwards Lord Crewe, was the first bishop of noble family since the Reformation; and the promotion was a scandalous one, for Charles II. was no longer advised by ministers who had the welfare and honour of the church at heart. Crewe gave early signs of a good ear for music; his mother, indeed, as is related in his *Memoirs*, dreamt of a fine concert in the rookery a little before his birth: he played on the fiddle and the theorbo;
and

and, before the Restoration, he had drunk the king's health and his happy return in his chambers at Lincoln College, at an hour which seems to have been more safe than sober; for Tom Thynne, his comrade in this exploit of loyalty, was locked out from Christ Church that night. When he was first presented, after taking orders, the king observed—'he was glad of a gentleman undertaking the service of the church;' and promised to take particular care of him. The high-born candidate for preferment did not fail to profit by this favourable disposition: being appointed clerk of the royal closet, 'he now carried himself with more exactness and nicety;' and being an agreeable man, of good person and easy manners, a judge of music and a supple courtier, he was made Bishop of Oxford a few months after Cosin's death. The see of Durham was kept vacant for three years: Lauderdale, indeed, said he would eat a peck of salt before it was filled; and some manuscript memoirs, which Mr. Surtees quotes, speak of an incredible court project for making Monmouth king of Scotland, and annexing the bishopric to that kingdom. The probable cause of so long a vacancy seems to have been, that the king's extravagance tempted him to a course which Elizabeth had sometimes followed, when necessity made her pay more regard to the receipts of the crown than to the duty and policy of the government. Crewe, though the youngest bishop on the bench, aspired to a promotion for which others were talked of, all of whom had better claims—or rather good ones, for Crewe had no claim, except such as rested upon court favour. He relied upon the Duke of York, and purchased his favour by the bold service of marrying him to Mary of Este, with no other authority than an order under the king's privy signet, notwithstanding the repeated protests of the house of Commons, and Lord Shaftesbury's advice, that whoever performed that ceremony had best take out his pardon under the broad seal. The duke, who was the least ungrateful of the Stuarts, promised to 'stick by him,' and kept his word; though it is said that Bishop Ward might have obtained the see, if he would have consented to certain secret conditions. Some effrontery was required to propose those conditions to a man of Ward's honourable and religious character, if the anecdote be true (probable enough in itself) which is related in a manuscript on Lord Lumley's authority. Crewe, it is there said, having got the promise of the bishopric, could never get possession, nor discover what was the remora which impeded it, till he applied to the nobleman, and then he learned that 'the king had promised Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn a sum to be paid out of this bishopric, and that, without agreeing with her, nothing could be done; whereupon the bishop, by his agent, applied to her, and agreed to pay five or

six thousand pounds. One Arden was bound with the bishop for the money; and thereupon he got into possession: the money was duly paid, and the bishop made Arden his steward.' Bishop Ken owed his promotion to Nell Gwyn in a very different manner.

The Lord Keeper Finch said to Crewe, on reluctantly passing the seals for his promotion—'Sure, this will stop your mouth for one twenty years!' and his father, then an old man, was so much offended or ashamed at the means by which this preferment had been obtained, that he never sat in the House of Lords after his son entered it. And when this son, as little affected by the lord keeper's remark, as by any sense of unworthiness or unfitness for so important a station, became, four years afterwards, a candidate for the primacy, the upright old man prayed earnestly that he might not succeed, from an apprehension, 'probably, of the difficulties in which not only his son, but the church of England, might have been involved by such an appointment.' The bishop often said, he lost it only by his father's prayers. That observation indicated in him a belief in the efficacy of prayer, not to have been inferred from the general tenour of his life; and this nation has cause to recognize with gratitude the course of Providence which, disappointing the endeavours and intrigues of this ambitious and unprincipled man, raised the excellent Sancroft, in his stead, to that important station. During James's reign, Crewe participated fully in all those measures which were designed to bring about the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in these kingdoms; 'the bare and stubborn facts,' as Mr. Surtees says, are such that, 'after every allowance for gratitude, ancient attachment, and loyal feeling, there remains a vast residuum of base time-serving compliances, which scarcely stopped on the safe side of *usque ad aras*.' In consequence he was excepted by name, out of the general pardon at the Revolution, and fled to Holland. But he made his terms, returned, and took the oath to William and Mary, being deprived of the lord-lieutenancy of Durham, and obliged also, it is said, to place all his preferment at the disposal of the crown. These mortifications he long survived; and even, while under the cloud of displeasure at court, 'his private fortunes prospered in the shade.' By the death of his last surviving brother he succeeded to a barony, and to the family seat and estate at Stene; and this was the first instance in England of such an union of a temporal and spiritual peerage. With a view to keeping up the family honours, he paid his addresses, in his fifty-eighth year, to the daughter of Sir William Forster, of Bamborough Castle, but being refused, on the score of the lady's youth, he married a widow; eight years afterwards he became a widower, and the lady whom he had formerly courted was then old enough to accept him after

after a four months' widowhood. To this second wife he seems to have been greatly attached; she lived with him sixteen years, and was buried in Stene chapel, adjoining his paternal mansion: he gave directions that his own body should be deposited beside her, and would often take the key of the chapel, and retire into it to muse over the grave of the departed, and contemplate his latter end. The sculptor, in that vile taste which seems to have originated in an unhappy design of making every thing connected with the grave revolting to our feelings, had ornamented this monument with 'a very ghastly, grinning alabaster skull;' and the bishop one day expressed a wish to his domestic chaplain, Dr. Grey, that it had not been placed there. Grey, upon this, sent to Banbury for the sculptor, and consulted with him whether it was not possible to convert it into a soothing, instead of a painful object. After some consideration, the artist declared that the only thing into which he could possibly convert it was—a bunch of grapes! and accordingly, at this day, a bunch of grapes may be seen upon the monument; for the chapel, which for a time had been abandoned to the rooks and daws who built their nests among the monuments, has been repaired, and is now united to the rectory of Hinton.

The year of Lady Crewe's death was fatal to her family. Her brother, John Forster, member for Northumberland, joined in the rebellion, and was general of the English part of the rebel army. Of course, his estates, then valued at 1314*l. per annum*, were forfeited: the bishop purchased them from the government commissioners, and settled the whole, by his will, on charitable uses. Under a clause which left the residue of the rents to such charitable uses as his trustees might appoint, the 'princely establishment of Bamborough' has arisen—where

' Charity hath fixed her chosen seat;
And Pity, at the dark and stormy hour
Of midnight, when the moon is hid on high,
Keeps her lone watch upon the topmost tower,
And turns her ear to each expiring cry,
Blest if her aid some fainting wretch might save,
And snatch him, cold and speechless, from the grave.'
Bowles.

The charitable intentions of a testator have never, in any instance, been better fulfilled than this: the residuary rents, owing to the great increase of rental in the Forster estates, became considerably the most important part of the bequest; and the trustees, who are restricted to five in number, all clergymen, and of whom the rector of Lincoln College is always one, being unfettered by any positive regulations, have so discharged their trust as to render Bamborough Castle the most extensively useful, as well as
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the most munificent; of all our eleemosynary¹ institutions. There are two free-schools there, both on the Madras system, one for boys, the other for girls; and thirty of the poorest girls are clothed, lodged, and boarded, till, at the age of sixteen, they are put out to service, with a good stock of clothing, and a present of 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* each; and at the end of the first year, if the girl has behaved well, another guinea is given her, with a bible, a prayer-book, the *Whole Duty of Man*, and Secker's *Lectures on the Catechism*. There is a library in the castle, to which Dr. Sharp,* one of the trustees, bequeathed, in 1792, the whole of his own collection, valued at more than 800*l.*; the books are lent gratuitously to any householder, of good report, residing within twenty-miles of Bamborough, and to any clergyman, Roman catholic priest or dissenting minister within the said distance. There is an infirmary also in the castle, of which the average annual number of in-patients is about thirty-five,—of out-patients above one thousand. There is an ample granary, from whence, in time of scarcity, the poor are supplied on low terms. Twice a week the poor are supplied with meal, at reduced prices, and with groceries at prime cost; and the average number of persons who partake this benefit is about one thousand three hundred in ordinary times, in years of scarcity very many more. To sailors on that perilous coast Bamborough Castle is what the Convent of St. Bernard's is to travellers in the Alps. Thirty beds are kept for shipwrecked sailors: a patrol for above eight miles (being the length of the manor) is kept along the coast every stormy night; signals are made; a life-boat is in readiness at Holy Island, and apparatus of every kind is ready for assisting seamen in distress;—wrecked goods are secured and stored, the survivors are relieved, the bodies that are cast on shore are decently interred. Bishop Crewe had been a worldling and a time-server; but he outlived his faults, and they were not of the kind which leave cancerous roots behind them. Age, and affection, and sorrow produced their salutary influence upon a disposition which, in its worst days, had been more weak than wicked; his evil deeds have produced no worse consequences than the dishonour which, in English history, must ever be attached to his name; his good ones continue to bring forth fruit on earth, and we may believe that the state of heart and mind from which they proceeded were such as to occasion joy in heaven.

It must also be remembered to Crewe's honour that, he gave a stall in his cathedral to Sir George Wheler, and gave him also the rectory of Houghton le Spring. This person, well known as a

* There is a very interesting account of this good man in Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*.

traveller in Greece, when to have travelled in that country was a distinction which very few attained, deserves to be yet better known as a worthy successor of Bernard Gilpin, and as one of those men whose righteousness may, more than any human policy, have availed in averting from this nation the calamities which in that age threatened it. There is a tradition in his family that he entered into orders in consequence of a vow made during his travels, when in some great danger, from which he was unexpectedly delivered. This is certain, that he returned to England in a disposition admirably suited for such a calling: 'and now,' said he, in publishing an account of his journey, 'I thanked God that he had placed the lot of my inheritance in a land that he had blessed and hedged about for himself; where nothing is wanting to supply the defects of frail nature, but where peace and plenty embrace each other; where every man's right, from the prince to the peasant, is secured to him by the protection of good and wholesome laws; and, lastly, rendered me into the bosom of a church, that I had often heard, but now knew, to be the most refined, pure, and orthodox church in the world, freed from slavery, error, and superstition, and without novelty or confusion, established in purity of doctrine, decency, and order.' Being highly connected, it was contrary to the wishes of his powerful friends, that he entered upon what was deemed a humble course of life, for one who had no ambitious desire of preferment. Very different were his own feelings. 'I cannot but wonder,' said he, 'how it comes to pass that the dignity of priesthood is so contemned in our days; sure it must be either because those that have the honour conferred on them, dishonour it by misusing it; or men ignorantly know not either how to value so great a favour from God and man, or to enjoy so great a happiness. If I have any skill to choose what in my opinion is best and most eligible, I would much rather be an understanding vicar of a moderately endowed church, than to be the most rich, if vicious, lord of the manor; for, indeed, he (the vicar) is to be esteemed the chief of a Christian parish, and general of so many convents and monasteries as he has houses in his parish.' The little book from which Mr. Surtees extracts this passage, and which he describes as a 'very excellent institute of domestic discipline, is entitled *The Protestant Monastery, or Christian Economicks*.' Among other pleasing extracts, is one in which, after treating of the duties of hospitality, Sir George says, 'the noblest remains of this English, and I think I may say, Christian hospitality, is the residential entertainment of the cathedral church of Durham, where each prebendary, in his turn, entertains, with great liberality, the poor and rich neighbours and strangers with generous welcome, Chris-
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tian freedom, modest deportment, good and plentiful cheer, moderate eating, and sober drinking. They give God thanks, read a chapter in the midst, between the courses, during which all men reverently uncover their heads; and after grace again, there is seldom more drank than the *poculum charitatis*, or the love-cup, and the king's good health; and then every one to his own home, business, and studies.' 'It ought to be remarked,' says Mr. Surtees here, 'that the *poculum charitatis* holds a pint.'

There is something which slightly resembles the portraits of Baxter in the grave and reverend character of Sir George Wheler's face; except that the nose has no such Rialto-like bridge as that which, if Baxter wore spectacles, accommodated them with so convenient a rest: but Wheler's countenance is altogether free from that melancholy severity which Baxter's had contracted, first from the constant malady, induced (according to his own account) by his original sin in apples, which he confesses,—and, secondly, by an intellect not less dyspeptic than his stomach, and which, good man as he was, kept him continually sour with indigested scruples. Wheler, on the contrary, enjoyed a happy constitution both of mind and body,—the greatest of all God's blessings.

'His religion,' says Mr. Surtees, 'though austere in regard to himself, never rendered him harsh or severe in his judgment of others; and, however strict in his own observances, he was neither an enemy to innocent recreation nor to personal accomplishments, when consistent with the purity of the Christian character; and thus sincerely attached, both by judgment and inclination to the discipline and institutes of that church of which he was a member, his zeal and charity embraced the whole Christian world. Nor will it, on the whole perhaps, be more than justice to conclude that few ever more happily united the dignified manners and sentiments of birth and rank, with the venerable simplicity and modesty of the Christian pastor, than Sir George Wheler.'

Among their other royalties, the bishops of Durham had their separate court of wards; but when the rest of the kingdom was relieved from that abominable grievance at the Restoration, the court was abolished in the bishopric also, and compensation made for it by the remission of a fee-farm rent originally imposed on the palatinate by Elizabeth for the maintenance of the garrison of Warwick. Another change was attempted in Cosin's time; the freeholders having returned members to Cromwell's parliament, petitioned, in 1666, that they might send representatives for the county and city; but the bishop opposed this petition strongly, upon the ground that it was derogatory to his own rights, and to the privileges of the palatinate. The time, however, was past, when places deemed it a privilege to be exempted from sending

members, and persons so chosen thought it an evil to serve; and therefore, though the petitioners failed in their object during Bishop Cosin's life, they succeeded without opposition, soon after his death, during the vacancy of the see. The plea of the petitioners was, that they paid all parliamentary imposts like other counties, and were, therefore, entitled to representatives, to prevent their suffering by any undue proportion of such taxation, as well as to speak for the commercial interests of a maritime county; and they pleaded the example of Chester, which, though a county palatine, returned members. The bishop, in reply, stated that he was bound by his oath to defend the privilege of exemption in this case, among the other rights of the see; and that all the corporations in the county held their charter of him, and were sworn to attempt nothing contrary to their rights. It may probably have been for the sake of evading the difficulty which the bishop's oath presented, that the petition was accorded *sede vacante*, though Crewe would not perhaps have much regarded the privilege, or scrupled at the obligation. The most remarkable circumstance in the transaction is, that the persons most active in it endeavoured to purchase Bishop Cosin's consent, by offering that he should have the nomination of one knight and one burgess, if he would concur with them, and obtain an act of parliament accordingly.

Crewe lived to the great age of eighty-nine. His successor, Bishop Talbot, made himself unpopular by advising the chapter to advance the fines on renewal of their leasehold tenures, and setting them an example himself; and by bringing in a bill respecting the leasing of mines, which was successfully opposed by the dean and chapter, and the country interest. He was a munificent prelate, if an epithet, which ought only to be used as laudatory, may be applied to one whose expenditure exceeded his revenues; and his son, the Lord Chancellor Talbot, is said twice to have paid his debts. He held the see nine years; his successor Chandler, who had deserved it by his vindication of Christianity against a noted infidel of that time, held it twenty. A greater name follows in the list,—that of Bishop Butler,—one of those profound writers of whom we may say with Cicero, *satis superque prudentes sunt, qui illorum prudentiam non dicam assequi, sed quanta fuerit perspicere possent*. This admirable person, the son of a tradesman at Wantage in Berkshire, was educated for the dissenting ministry, but in the course of his studies he began to entertain serious doubts concerning the points of difference between the dissenters and the English church; that question no man ever examined with a sincerer heart, or a more powerful intellect, and the examination ended in his becoming deliberately a
convert

convert to the Established Church. The father, at first, called in several eminent ministers of his own persuasion to reclaim him ; but finding their efforts in vain, he permitted him to remove from the dissenting academy to Oxford, after which he soon took orders. He had previously introduced himself to Dr. Clarke by some letters which gave sufficient proof of his extraordinary abilities ; a son of Bishop Talbot, on his death-bed, recommended him to his father, and that prelate gave him first the rectory of Haughton-le-Skerne, and afterwards that of Stanhope,—a deep retirement in one of the wildest parts of England, ‘ where he constantly resided for seven years in the regular and unostentatious discharge of his parochial duties.’ So little was he heard of during those years, that when his friend Secker, (afterwards archbishop) wishing to bring him into more active life, took occasion to mention his name to the queen, ‘ Butler?’ she said ; ‘ I thought he had been dead.’ Secker assured her to the contrary ; the queen, however, still under that persuasion, made inquiry of Archbishop Blackburn, and he replied, ‘ No, madam ; but he is buried.’ He owed his further promotion to the Lord Chancellor Talbot, the brother of his deceased friend ; through him he obtained a prebendal stall at Rochester, and was ere long appointed clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline. He then published his *Analogy*. Leibnitz has said, *posset scribi liber de Allegoriis, seu typis naturalibus, quibus physica præhædit religioni, uti lex Mosæica Christo*. That testimony to the truth of revealed religion which one of the greatest of great men saw, might be deduced from the material and physical world, Butler sought and found in the moral and metaphysical one, in the order of Providence, and in the nature of man.

Merit of this peculiar kind has seldom been so properly rewarded. Queen Caroline, who as a patroness of learning has had no equal in her station, did not live to reward it ; but her death did not impede his preferment ; he was successively made bishop of Bristol and dean of St. Paul’s, and having held the former bishopric twelve years, was translated to Durham. This elevation he regarded as became so wise and good a man. ‘ If,’ said he, in answer to a congratulatory letter, ‘ one is enabled to do a little good, and to prefer worthy men, this indeed is a valuable life, and will afford satisfaction in the close of it ; but the change of station in itself will in no wise answer the trouble of it, and of getting into new forms of living.’ ‘ It would be a melancholy thing in the close of life, to have no reflections to entertain oneself with, but that one had spent the revenues of the bishopric of Durham in a sumptuous course of living, and enriched one’s friends with the promotions of it ; instead of having really set oneself to do good, and promote worthy men.’ Entering upon his see with these feelings, his conduct during the short time which he

he held it was such as to conciliate all hearts. No man ever more thoroughly possessed that *meekness of wisdom* which the apostle enjoins; he had noticed the expression for its beauty; his heart and disposition were conformed to it, and in high as in humble life, it was uniformly manifested in his conversation. Neither the consciousness of intellectual strength, nor the just reputation which he had thereby attained, nor the elevated station to which he had been raised, in the slightest degree injured the natural modesty of his character, or the mildness and sweetness of his temper. 'To his clergy he was a kind and beneficent friend and patron; and to the gentry of the county, imitating, where he could with safety, the example of his munificent patron Bishop Talbot, he exercised a frank and generous hospitality.' He is described as of most reverend aspect; his face thin and pale; a divine placidness in his countenance at this time, his white hair hanging gracefully on his shoulders; and his whole figure patriarchal. While performing his ministerial office, 'a divine animation seemed to pervade his whole manner, and lighted up his pale wan countenance, already marked with the progress of disease, like a torch glimmering in its socket, yet bright and useful to the last.' He held the bishopric not quite two years, and dying at Bath in the sixtieth year of his age, was interred in his old cathedral at Bristol.

Fifteen years after the death of this excellent person, his memory was assailed by an anonymous slanderer, who affirmed in a pamphlet that Bishop Butler had died in the communion of the Romish church. The writer was called upon to produce his authority for publishing so gross and scandalous a falsehood!—for such Archbishop Secker, the friend of Butler, who made the call, knew it to be. It then appeared that this was not the invention of the Romanists, seeking thereby to acquire credit to their own church (an artifice which, in many instances, they have practised); but that it proceeded from the rancorous hatred with which two or three dissenters regarded Butler, because he had forsaken their communion. No other grounds were alleged for it when the slanderer produced his proofs, than that he had 'put up the popish insignia of the cross in his chapel at Bristol, and in his last episcopal charge had squinted very much toward that superstition.' These facts, he said, were 'full proof of a strong attachment to the idolatrous communion of the church of Rome;' and he accounted for this attachment 'from the natural melancholy and gloominess of Dr. Butler's disposition; from his great fondness for the lives of Romish saints, and their books of mystic piety; from his drawing his notions of teaching men religion, not from the New Testament, but from philosophical and political opinions of his own; and above all, from his transition from a strict dissenter among the presbyterians to a rigid churchman,

man, and his sudden and unexpected elevation to great wealth and dignity in the church.' Archbishop Secker, with becoming feeling for his departed friend, showed that the accusation was as entirely groundless as the reasons by which it was attempted to maintain it were futile and malicious; and some of the better dissenters disclaimed for their body in general any participation in so disgraceful a proceeding. But the inventors of the calumny persisted in it, with that pertinacity which characterises wilful slander: they have totally failed in their desire of fixing an opprobrium upon his name, and it is only by concealing their own that they have themselves escaped from the perpetual infamy, which otherwise would have been their earthly reward.

That Butler's successors should have equalled him in power of mind was not to be hoped,—for generations pass away without the appearance of any such light of the human race. But they were not unworthy of their elevation. Bishop Trevor left the reputation of a sincere friend, a generous patron, and a munificent prelate. Of Bishop Egerton it is said, that 'of the many noble and generous prelates who have held the see of Durham, none ever exercised his palatine privileges with more liberal discretion, or passed through his high office with less of blame or envy.' Thurlow, the lord chancellor's brother, held it only four years. No one ever enjoyed it longer than his successor, the last bishop, nor disposed more largely of his abundance in unostentatious bounty. A well-known and most respectable member of the Romish communion is said to have regarded Bishop Barrington, heretic as he was, with so much veneration, that he one day solicited his blessing, and knelt to receive it. Since Butler's time, the bishops of this important see had been chosen because of their family connexions; the older and better principle was recurred to in the appointment of the learned and excellent person who holds it now. Had the possessions of this church been sequestered, like those of so many other religious foundations at the Reformation, and some great family enriched with the sacrilegious spoils—would the tenants have held their estates on easier terms? Would a larger portion of the revenues have been appropriated to public and to pious uses? Would there have been a wiser or more liberal expenditure? As much patronage discreetly bestowed? As much encouragement of literature and moral worth? As much happiness conferred? As much good done? Would the nation have derived as much benefit and as much honour from a succession of dukes of Durham, as from the bishops whose history has here been sketched?

We have confined ourselves chiefly to the general history here. The more miscellaneous divisions will afford curious materials for another paper, when Mr. Surtees shall conclude his elaborate and very valuable work.

ART.

ART. V.—*The Journal of a Naturalist.* London. 1829.

WE believe very few books, on the subject of Natural History, have met with such unqualified praise from those to whom the contemplation of the various objects of nature can afford rational amusement, as the ‘*Natural History of Selborne*,’ by the Rev. Gilbert White.* The author of the little volume, with the modest title, now before us, admits that, in the collection of his own materials, he had this interesting book in his eye; that the perusal of it early impressed on his mind an ardent love for all the ways and economy of nature; and that he was thereby led to the constant observance of the various rural objects with which he was surrounded. But, as he observes, many years have passed away since the publication of Mr. White’s amusing book, without its being followed up by any other bearing the least resemblance to it; and ‘although,’ he adds, ‘the meditations of separate naturalists in fields, in wilds, in woods, may yield a similarity of ideas, yet the different aspects under which the same things are viewed and characters considered, afford infinite variety of description and narratives.’ This is unquestionably true; and we can assure him, that a close perusal of the two productions has satisfied us that they do not in the least interfere with each other. Both are well suited for a country library—both are almost sure to awake that degree of curiosity which promotes inquiry, and stimulates to the investigation of nature and the confirmation of truth. But the ‘*Journal of a Naturalist*’ is peculiarly calculated for this end. It brings home to its readers the structure, the splendour, and the utility of various species of the vegetable part of the creation. The peculiar habits and economy of different quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and insects, that are found in and about a certain district of country, and the observations and reflections which the contemplation of the several objects gives rise to, are so just and admirable that they can-

* We happen to have in our possession the original MS. journals of Mr. White, in five volumes, commencing in January, 1768, and ending with December, 1789, containing daily remarks, and much curious matter in the columns, that is not found in the published book. On the title-page of ‘*The Naturalist’s Journal*’ (thus filled up) for the first year, is this inscription:—‘The gift of the Honourable Mr. Barrington, the Inventor;’ and at the foot of the page is the following quotation from Thomson’s *Seasons*:
 ‘I solitary court

Th’ inspiring breeze; and meditate the book
 Of nature, ever open.’

But in those for a few subsequent years, is substituted the following inscription:—

‘Omnia bene describere quæ in hoc mundo adeo facta, aut naturæ creatæ viribus elaborata fuerunt, opus est non unius hominis, nec unius ævi. Hinc Faunæ et Floræ utilissimæ; hinc monographi præstantissimi.’—*Joan. Ant. Scopoli*, annus secundus, *Historico-Naturalis*.

These Journals are kept with great neatness, the writing clear and distinct, almost without an obliteration; and we apprehend they must have been preserved with great care in the family, being handsomely and well bound.

not fail to gratify the curiosity of the reader, and, at the same time, command his approbation and sympathy. In short, it is a book that ought to find its way into every rural drawing-room in the kingdom, and one that may safely be placed in every lady's boudoir, be her rank and station in life what they may; which is more than we can venture to say, with regard to Mr. White's volume. That good old clergyman, in the simplicity of his heart, sometimes spoke of matters in a way not exactly suited to female delicacy; but the most fastidious eye may, without fear of offence, consult the '*Journal of a Naturalist*.'

It has often been to us a matter of surprise and regret, that the study of natural history, or of those physical objects which are perpetually before our eyes and daily strew our path, should not have taken deeper root, and even formed an elementary part of education in the scholastic institutions of Great Britain. Considering the subject on the score of amusement merely, it is assuredly one of the most delightful occupations that can employ the attention of human beings. But it has higher claims, on our notice; it leads us, as our author justly observes,

'to investigate and survey the workings and ways of Providence in this created world of wonders, filled with his never absent power: it occupies and elevates the mind, is inexhaustible in supply, and, while it furnishes meditation for the closet of the studious, gives to the reflexions of the moralizing Rambler admiration and delight, and is an engaging companion, that will communicate an interest to every rural walk.'

In fact, every object in the creation may truly be said to be worthy of regard in the philosophy of nature. They are all the formation of Supreme Intelligence; they are all created for some definite purpose; and we shall find, on a minute examination into the mechanism and structure even of the meanest reptile that crawls, the most obvious and nice adaptation of the means to the end; thus furnishing to our narrow understandings some faint conception of the powers of Infinite Wisdom.

But should these higher considerations fail to give an interest to the innumerable and infinitely varied objects that fill the universe, it might be supposed that the exquisite beauty of some, the intrinsic value of others, and the indispensable utility of many, would be sufficient inducements to lead to the investigation of their properties, habits, and economy; and to make the study of natural history a subject of systematic education. In all these respects the researches of each department will amply repay the labour of the student. The geologist, for instance, finds his reward in the knowledge he obtains of the formation of the crust of the globe we inhabit, and which, thin as it is compared with the whole

whole mass, supplies the precious metals that constitute the representatives of our wealth; the diamonds, the emeralds, the rubies, and all the varieties of precious stones, which add brilliancy to beauty; the marbles, and granites, and porphyrys, which contribute to the strength and splendour of our public buildings and private dwellings. The botanist takes a deep interest in the contemplation of the vegetable world, from which we derive most of our comforts and our luxuries; our food, our clothing, and our fuel; 'wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to give him a cheerful countenance.' The zoologist is instructed to what species of the animal part of the creation we are most indebted for assistance and security—which of them, while living, aid us most in our enjoyments and necessities,—and which, when dead, contribute their share to our food and raiment. It is, however, to the vegetable part of the creation that the great masses of mankind, inhabiting the equinoctial and tropical regions, are principally indebted for their sustenance: in the temperate climates, where grasses abound, man mixes animal food with the produce of his agricultural labours; and the nearer he approaches the Arctic circle and the Polar regions, the more he has to depend on animal food; till having arrived at the extremes of the habitable world, he disputes the possession of seals and whales with the bears and foxes, gorging himself with their flesh, with the avidity of those beasts of prey that prowl about in these desolate and inhospitable regions.

In recommending the study, therefore, of natural history, we by no means wish to be understood as limiting it to the mere systematic nomenclature, or classification of natural objects; such, for instance, as that which is contained in the '*Systema Naturæ*' of Linnaeus, which is, nevertheless, one of the most elaborate and extraordinary productions of industry and skill that we are acquainted with; and the knowledge of which is quite necessary to enable us to *read*, though it may not be sufficient to qualify us to *understand* nature; but in this, as in other studies, we must first toil through the rudiments, before we can expect to make any deep researches into the economy of nature. 'To teach composition without a grammar,' says the late Sir James Smith, 'or philology without an alphabet, would be equally judicious. Plants' (and he might have added, all other objects of nature) 'must be known before they can be compared, and the talent of discrimination must precede that of combination.' The advantage of the artificial classification is, that it instructs the student how to arrange all natural objects under their proper class and order, and to discriminate the several genera and species, which, however different, may

may frequently appear to casual observers to be identical. It may be true, that no great intellectual knowledge is to be acquired by a study of this artificial system; but it is precisely for that reason that we would recommend it as an elementary branch of education, to prepare the young mind for a more philosophical investigation of the works of nature, which, at a more mature age, a person, without some previous knowledge, may feel himself less disposed to undertake.

The 'Systema Naturæ' of Linnæus has been objected to by some as artificial; and by others as absurd. Artificial it certainly is: it required a most cunning artificer to reduce all animated nature into six grand classes, comprehending every living thing, from speaking man to the mute worm. One of these classes happens to include man, and the bat, and the whale, and it is this which, in the minds of those who have not considered and do not understand the subject, constitutes the alleged absurdity. Such objectors we suppose would have one of these systematic concomitants of man to be a bird and the other a fish, though they have nothing respectively in common with either, except that one *flies* and the other *swims*; whereas both have an essential characteristic common to man and all quadrupeds, and which birds and fishes have not,—and this is, that they are viviparous, mammiferous, and lactiferous, and are, therefore, very properly included in the grand division of animated beings, which constitutes the *mammalia*. Similar objections have also been thrown out against the artificial classification of plants, as contained in the 'Systema Vegetabilium,' of the same author. But, as the late president of the Linnæan Society justly observed, 'the knowledge of natural classification being the summit of botanical science, cannot be the first step towards the acquirement of that science.' The natural historian of Selborne has some good observations on this part of the subject:—

'The standing objection,' he says, 'to botany, has always been, that it is a pursuit that amuses the fancy and exercises the memory without improving the mind or advancing any real knowledge; and, where the science is carried no farther than a mere systematic classification, the charge is but too true. But the botanist who is desirous of wiping off this aspersion, should be by no means content with a list of names; he should study plants philosophically,—should investigate the laws of vegetation,—should examine the powers and virtues of efficacious herbs,—should promote their cultivation, and graft the gardener, the planter, and the husbandman, on the phytologist: not that system is by any means to be thrown aside; without system, the field of nature would be a pathless wilderness; but system should be subservient to, not the main object of, our pursuit.'

Our ideas exactly coincide with what is here stated by the good pastor;

pastor; and they are also in unison with those of our present author—who, however, seems rather disposed to favour the familiar and oftentimes whimsical nomenclature of the ‘grave and whiskered race’ of ancient herbalists, in preference of the terms derived from the classical tongues now in fashion; and to think that ‘honesty, true-love, heart’s-ease, and loose-strife,’ with ‘all-heal, poor-man’s pepper, pennywort, thrift, and hedge-mustard,’ were very intelligible and consoling names. Indeed, we are not sure that such a plain name as ‘water-cress’ is not as good as ‘*Sisymbrium nasturtium*’—‘dead-nettle,’ as ‘*Galeopsis galeobdolon*’—and ‘dog’s bane,’ as ‘*Apocynum androsæmifolium*,’ or that ‘Robert,’ ‘Bennet,’ and ‘Basil,’—‘Sweet William,’ ‘Sweet Marjory,’ and ‘Mary Gold,’ do not sound quite as well to an English ear as ‘Hoffmanseggia,’ ‘Hedwigia,’ ‘Schkuhria,’ and ‘Scheuchzeria.’ As far as this part of the system is concerned, we are ready to admit it to be vicious; but vanity has been the parent of these, and many other patronymics equal in euphony, and vanity, we fear, will continue and multiply the race. The specific names, however, are for the most part appropriate and descriptive, and rest therefore on a better foundation; and, in censuring Linnæus and his followers for their nomenclature, we should bear in mind the extreme difficulty of assigning suitable names to two thousand five hundred genera,* and from thirty to forty thousand known species of plants.

The author of the little volume, of which we are about to give some account, has thought fit to withhold his name; but we have no doubt he is some highly respectable country gentleman who, for many years, must have pursued his favourite study in close observation of the habits of animals: at any rate, his ‘intervals of leisure and shattered health’ have accomplished a great deal in his favourite pursuit. That he is possessed of the most humane and amiable feelings, every page bears ample testimony; and we are disposed, therefore, on every account, to assist in making his work generally known.

Our naturalist, like the historian of Selborne, opens his subject with a description of the scenery about his village, which is said to be situated on an ancient road, connecting the cities of Bristol and Gloucester—commanding extensive prospects on the banks of the Severn, and of the Welsh mountains. He describes the site of a Roman encampment in the neighbourhood—the traces that remain of the former existence of a Roman road, and other vestiges of these ‘stern sons of conquest,’ marked out „

‘By many a grassy mound, by many a sculptured stone.’

He then takes a transient view of the character of the surface and

* In Persoon’s *Synopsis Plantarum*, of 1807, are described 2303 genera.

the soil—notices the abundance of the different kinds of limestone, and particularly of several immense masses, obviously of animal formation, and which he describes as ‘a compound body of minute cylindrical columns, the cells of the animals which constructed the material; the mouths of which are all manifest by a magnifier.’

‘It may startle, perhaps, the belief of some, who have never considered the subject, to assert what is apparently a fact, that a considerable portion of those prodigious cliffs of chalk and calcareous stone, that in many places control the advance of the ocean, protrude in rocks through its waters, or incrust such large portions of the globe, are of animal origin—the exuviae of marine substances, or the labours of minute insects, which once inhabited the deep. We find the base-ment of many of the South Sea islands, some of which are twenty miles long, formed of this matter. Captain Flinders, in the gulf of Carpentaria, held his course by the side of limestone reefs, five hundred miles in extent, and three hundred fathoms deep; and still more recently Captain King, seven hundred miles, almost a continent, of rock, increasing, and visibly forming—all drawn from the waters of the ocean by a minute creature, that wonderful agent in the hands of Providence, the coral insect.’—pp. 9—11.

With regard to the *depth* of these wonderful fabrics below the surface of the sea, the author has been led into the same error with ourselves some years ago, from trusting too implicitly to the reports of the naval officers he names, and some others, who had not investigated these interesting fabrics with the same close attention which has more recently been given to them. It is now known, from observations made in the Pacific, that the coralline bases of the numerous small islands scattered over the surface of that great ocean, do not rest on the bottom of the sea, but are attached to the summits of rocks of other formation, and, there is reason to conclude, from their almost invariably circular or oval form, with a laguna in the middle, that most of the rocky substrata to which the coral formation adheres are the productions of submarine volcanoes; the edges of whose broken-down craters are not far removed from the surface, and are sometimes, indeed, mixed with the more recent coral formation. Still, superficial as these latter rocks may be, they are most stupendous fabrics to be reared by the labours of a class of insignificant and neglected insects or worms, many of them, we believe, not yet described nor known in the class of zoophytes.

In noticing the lime-kilns about his village, our author relates the following singular incident, which shews how perfectly insensible to pain the human frame may become under peculiar circumstances. It is well known that the smart occasioned by a fresh wound will subside on immersing the wounded part in carbonic acid

acid gas; but whether 'the gas of the lime-kiln,' in the present instance, produced this effect, we pretend not to pronounce an opinion.

'A travelling man one winter's evening laid himself down upon the platform of a lime-kiln, placing his feet, probably numbed with cold, upon the heap of stones newly put on to burn through the night. Sleep overcame him in this situation; the fire gradually rising and increasing until it ignited the stones upon which his feet were placed. Lulled by the warmth, he still slept; and though the fire increased until it burned one foot (which probably was extended over a vent-hole) and part of the leg above the ankle entirely off, consuming that part so effectually, that no fragment of it was ever discovered, the wretched being slept on! and in this state was found by the kiln-man in the morning. Insensible to any pain, and ignorant of his misfortune, he attempted to rise and pursue his journey, but missing his shoe, requested to have it found; and when he was raised, putting his burnt limb to the ground to support his body, the extremity of his leg bone, the tibia, crumbled into fragments, having been calcined into lime. Still he expressed no sense of pain, and probably experienced none, from the gradual operation of the fire, and his own torpidity during the hours his foot was consuming. This poor drover survived his misfortunes in the hospital about a fortnight; but the fire having extended to other parts of his body, recovery was hopeless.'—pp. 15, 16.

There are few minds so constituted as not to be pleased with the contemplation of the brilliancy and beauty of innumerable objects in the vegetable part of the creation, and, at the same time, impressed with a sense of the infinite wisdom and power manifested in the structure and formation, as well as in the splendour, even of the simplest flower of the field, equal to which 'Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed.' We entirely concur with the author that 'there is not a prettier emblem of spring than an infant sporting in the sunny field, with its ozier basket wreathed with butter-cups, orchises, and daisies.'

'Flowers,' he says, 'in all ages, have been made the representatives of innocence and purity. We decorate the bride, and strew her path with flowers: we present the undefiled blossoms, as a similitude of her beauty and untainted mind; trusting that her destiny through life will be like theirs, grateful and pleasing to all. We scatter them over the shell, the bier, and the earth, when we consign our mortal blossoms to the dust, as emblems of transient joy, fading pleasures, withered hopes; yet rest in sure and certain trust, that each in due season will be renewed again. All the writers of antiquity make mention of their uses and application in heathen and pagan ceremonies, whether of the temple, the banquet, or the tomb—the rites, the pleasures, or the sorrows of man.'—p. 69.

The mention of dyer's broom (*genista tinctoria*), and of dyer's weed,

weed, or wold (*reseda luteola*), and the advantages that might be derived from their culture in England, gives to our author the opportunity of noticing how predominant the yellow colour is throughout the vegetable world.

'The bark, the wood, the flower, the leaves of many of our native trees and plants afford a yellow dye; we have no colour so easily produced as this is; and it is equally remarkable, that, amidst all the varied hues of spring, yellow is the most predominant in our wild and cultured plants. The primrose, cowslip, pilewort, globe-flower, buttercup, cherlock, crocus, all the cabbage tribe, the dandelions, appear in this dress. The very first butterfly, that will

"aloft repair,

And sport and flutter in the fields of air,"

is the sulphur butterfly (*gonepteryx rhamni*), which in the bright sunny mornings of March we so often see under the warm hedge, or by the side of some sheltered copse, undulating, and vibrating like the petal of a primrose in the breeze. The blossoms of many of our plants afford for the decoration of the fair a vast variety of colours and intermediate tints; but they are all of them, or nearly so, inconstant or fugitive before the light of the sun, or mutable in the dampness of the air, except those obtained from yellow flowers; circumstances may vary the shade, but yet it is mostly permanent. Yellow is again the livery of autumn, in all the shades of ochre and of orange; the "sere and yellow leaf" becomes the general cast of the season, the sober brown comes next, and then decay.—pp. 100, 101.

In cursorily running over the plants that are remarkable for their value, or some peculiar quality, he notices the great snapdragon (*antirrhinum majus*), whose flowers, or 'bull-dogs,' as the boys call them, are perfect insect traps. The little creatures that seek an entrance into the corolla through the closed lips, to get at the sweet liquor that is found at the base of the germen, are impeded, in their endeavour to return, by a dense thicket of woolly matter which invests the mouth of the lower jaw; but finding no egress, having consumed the nectareous fluid, they gnaw a hole at the base of the tube, through which they return to liberty and light. Several other flowers appear to have been so constructed as to become instruments of destruction to the insect world, most of them, however, without inflicting torture on the petty robber.

'But we have one plant in our gardens, a native of North America, than which none can be more cruelly destructive of animal life, the dogbane (*apocynum androsæmifolium*), which is generally conducive to the death of every fly that settles upon it. Allured by the honey on the nectary of the expanded blossom, the instant the trunk is protruded to feed on it, the filaments close, and, catching the fly by the extremity of its proboscis, detain the poor prisoner writhing in protracted struggles till released by death, a death apparently occasioned by exhaustion

exhaustion alone; the filaments then relax, and the body falls to the ground. The plant will at times be dusky from the numbers of imprisoned wretches.'—pp. 80, 81.

From that part of the little volume which treats of trees, and shrubs and flowers, we could extract many beautiful and interesting passages, but we must content ourselves with the author's account of the chaste and humble snowdrop.

'Upon an old bank, tangled with bushes and rubbish, we find in abundance that very early translated, and perfectly domesticated flower, the cottage snowdrop (*galanthus nivalis*); a plant that is undoubtedly a native of our island, for I have seen it in situations where nature only could introduce it, where it was never planted by the hand of man, or strayed from any neighbouring cultivation. The damask rose, the daffodil, or the stock of an old bullace plum, will long remain, and point out where once a cottage existed; but all these, and most other tokens, in time waste away and decay; while the snowdrop will remain, increase, and become the only memorial of man and his labours. The snowdrop is a melancholy flower. The season, in which the "fair maids of February" come out, is the most dreary and desolate of our year; they peep through the snow that often surrounds them, shivering and cheerless; they convey no idea of reviving nature, and are scarcely the harbingers of milder days, but rather the emblem of sleety storms, and icy gales (snowdrop weather), and wrap their petals round the infant germ, fearing to admit the very air that blows; and, when found beyond the verge of cultivation, they most generally remind us of some deserted dwelling, a family gone, a hearth that smokes no more. A lover of cold, it maintains the beautiful ovate form of its flower only in a low temperature; warmth expanding the petals, vitiating its grace, and destroying its character. It seems to preserve its native purity free from every contamination; it will become double, but never wanders into varieties, is never streaked or tinged with the hues of other flowers.'—pp. 93, 94.

Thus much for 'plants, trees, and stones.' We now proceed to 'note

'Birds, insects, beasts, and many rural things,'

introductory to which we cannot do better than extract the description of an autumnal walk, as a picture, the truth of which every lover of nature will at once recognize, and which may be considered as a fair specimen of our author's tact for observation.

'The little excursions of the naturalist, from habit and from acquirement, become a scene of constant observation and remark. The insect that crawls, the note of the bird, the plant that flowers, or the vernal leaf that peeps out, engages his attention, is recognized as an intimate, or noted from some novelty that it presents in sound or aspect. Every season has its peculiar product, and is pleasing or admirable, from causes that variously affect our different temperaments or dispositions; but there are accompaniments in an autumnal morning's

ing's woodland walk, that call for all our notice and admiration: the peculiar feeling of the air, and the solemn grandeur of the scene around us, dispose the mind to contemplation and remark; there is a silence in which we hear every thing, a beauty that will be observed. The stump of an old oak is a very landscape, with rugged alpine steeps bursting through forests of verdant mosses, with some pale, denuded, branchless lichen, like a scathed oak, creeping up the sides or crowning the summit. Rambling with unfettered grace, the tendrils of the briony (*tamus communis*) festoon with its brilliant berries, green, yellow, red, the slender sprigs of the hazel, or the thorn; it ornaments their plainness, and receives a support its own feebleness denies. The agaric, with all its hues, its shades, its elegant variety of forms, expands its cone sprinkled with the freshness of the morning; a transient fair, a child of decay, that "sprang up in a night, and will perish in a night." The squirrel, agile with life and timidity, gambolling round the root of an ancient beech, its base overgrown with the dew-berry (*rubus cæsius*), blue with unsullied fruit, impeded in his frolic sports, half angry, darts up the silvery bole again, to peep and wonder at the strange intruder on his haunts. The jay springs up, and, screaming, tells of danger to her brood, the noisy tribe repeat the call, are hushed, and leave us; the loud laugh of the woodpecker, joyous and vacant: the hammering of the nut-hatch (*sitta europæa*), cleaving its prize in the chink of some dry bough; the humblebee, torpid on the disc of the purple thistle, just lifts a limb to pray for forbearance of injury, to ask for peace, and bids us

"Leave him, leave him to repose."

The cinquefoil, or the vetch, with one lingering bloom, yet appears, and we note it from its loneliness. Spreading on the light foliage of the fern, dry and mature, the spider has fixed her toils, and motionless in the midst watches her expected prey, every thread and mesh beaded with dew, trembling with the zephyr's breath. Then falls the "sere and yellow leaf," parting from its spray without a breeze, tinkling in the boughs, and rustling scarce audibly along, rests at our feet, and tells us that we part too. All these are distinctive symbols of the season, marked in the silence and sobriety of the hour; and form, perhaps, a deeper impression on the mind than any afforded by the verdant promises, the vivacities of spring, or the gay, profuse luxuriance of summer.'—pp. 112—115.

This amiable and kind-hearted man is always pleading the cause of the innocent and defenceless animals, and the feeling and tenderness with which he speaks generally of the brute part of the creation, are delightful. Thus, in noticing the persecutions of the poor hedgehog, in being dragged from its bed of moss and leaves, in which, rolled up like a ball, it sleeps, when undisturbed, through the winter, he observes that every village boy, with his cur, detects the haunts of this harmless animal, and as assuredly worries him to death—that cruelty and killing are the

common vices of the ignorant, and that unresisting innocence becomes the ready victim of prejudice: 'even we,' he says, 'who should know better, yet give rewards for the wretched urchin's head.' That very ancient prejudice of its drawing milk from the udders of resting cows being still entertained, without any consideration of its impracticability, from the smallness of its mouth; but this circumstance is lost sight of, and even physical impossibilities are unable to make head against deep-rooted prejudices: and so deeply, we are told, is this character associated with the name of the hedgehog, that we believe no argument would persuade to the contrary, or remonstrance avail, with our idle boys, to spare the life of this most harmless and least obtrusive creature in existence.'

Some observations on the construction of the hair and fur with which an all-wise Creator has clothed various animals, for the purpose of being immediately useful to man, or as necessary for their several conditions, are exemplified in the mole—a creature than which none can be more admirably adapted for all the purposes of its life.

'The very fur on the skin of this animal manifests what attention has been bestowed upon the creature, in providing for its necessities and comforts. This is singularly, almost impalpably fine, yielding in every direction, and offering no resistance to the touch. By this construction, the mole is in no degree impeded in its retreat from danger while retiring backwards, as it always does upon suspicion of peril; not turning round, which the size of its runs does not permit, but tail foremost, until it arrives at some collateral gallery, when its flight is head foremost, as with other creatures. If this fur had been strong, as in the rat or mouse, in these retreats for life it would have doubly retarded the progress of the creature; first by its resistance, and then acting as a brush, so as to choke up the galleries, by removing the loose earth from the sides and ceilings of the arched ways; thus impeding at least, if not absolutely preventing, retreat: but the softness of the fur obviates both these fatal effects.'—pp. 146, 147.

The flesh of the mole, by feeding on worms and grubs, has a rank offensive smell. It is said that a late eccentric nobleman, who had tasted every living creature, even to the large dew-worm, found the nauseous smell of the flesh of the mole too repulsive to allow his stomach to indulge its omnivorous appetite in this species of animal food. The fox, the brown owl, and the weasel, are said to eat moles; and the dog will hunt and worry them, but the moment they are dead he turns from them with manifest disgust and aversion. This is the less surprising, as the dog has no relish for the flesh of what we generally call game. Spaniels, who hunt pheasants and partridges as if by instinct,

instinct, and with every appearance of delight, will scarcely touch their bones when offered to them. Dogs that are trained to flush woodcocks and snipes, which they always do with great eagerness, will not eat their bones, however hungry they may be; nor will dogs devour the bones of any kind of wild or water fowls, nor the bodies of such birds as feed on offals and garbage. Mr. White, however, says that two Chinese dogs, when offered the bones of partridges, devoured them with much greediness, and licked the platter clean.

Our author states his reasons for thinking that domesticated animals were not necessarily dependent on man, and that, generally, they derive no benefit from their intercourse and association with him; but that, in conformity with original appointment, they aid him to acquire the enjoyments, and accomplish the necessities, of civilised life. The dog, however, he considers as an exception.

‘There is one creature that seems designed by its natural habits to be the servant and dependant of man; and of all that fall under his dominion, not one receives an equal portion of his care, or is more exempt from a life of exhaustion in his service. The dog is fed with him, housed, and caressed; associates with him in his pleasures, is identified with and enjoys them with his master; living with him, he acquires the high bearing and freedom of his lord; feels he is the companion and the friend; deports himself as a partaker of the importance and superiority, we might almost say of the sorrows and pleasures, of the man; is elated with praise, and abased by rebuke; submissive when corrected, and grateful when caressed; his anxiety and tremor when he has lost his master, and with him himself, is pitiable; when deserted by his lord, he becomes the most forlorn of animals—a never-failing victim to misery, famine, disease, and death. His ardour may excite him at times, until overpowered by fatigue; but he is not stimulated, by pain or menace, to attempts beyond his natural powers. View him in all his progress, his life will be found to be an easy, and frequently an enjoyable one: and, though not exempt from the afflictions of age, yet his death, if anticipated, becomes a momentary evil. When in a native state, he is a wretched creature, a common beast of the wild, with no innate magnanimity, no acquired virtues; has no elevation, no character to maintain, but passes his days in contention and want, is base in disposition, meagre in body, a fugitive, and a coward.’—pp. 223, 224.

The greatest favourites with our author (if any can be called special favourites where all are viewed with feelings of admiration and delight) are the ‘feathered songsters of the grove.’

‘I have always,’ he says, ‘been an admirer of these elegant creatures, their notes, their nests, their eggs, and all the economy of their lives; nor have we, throughout the orders of creation, any beings that so continually engage our attention as these our feathered companions. Winter takes from us all the gay world of the meads, the sylphs that

hover over our flowers, that steal our sweets, that creep, or gently wing their way in glittering splendour around us; and of all the miraculous creatures that sported their hour in the sunny beam, the winter gnat (*tipula hiemalis*) alone remains to frolic in some rare and partial gleam. The myriads of the pool are dormant, or hidden from our sight; the quadrupeds, few and wary, veil their actions in the glooms of night, and we see little of them; but birds are with us always: they give a character to spring, and are identified with it; they enchant and amuse us all summer long with their sports, animation, hilarity, and glee; they cluster round us, suppliant in the winter of our year, and, unrepining through cold and want, seek their scanty meal amidst the refuse of the barn, the stalls of the cattle, or at the doors of our house; or, fitting hungry from one denuded and bare spray to another, excite our pity and regard; their lives are patterns of gaiety, cleanliness, alacrity, and joy.—pp. 268, 269.

No one possessed of the kindly and humane feelings of our author, can, like him, have passed much of his time in the country, perambulating the woods, the hedges, and the fields, without having, like him, contracted an amiable acquaintance with the creatures that frequent them. ‘Some,’ says he, ‘have engaged my attention by their actions and manners; others have interested me by their innocency, and the harmlessness of their lives; and perhaps there is some little partial leaning towards others, from long association, or from unknown or undefined causes.’ The hedge-sparrow, or shufflewing, (*motacilla modularis*,) is, he tells us, ‘a prime favourite. Not influenced by season or caprice to desert us, it lives in our homesteads and our orchards through all the year—our most domestic bird.’ In the earliest season of the year, this little bird is distinguished by a low and plaintive chirp, and a peculiar shake of the wing; it is always found coupled with a mate, and the faithful pair make their nest in the earliest spring. The song of the male is short, sweet, and gentle: perching on the summit of some bush, it utters its brief modulation, and again seeks retirement. Its chief habitation is in some hedge in the rick-yard, some cottage-garden, and near the society of man. Unobtrusive, it does not enter our dwellings like the redbreast, but pecks minute insects from the edges of drains and ditches, or morsels from the door of the poorest dwelling in the village.

‘If,’ says our author, ‘the sober, domestic attachment of the hedge-sparrow please us, we are not less charmed with the innocent, blithesome gaiety of the linnet, (*fringilla linota*.) But this songster delights to live in its own society, in open commons and gorsy fields, twittering and warbling all the day long. The linnet is among the cleanliest of birds, delighting to dabble in the water, and to dress its plumage in every little rill that runs by.’ We believe, indeed, that cleanliness is a general characteristic of the feathered race.

race. Those that cannot find water, or that have an antipathy against it, will, like the Mahomedans of the desert, perform their ablutions by rolling or nestling in the sand or dust. Mr. White, following Ray, names such birds as *dust* themselves; *pulveratrices*; adding, 'As far as I can observe, many birds that dust themselves never wash; and I once thought, that those birds that wash themselves would never dust, but here I find myself mistaken; for common house-sparrows are great *pulveratrices*, being frequently seen grovelling and wallowing in dusty roads; and yet they are great washers.' In fact, the greater number of the orders of *gallinæ* and *passeres* both dust and wash. Indeed, the cleanliness of birds has been so generally observed as to pass into a proverb; from China to England, we believe, the bird that fouls its own nest is *nem. con.* an 'ill bird.'

The description of the robin is very characteristic.

'The robin (*motacilla rubecola*) associated with malignants, is not, perhaps, in the place where it generally would be sought; but sad truths might be told of it too. It might be called pugnacious, jealous, selfish, quarrelsome, did I not respect ancient feelings and long-established sentiments. A favourite by commiseration, it seeks an asylum with us; by supplication and importunity, it becomes a partaker of our bounty in a season of severity and want; and its seeming humbleness and necessities obtain our pity: but it slights and forgets our kindnesses the moment it can provide for itself, and is away to its woods and its shades. Yet it has some little coaxing ways, and such fearless confidence, that it wins our regard; and its late autumnal song, in evening's dusky hour, as a monologue is pleasing, and redeems much of its character. The universality of this bird in all places, and almost at all hours, is very remarkable; and perhaps there are few spots so lonely, in which it would not appear, did we commence digging up the ground. I have often been surprised in the midst of woods, where no suspicion of its presence existed, when watching some other creature, to see the robin inquisitively perched upon some naked spray near me; or, when digging up a plant in some very retired place, to observe its immediate descent upon some poor worm that I had moved. The robin loses nearly all the characteristic colour from its breast in the summer, when it moults, and only recovers it on the approach of autumn; which in some measure accounts for the extraordinary assertion of Pliny, that the redbreast is only so in winter, but becomes a firetail in summer.'—pp. 160, 161.

The custom of giving parish rewards for the destruction of various creatures included under the denomination of vermin, is a very ancient one; and it still survives in the district inhabited by our author; reckoning, we are sorry to find, among its victims that harmless little creature which we call the titmouse, or tomtit. 'In what evil hour, and for what crime,' observes our author, 'this

‘ this poor little bird (*parus cæruleus*) could have incurred the anathema of a parish, it is difficult to conjecture; but,’ he adds, ‘ an item, passed in one of our late churchwarden’s accounts, was for seventeen dozen of tomtits’ heads.’ The life of this little insectivorous bird is, in some other respects, most precarious.

‘ This tomtit perishes, in severe winters, in great numbers. It roosts under the eaves of our haystacks, and in little holes of the mows, where we often find it dead, perished by cold or hunger, or conjointly by both; yet the race survives, and this annual waste is recruited by the prolificacy of the creature, the nest of which will frequently contain from seven to nine young ones. Its chief subsistence is insects, which it hunts out with unwearied perseverance. It peeps into the nail-holes of our walls, which, though closed by the cobweb, will not secrete the spider within; and draws out the chrysalis of the cabbage-butterfly from the chinks in the barn; but a supply of such food is precarious, and becomes exhausted. It then resorts to our yards, and picks diminutive morsels from some rejected bone, or scraps from the butcher’s stall: yet this is the result of necessity, not choice; for no sooner is other food attainable, than it retires to its woods and thickets. In summer, it certainly will regale itself with our garden pease, and shells a pod of marrowfats with great dexterity; but this, we believe, is the extent of its criminality. Yet for this venial indulgence do we proscribe it, rank it with vermin, and set a price upon its head, giving fourpence for the dozen, probably the ancient payment when the groat was a coin. However powerful the stimulus was then, we yet find it a sufficient inducement to our idle bat-fowling boys to bring baskets of poor toms’ heads to our churchwarden’s door.’—pp. 165, 166.

Nature, however, has left nothing, weak and feeble as it may be, without a faculty of some kind to ward off injury from itself or from its young. Thus,—

‘ This poor little blue tomtit, which has neither beak, claws, nor any portion of strength to defend itself from the weakest assailant, will, nevertheless, make trial by menace to scare the intruder from its nest. It builds almost universally in the hole of a wall, or a tree; and its size enables it to creep through so small a crevice, that it is pretty well secured from all annoyances, but those of birdnesting boys; and these little plunderers the sitting bird endeavours to scare away, by hissing, and puffing in a very extraordinary manner from the bottom of the hole, as soon as a finger is introduced, and so perfectly unlike the usual voice of a bird, that many a young intruder is deterred from prosecuting any farther search, lest he should rouse the vengeance of some lurking snake or adder.’—pp. 166, 167.

The natural affection of the feathered race for their young is of short duration, but violent while it lasts. Every body knows that a hen having a young brood to defend will attack with violence a dog, a sow, or other quadruped, ruffling her feathers
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and running about with a cackling and croaking noise as if she was out of her senses. The gander, when attending a young brood, will attack the largest dog, and is the terror of the little boys and girls of the village. Swallows, it is well known, will scream and make a furious attack on a hawk. It is observed by our author that small birds appear to have a certain note, and only one, that would seem to be of universal comprehension; and this is the signal of danger :—

‘The instant that it is uttered, we hear the whole flock, though composed of various species, repeat a separate moan, and away they all scuttle into the bushes for safety. The reiterated “twink, twink,” of the chaffinch, is known by every little bird as information of some prowling cat or weasel. Some give the maternal hush to their young, and mount to inquire into the jeopardy announced. The wren, that tells of perils from the hedge, soon collects about her all the various inquisitive species within hearing, to survey and ascertain the object, and add their separate fears. The swallow, that shrieking darts in devious flight through the air when a hawk appears, not only calls up all the *hirundines* of the village, but is instantly understood by every finch and sparrow, and its warning attended to.’—pp. 261, 265.

We may add, however, that the signal of hunger is equally well understood, as has frequently been proved by placing a nest of young birds in any spot far removed from its original place, when the cries of the young ones will attract birds of different species around them, some of which, after departing, will speedily return with a supply of food.

The long-tailed titmouse, which the boys call *long-tom*, *poke-pudding*, and various other names, appears to be the most restless of little creatures, constantly darting from tree to tree, and from hedge to hedge, jerking through the air with its long tail like a ball of feathers, several of them following the leader in a long string, who, uttering the shrill cry of *twit, twit, twit*, away they all scuttle, being incessantly on the move from morn till night. Its bag-shaped nest, so stuffed with feathers within as to be a perfect feather-bed, usually contains from fourteen to eighteen eggs, the size of a pea. ‘The exertions,’ says our author, ‘of two little creatures, in providing for and feeding, with all the incumbrances of feathers and tails, fourteen young ones, in such a situation, surpass in diligence and ingenuity the efforts of any other birds, persevering as they are, that I am acquainted with.’ We are told, indeed, that a pair of these little creatures brought to their young a caterpillar, grub, or some insect, at intervals of less than a minute, through the whole day, or somewhere about a thousand articles of food in fourteen hours. The rook displays unceasing toil and perseverance, and will fly to immense distances

to obtain nourishment for its clamorous brood. Swallows and martins are on the wing, wheeling about with incessant celerity, from early morning to the close of eve, to procure and convey a constant supply for their offspring, presenting a pleasing example of indefatigable industry and affection. The starling, we are told, does not travel less than fifty miles a day, visiting its young with food and water about a hundred and forty times in the space of twelve or thirteen hours.

The mention of the raven gives our author an opportunity of noticing that singular faculty by which it, in common with some birds of prey, obtains intimation of food at such a height in the air, and at such a distance from it, as wholly to exclude the idea that either sight or smell can have been the instrument of detection. We are told by travellers in South America and South Africa, that the vulture (*percnopteros*) may be seen, in a very few minutes after an animal has been slain, hovering high in the air, appearing at first in little specks, like so many minute insects, but growing larger by degrees as they descend in spiral gyrations, till they reach the earth and pounce upon their prey. It was this almost supernatural quickness of the raven in ascertaining the actual or approaching dissolution of animals, which led to the popular fancy of its 'smelling death,' and caused its presence to be considered as

'The hateful messenger of heavy things,
Of death and dolour telling.'

This superstition is not yet quite worn out; our author says 'the unusual sound of their harsh croak still, when illness is in the house, with some timid and affectionate persons, brings old fancies to remembrance, savouring of terror and alarm.'

With somewhat more certainty, as is well known to every old woman in the country, are the tokens of wind and rain given by birds and other animals. The low untuneful voice of the missel-thrush (*turdus viscivorus*) seldom fails to announce the approach of a sleety snow-storm. 'Like an enchanter calling up the gale, it seems,' says our author, 'to have no song, no voice, but this harsh predictive note.' He might have enumerated other prognostications of the weather from the actions of animals, many of which are looked upon as more certain indications of change than are afforded by the barometer. Thus, when the cock crows at unusual times and flaps his wings,—when the duck quakes loud and preens her feathers in the water,—when the goose utters shrill screams and cackles,—when the swallow skims low and dips her wings in the water,—when the raven croaks on a lonely tree,—when the owl screeches by day, and the bat shrieks,—when the peacock squeals and the frogs croak loud,—when the ox
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turns his tail to the wind, the dog becomes dull and drowsy, and the cat washes her face with her paw,—when the mice fight and squeak, and toads and snails creep out of their holes,—then the hind and the husbandman, observing these portentous omens, hesitate not to announce the approach of rain.

It was a mistake in Linnæus, adopted from a vulgar error still prevalent, to name the common rook (*corvus frugilegus*) a corn-gathering bird: Gesner had, from the same fancy, before called him a corn-eating bird. It appears to be neither; and is, therefore, undeserving of the bad character it has generally obtained, and of the disgrace attached to it by being so frequently exhibited, as we see it, on the newly-sown corn-fields, in the shape of a *scare-crow*; the object of its visit to the new-ploughed grounds is to procure grubs, worms, and the various insects which constitute its natural food, and on which, when they are to be had, it is content to feed: saving and except that, so our author admits, a ripe pear or a walnut, in autumn, becomes an irresistible temptation. 'Its jubilee, however,' he says, 'is the season of the cockchaffer (*melolantha vulgaris*), when every little copse, every oak, becomes animated with it and all its noisy joyful family, feeding and scrambling for the insect food.' These birds too, like the raven, have the remarkable faculty of discovering their food where, by a common eye, it would be least suspected to exist. Our author says, he has observed them, in a pasture of uniform verdure, stalking up and down, and pulling up plants at whose roots were worms or grubs; and so sagacious are they in this respect, that 'I do not believe,' he adds, 'that the bird ever removes a specimen that has not already been eaten or commenced upon by the caterpillar.'

The starling (*sturnus vulgaris*) delights in society, and is frequently seen in prodigious flights. Should any accident separate an individual from the companions of its flight, it will sit disconsolate on an eminence piping and plaining, till some one of its congeners join it. This love of society our author seems to consider as innate.

'I remember one poor bird, that had escaped from domestication, in which it had entirely lost, or probably never knew, the language or manners of its race, and acquired only the name of its mistress; disliked and avoided by its congeners, it would sit by the hour together, sunning on some tall elm, calling in a most plaintive strain Nanny, Nanny, but no Nanny came; and our poor solitary either pined itself to death, or was killed, as its note ceased. They vastly delight, in a bright autumnal morning, to sit basking and preening themselves on the summit of a tree, chattering altogether in a low songlike note. There is something singularly curious and mysterious in the conduct
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of these birds previous to their nightly retirement, by the variety and intricacy of the evolutions they execute at that time. They will form themselves perhaps into a triangle, then shoot into a long, pear-shaped figure, expand like a sheet, wheel into a ball, as Pliny observes, each individual striving to get into the centre, &c., with a promptitude more like parade movements, than the actions of birds. As the breeding season advances, those prodigious flights divide, and finally separate into pairs, and form their summer settlements; but probably the vast body of them leaves the kingdom. 'Travellers tell us, that starlings abound in Persia and the regions of Caucasus.'—pp. 201, 202.

We treat the house-sparrow (*fringilla domestica*) with great contempt, and consider him, as he really is, a great plunderer. 'With peculiar perseverance and boldness, they forage and provide for themselves and their offspring; will filch grain from the trough of the pig, or contend for its food with the gigantic turkey.' They are plunderers of the corn-ricks and the granaries; but they are benefactors also, by keeping from undue increase, by their numbers, another race of destructive creatures. In the spring, and the early part of summer before the corn ripens, the house-sparrows are insectivorous, and their young and numerous families require an unceasing supply of food.

'We see them every minute of the day in continual progress, flying from the nest for a supply, and returning, on rapid wing, with a grub, a caterpillar, or some reptile; and the numbers captured by them in the course of these travels are incredibly numerous, keeping under the increase of these races, and making ample restitution for their plunderings and thefts. When the insect race becomes scarce, the corn and seeds of various kinds are ready; their appetite changes, and they feed on these with undiminished enjoyment.

'We have scarcely another bird, the appetite of which is so accommodating in all respects as that of the house-sparrow. It is, I believe, the only bird that is a voluntary inhabitant with man, lives in his society, and is his constant attendant, following him wherever he fixes his residence. It becomes immediately an inhabitant of the new farmhouse, in a lonely place or recent inclosure, or even in an island; will accompany him into the crowded city, and build and feed there in content, unmindful of the noise, the smoke of the furnace, or the steam-engine, where even the swallow and the martin, that flock around him in the country, are scared by the tumult, and leave him: but the sparrow, though begrimed with soot, does not forsake him; feeds on his food, rice, potatoes, or almost any other extraneous substance he may find in the street; looks to him for his support, and is maintained almost entirely by the industry and providence of man. It is not known in a solitary and independent state.'—pp. 217, 218.

Our author never fails to deprecate the cruelty which is but too frequently exercised towards helpless and unoffending animals,
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more especially such 'as nestle around our dwellings or frequent our fields.' Two of the most innocent of the feathered tribe are mentioned as being subject to unmerited cruelty—the swallow and the wheatear;—the one to gratify a pampered appetite; the other, out of mere wantonness and sport. The pursuit of game may have some excuse, he thinks, as conducive to recreation and health,—

'but the sportman's essaying his skill on the swallow race, that "skim the dimpled pool," or glide harmless along the flowery mead, when, if successful, he consigns whole nests of infant broods to famine and to death, is pitiable indeed! No injury, no meditated crime, was ever imputed to these birds; they free our dwellings from multitudes of insects; their unsuspicious confidence and familiarity with men merits protection not punishment from him. The sufferings of their broods, when the parents are destroyed, should excite humanity, and demand our forbearance. But the wheatear, in an unfortunate hour, has been called the English ortolan; and is pursued as a delicate morsel, through all its inland haunts, when hatching and feeding its young, the only period in which it frequents our heaths. I execrate the practice as most cruel: their death evinces no skill in the gunner; their wretched bodies, when obtained, are useless, being embittered by the bruises of the shot, and unskilful operations of the picker and dresser. No, let the parental duties cease, and when the bird retires to its maritime downs, if doomed to suffer, the individual dies alone, and no starving broods perish with it. I supplicate from the youthful sportsman his consideration for these most innocent creatures, the summer wheatear and the swallow.'—pp. 226, 227.

We know but little of the real cause of the migration of birds and other animals. Various conjectures have been formed respecting the object which induces them to pass from one region to another; but still they are only conjectures. The most commonly received opinion is, that the motives which impel them to this step, are the search of food, a change of climate, and quiet during the period of incubation and rearing their young; objections, however, may be raised against all these. The insectivorous birds could experience no want of food, to make them quit a milder region, which they often do for our cold and frequently severe one, in the early spring. The woodcock and the snipe come to us in the depth of winter, when there must be obviously the greatest scarcity of food; of what that food consists we are yet ignorant; for it is with them as with the salmon,—nothing is ever found in the stomachs of woodcocks and snipes, except some mucous matter. Our author is of opinion, that though a sufficiency of food for the adult parent may be found in every climate of which it is an inhabitant, yet the aliment necessary for its offspring may not; and he instances the difficulty of rearing the young

young of many birds that are hatched in England, owing to our ignorance of the food fit for their nourishment. In one case, we are told, Mr. Montagu was never able to rear the young of the curlew, until he discovered, by accident, that they required to be fed on *grasshoppers* for a certain period of their life; and after that, he had no difficulty. This may be the case with regard to other species of birds. The storks assemble and leave Holland at the very time (early in August) that the ponds and ditches, which they frequent, and from which they derive their food, are in a state of the greatest fecundity; but having brought their young to that period when in all probability a different kind of food, more suited to their own taste, can also be adopted by their offspring, they take their flight to the warmer climate of North Africa, Syria, or Arabia. May not the young feed on tadpoles till the tails of these creatures drop off, their legs grow, and they leave the water for the land? The stork is, perhaps, the only bird among the whole feathered tribe whose parental affection (*στοργη*, from which it deservedly takes its name) is repaid by filial piety, of which it seems to have been considered by all nations and in all times as the emblem. The ties of relationship among all other birds, that we know of, are entirely dissolved from the moment when the offspring are able to provide for themselves; but there is every reason to believe that the young storks assist their parents, when weakened by old age, and particularly in the long journeys which they have to perform in their annual visits to Europe. Many ancient writers speak of this trait of filial affection. A Danish author says,—‘At this time (the spring) it is not uncommon to see several of the old birds, which are tired and feeble by the long flight, supported at times on the backs of the young; and the peasantry (of Toningu) speak of it, as a certainty, that many of these are, when they return to their home, laid carefully in the old nests, and cherished by the young ones which they reared with so much care the spring before.’ The stork is described by one of our poets as

‘ an emblem of true piety;
Because, when age has seized and made his dam
Unfit for flight, the grateful young one takes
His mother on his back, provides her food,
Repaying thus her tender care of him
Ere he was fit to fly,’

As a contrast to the affectionate stork, there is another ‘bird, and the only one that we are acquainted with, that appears to be wholly destitute of any feeling of maternal affection. The cuckoo drops her egg in the nest of some soft-billed insectivorous bird, as the wagtail, hedge-sparrow, titlark, whitethroat, and redbreast.

‘ This

‘ This proceeding of the cuckoo,’ says Mr. White, ‘ of dropping its eggs, as it were by chance, is such a monstrous outrage on maternal affection, one of the first great dictates of nature, and such a violence on instinct, that had it only been related of a bird in the Brazils or Peru, it would never have merited our belief.’ But is it not equally wonderful if, as it would seem, Providence should have gifted this bird with the faculty of discerning in what particular species of nest the egg must be dropped, in order to secure for its disregarded and abandoned offspring such a foster-mother as will procure for it the suitable kind of food? Mr. White says he went to see a young cuckoo hatched in the nest of a titlark. It had become too big for its nest, ‘ appearing

“ in tenui re
Majores pennas nido extendisse,”

and he was very fierce and pugnacious, pursuing my finger as I teased it, for many feet from the nest, and sparing and buffeting with its wings, like a game-cock. The dupe of a dam appeared at a distance, hovering about with meat in its mouth, and expressing the greatest solicitude.’ A French anatomist thought he had discovered the cause of this strange conduct of the cuckoo, in the peculiar formation and position of the crop or stomach, which, being placed behind the sternum, incapacitated, he fancied, the bird for incubation; but had he been aware that the hawk, the swift, the goat-sucker, and many other birds are formed precisely in the same way, he must have seen the fallacy of his conclusion.

In speaking of the voices or songs of various birds, the cuckoo, our author observes, is the only one he knows that seems to suffer from the use of the organs of voice, losing its utterance, and becoming hoarse by the middle or end of June. Mr. Mitford, in his ‘ Observations’ on some parts of the ‘ Natural History of Selborne,’ quotes from the ‘ Transactions of the Linnæan Society’ (vol. vii.) the following passage: ‘ The cuckoo begins early in the season with the interval of a *minor third*; the bird then proceeds to a *major third*, next to a *fourth*, then a *fifth*, after which his voice breaks, without attaining a *minor sixth*.’ This defalcation of voice is alluded to in an epigram of John Heywood, as far back as 1587.

‘ In Aprill the koo-coo can sing her song by rote,
In June, of tune she cannot sing a note;
At first, koo-coo, koo-coo, singe still can she do;
At last, kooke, kooke, kooke; ~~six~~ kookes to one koo.’

Our author, however, is mistaken in supposing there is no other bird that loses or changes its note. The voice of the nightingale undergoes a woeful change, resembling, in the autumn, the hoarse croaking

croaking of the frog, a reptile which has been called facetiously, —and not quite inaptly it would seem—the Dutch nightingale.

The natural historian of Selborne took uncommon pains, by himself, and through his correspondents, (and a very considerable portion of his book is employed on the subject,) to ascertain whether swallows migrated in the autumn to a milder climate, or retired to some concealed *hybernaculum* until the return of spring; but after many years' observation, he arrives only at this conclusion, that, at stated periods, swifts, martins, and swallows, having reared their young, hold counsel together, and take their flight to some other clime; that some of those birds which rear a second brood, and some others that may be weak or wounded, remain behind, creep into some retired spot, become torpid, and revive with the spring;—and even these points are not satisfactorily established. An opinion was long prevalent, and it is mentioned and not contradicted by Mr. White, that many swallows retire in the autumn to the bottom of lakes or ponds, and remain there all the winter in a torpid state;—an absurdity so gross, that one cannot imagine what could possibly have given rise to the idea, unless it were that swallows usually make their first appearance in the neighbourhood of lakes and mill-ponds. In truth, we are still ignorant of the cause of their disappearance, and must be content to say with the poet,

‘ They feel a power, an impulse all divine,
That warns them hence; they feel it and obey;
To this direction all their cares resign,
Unknown their destined stage, unmark'd their way.’

We must now conclude our account of birds with the following characteristic sketch of the habits of certain individuals.

‘ At one period of my life, being an early waker and riser, my attention was frequently drawn “to songs of earliest birds;” and I always observed, that these creatures appeared abroad at very different periods as the light advanced. The rook is perhaps the first to salute the opening morn; but this bird seems rather to rest than to sleep. Always vigilant, the least alarm after retirement rouses instantly the whole assemblage, not successively, but collectively. It is appointed to be a ready mover. Its principal food is worms, which feed and crawl upon the humid surface of the ground in the dusk, and retire before the light of day; and, roosting higher than other birds, the first rays of the sun, as they peep from the horizon, become visible to it. The restless, inquisitive robin now is seen too. This is the last bird that retires in the evening, being frequently flitting about when the owl and bat are visible, and awakes so soon in the morning that little rest seems required by it. Its fine, large eyes are fitted to receive all, even the weakest rays of light that appear. The worm is its food too, and few that move upon the surface escape its notice.

The

The cheerful melody of the wren is the next we hear, as it bustles from its ivied roost; and we note its gratulation to the young-eyed day, when twilight almost hides the little minstrel from our sight. The sparrow roosts in holes, and under the eaves of the rick or shed, where the light does not so soon enter, and hence is rather a tardy mover; but it is always ready for food, and seems to listen to what is going forward. We see it now peeping from its penthouse, inquisitively surveying the land; and, should provision be obtainable, it immediately descends upon it without any scruple, and makes itself a welcome guest with all. It retires early to rest. The blackbird quits its leafy roost in the ivied ash; its "chink, chink," is heard in the hedge; and, mounting on some neighbouring oak, with mellow, sober voice, it gratulates the coming day. "The plain-song cuckoo gray" from some tall tree now tells its tale. The lark is in the air, the "martin twitters from her earth-built shed," all the choristers are tuning in the grove; and amid such tokens of awakening pleasure it becomes difficult to note priority of voice. These are the matin voices of the summer season: in winter a cheerless chirp, or a hungry twit, is all we hear; the families of voice are away, or silent; we have little to note, and perhaps as little inclination to observe.—p. 238-240.

It is well observed that 'the designs of Supreme Intelligence in the creation and preservation of the insect world, and the regulations and appointments whereby their increase or decrease is maintained, and periodical appearance prescribed, are among the most perplexing considerations of natural history.'

'When we see the extraordinary care and attention that have been bestowed upon this part of creation, our astonishment is excited, and forces into action that inherent desire in our minds to seek into hidden things. In some calm summer's evening ramble, we see the air filled with sportive animated beings; the leaf, the branch, the bark of the tree, every mossy bank, the pool, the ditch, all teeming with animated life, with a profusion, an endless variety of existence; each creature pursuing its own separate purpose in a settled course of action, admitting of no deviation or substitution, to accomplish or promote some ordained object. Some appear occupied in seeking for the most appropriate stations for their own necessities, and exerting stratagems and wiles to secure the lives of themselves or their offspring against natural or possible injuries, with a forethought equivalent or superior to reason; others in some aim we can little perceive, or, should some flash of light spring up, and give us a momentary glimpse of nature's hidden ways, immediate darkness closes round, and renders our ignorance more manifest. We see a wonderfully fabricated creature struggling from the cradle of its being, just perfected by the elaboration of months or years, and decorated with a vest of glorious splendour; it spreads its wings to the light of heaven, and becomes the next moment, perhaps, with all its marvellous construction, instinct, and splendour, the prey of some wandering

ing bird ! and human wisdom and conjecture are humbled to the dust. That these events are ordinations of Supreme Intelligence, for wise and good purposes, we are convinced ; but are blind, beyond thought, as to secondary causes, — and admiration, that pure source of intellectual pleasure, is almost alone permitted to us. If we attempt to proceed beyond this, we are generally lost in the mystery with which the divine Architect has thought fit to surround his works ; and perhaps our very aspirations after knowledge increase in us a sense of our ignorance : every deep investigator into the works of nature can scarcely possess other than an humble mind.'—p. 289-291.

Our readers, we conceive, would not have been displeased, had our limited space permitted it, to see the manner in which the intelligent and observant author has treated the insect class of animated beings, from the splendid butterflies to the minute aphides that produce our blights, spread destruction to the hopes of the husbandman and the horticulturist, sometimes over thousands of square miles in the course of a few weeks, or even days. We must, however, confine ourselves to the glow-worm.

' That pretty sparkler of our summer evenings, so often made the ploughboy's prize, the only brilliant that glitters in the rustic's hat, the glowworm (*lampyris noctiluca*), is not found in such numbers with us, as in many other places, where these signal tapers glimmer upon every grassy bank ; yet, in some seasons, we have a reasonable sprinkling of them. Every body probably knows, that the male glowworm is a winged, erratic animal, yet may not have seen him. He has ever been a scarce creature to me, meeting perhaps with one or two in a year ; and, when found, always a subject of admiration. Most creatures have their eyes so placed as to be enabled to see about them ; or, as Hook says of the house fly, to be "circumspect animals ;" but this male glowworm has a contrivance by which any upward or side vision is prevented. Viewed when at rest, no portion of his eyes is visible, but the head is margined with a horny band, or plate, being a character of one of the genera of the order coleoptera, under which the eyes are situate. This prevents all upward vision ; and blinds, or winkers, are so fixed at the sides of his eyes, as greatly to impede the view of all lateral objects. The chief end of this creature in his nightly peregrinations, is to seek his mate, always beneath him on the earth ; and hence this apparatus appears designed to facilitate his search, confining his view entirely to what is before or below him. The first serves to direct his flight, the other presents the object of his pursuit ; and as we commonly, and with advantage, place our hand over the brow, to obstruct the rays of light falling from above, which enables us to see clearer an object on the ground, so must the projecting hood of this creature converge the visual rays to a point beneath. This is a very curious provision for the purposes of the insect, if my conception of its design be reasonable. Possibly the same ideas may have been brought forward by others ; but, as I have

have not seen them, I am not guilty of any undue appropriation, and no injury can be done to the cause I wish to promote, by detailing again such beautiful and admirable contrivances.—p. 291—293.

We again most strongly recommend this little unpretending volume to the attention of every lover of nature, and more particularly of our country readers. It will induce them, we are sure, to examine more closely than they have been accustomed to do, into the objects of animated nature, and such examination will prove one of the most innocent and the most satisfactory sources of gratification and amusement. The knowledge thus to be obtained will elevate their minds from the creature to the Creator, and enable them with heart-felt rapture to exclaim with our sublime poet,

These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good,
Almighty ! Thine this universal frame
Thus wondrous fair !

The enjoyment and satisfaction which our Author has through life derived from these sources, are thus stated in his closing paragraph, with which we must also conclude.

‘ And now I think I have pretty well run over my diary, the humble record of the birds, the reptiles, the plants, and inanimate things around me. They who have had the patience to read these my notes, will probably be surprised that I could take the trouble to register such accounts of such things ; and I might think so too, did I not know how much occupation and healthful recreation the seeking out these trifles have afforded me, rendering, besides, all my rural rambles full of enjoyment and interest : companions and intimates were found in every hedge, on every bank, whose connexions I knew something of, and whose individual habits had become familiar by association ; and thus this narrative of my contemporaries was formed. Few of us perhaps, in reviewing our by-gone days, could the hours return again, but would wish many of them differently disposed of, and more profitably employed : but I gratefully say, that portion of my own passed in the contemplation of the works of nature is the part which I most approve ; which has been most conducive to my happiness ; and, perhaps from the sensations excited by the wisdom and benevolence perceived, not wholly unprofitable to a final state. . . . If, in my profound ignorance, I received such gratification and pleasure,—what would have been my enjoyment and satisfaction, “ if the secrets of the Most High had been with me, and by His light I had walked through darkness” ?’—p. 395.

ART. VI.—*An Elementary Treatise of Mechanical Philosophy, written for the Use of the Undergraduate Students of the University of Dublin.* By Bartholomew Lloyd, D.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University. 2 vols. Dublin. 1828.

IT is a fact deserving of notice, and one which may tend to throw some light on the rise and progress of invention, that the ancients had made considerable advances in practical mechanics, long before they were acquainted with the theoretic principles of the instruments they employed. Vitruvius describes many which had been in use for a considerable time before he wrote, some of which are those in common use at the present day.

But although the necessities of life had led to the invention of engines destined to aid the strength of man, a long time elapsed before mechanical philosophy assumed the attitude of a science. Archimedes was the first who attempted an explanation of the laws of equilibrium in machines. In his work, *De Æquiponderantibus*, he demonstrates the theory of the lever by a process of reasoning which, from its simplicity and strictness, has been deemed worthy of a place in elementary works of the present day. Thus was laid the foundation of the doctrine of statics. Observing that the pressure on the point of support in the lever was the same as if the two weights had been immediately applied there, he was led to the composition of parallel forces, and thereby to establish the existence of a point in every body or system of bodies, which may be considered as the point of application of the weights of its several parts. This point is now well known by the name of the centre of gravity.

But it is not by such discoveries as these only that we are to estimate the advances made by Archimedes in the hitherto unexplored regions of mechanical philosophy. He, moreover, displayed the resources of a powerful mind, in combining these simple instruments, and thereby forming compound machines of wonderful power and efficacy, but of which, at the present day, we know nothing, except their almost miraculous effects, as described by Plutarch, in his account of the siege of Syracuse. These applications of science, however, were far less prized by their author than the abstract speculations of geometry; a science which received from his hands a greater impulse than it has owed to any other individual, from its origin to the present day. To this great man we are, moreover, indebted for the discovery of the fundamental laws of the equilibrium of fluids. The treatise* in which his researches on this subject have come down

* This work has reached us only in the Latin translation, entitled *De Humido Insidentibus*.

to us, and in which he considers the conditions of equilibrium of a solid body floating on a liquid, is built upon the principle adopted at present as the basis of hydrostatical science; namely, that each particle of a fluid mass in equilibrium is pressed equally in all directions. The solution of the famous problem of the crown, proposed by the king of Syracuse, is generally supposed by mathematicians to have been derived by him from the following proposition, contained in this treatise;—‘that two bodies equal in volume suffer equal losses of weight when immersed in the same fluid, both being heavier than the fluid in which they are immersed.’

The hydraulic machine, known by the name of Archimedes’ screw, is said to have been discovered by him (according to Diodorus Siculus) during his travels in Egypt; and to have been employed for the purpose of carrying off the waters, after the inundations of the Nile. But Vitruvius, a contemporary of Diodorus, has not mentioned this among his discoveries.

From the time of Archimedes, a long period elapsed, during which little advance was made in mechanical philosophy. Ctesibius and Hero, mathematicians of Alexandria, who lived about 120 years before the Christian era, and Pappus Alexandrinus, in the fourth century, pursued the inquiries of Archimedes connected with the equilibrium of machines; and the two former were the first who analysed their various combinations, and reduced them to five simple elements, which they called *δυνάμεις*, or *Powers*, a name which they have retained to the present day. Still, however, the theory of the mechanic powers remained imperfect, the successors of Archimedes finding themselves unable to determine the laws of their equilibrium, except in those cases only which can be readily reduced to the principle of the lever. Thus, though the basis of the fabric was somewhat polished and reduced to symmetry, little was added to the superstructure, and the science of mechanics made no acquisition of any importance until the close of the sixteenth century.

Stevinus, a Flemish engineer, appears to have been the first who demonstrated the conditions of equilibrium of a body resting on an inclined plane. His solution of this important problem appeared in the year 1585. From the theory of the inclined plane, he deduced the general conditions of equilibrium among three forces acting on a point; and proved that these forces, when in equilibrium, are proportional to the sides of a triangle drawn parallel to their directions. He did not seem, however, to have felt the importance or fruitfulness of this principle, which he rather inferred as a corollary, than demonstrated as a fundamental truth.

The science of hydrostatics is also indebted to Stevin for some important additions. He was the first to show that the pressure

of a fluid on the bottom of any vessel is altogether independent of its figure, and proportional to the product of the area of the base by the perpendicular height of the fluid.

The name of Galileo is the next which offers itself to our view, in contemplating the progress of physical science. This celebrated philosopher was born at Pisa, in the year 1564, and devoted himself, at an early age, to the study of mathematics and natural philosophy. In the year 1592, he published a short treatise, entitled *Della Scienza Meccanica*, which he reduced to a single principle; namely, that equal forces are required to raise two weights to heights reciprocally proportional to those weights; from which it was easy to conclude that, in all machines in equilibrio, the power and the resistance are reciprocally proportional to the spaces which they tend to describe in the same time. This principle (it is obvious) is a limited case of the principle of *virtual velocities*, which was afterwards employed as the basis of the whole doctrine of equilibrium. But the fame of this author, and the benefits which he has conferred on mechanical science, do not rest here. Before his time, scarce anything was known of the second great division of mechanical philosophy, the theory of motion. The notions of the ancients on this subject were confused and absurd in the extreme. What, indeed, could be expected from the investigations of the disciples of Aristotle, who assumed, as the *point d'appui* of their reasonings on this head, the celebrated definition of motion given by their master: 'the act of a being in power, so far forth as in power'? But we need not go so far back as the age of the Stagyrite for evidence of the ignorance which prevailed upon this branch of natural philosophy. The knowledge of the fundamental laws by which motion is governed was the result of a much later period and more matured philosophy; and while these remained unknown, no advance could be made in the doctrine of motion. So far from holding that there was an universal tendency in body to preserve its state of rest or uniform rectilineal motion, the predecessors of Galileo believed that all *terrestrial* bodies has a natural tendency to *fall to the earth*, or ascend from it until they reached their former position; while they endued the *celestial* bodies with the distinct and far different disposition to revolve in *circular* orbits. It would not be difficult to trace the ignorance of the ancients on these fundamental facts to their unacquaintance with the spirit of the inductive philosophy. The laws of motion have no necessary connexion with axiomatic truth, and are not, therefore, to be attained by any process of *à priori* reasoning, however refined. They are but the general expression of *facts*, which can be arrived at only by an attentive examination of the phenomena which nature presents to our view, and a scrupulous generalization of their laws.

It

It is somewhat remarkable that, although in the investigations of Galileo on the subject of motion, the *inertia* of matter, or the indisposition of body to alter its state of rest or uniform rectilinear motion, is tacitly assumed throughout, yet this fundamental principle is nowhere formally stated in the writings of this philosopher. The first distinct enunciation of the *laws of motion* is found in the writings of Descartes. The French philosopher, however, regards the *inertia* of matter as a *real force* inherent in bodies, and exerted by them in order to preserve their state; and this erroneous view of the first law of motion has led him into some inaccuracies in its application. Many years elapsed before the second law of motion, which states the proportionality of the force to the motion produced, was universally received as a law of nature. Leibnitz was the first to dispute the truth of the Cartesian law, and to assign a different measure of force, which he estimated by the square of the velocity produced, and thus gave rise to a controversy the most remarkable that the history of demonstrative science affords. Among the disputants on either side were ranged the most illustrious mathematicians which Europe then produced. The writers of Germany, Italy, and Holland, declared for the Leibnitzian measure of force; those of England supported the old doctrine; while the mathematical strength of France was divided between the two opinions. Voltaire engaged in the controversy, and in a Memoir presented to the Academy of Sciences in 1741, ably contended that the dispute was merely verbal. In the list of the disputants, we find, too, the name of Madame de Châtelet, a name which the excellent translations and commentary on the *Principia* of Newton, by this distinguished authoress, will always preserve from oblivion.

But to return to the period from which we have been insensibly led. The science of *dynamics*, it has been already observed, remained altogether unexplored until the time of Galileo; and it is to the judicious combination of experiment and mathematical reasoning, adopted by this philosopher, that we are to attribute its birth. At the early age of nineteen, while engaged in his studies at the University, he began his experiments on falling bodies, and soon discovered that all bodies descend from the same height in the same time, if the resistance of the air be abstracted; and by observing the vibration of the lamps in the Cathedral of Pisa, he was led to the important discovery of the *isochronism* of the pendulum. Setting out from this principle of the *equal acceleration* of heavy bodies, he deduced, by mathematical reasoning, the general laws of motion *uniformly accelerated*, and applied them to the motion of bodies falling freely by the force of gravity, and to the descent on inclined planes; and having found the results

results of his theory to agree with the phenomena of motion observed at the surface of the earth, he thus discovered the nature of *terrestrial gravity*, and thereby made the first step towards the discovery of *universal gravitation*.

Galileo next applied himself to the consideration of compound motion. This was an important step. Having assumed the principle of the *composition of motion*, a principle which, we have seen, was in part discovered by Stevinus, he applied it to the motion of a body receiving an original impulse in a direction oblique to the horizon, and urged by the accelerating force of gravity. The theory of *projectiles*, which was the result of this application, received many additions from the hands of his pupil, Toricelli, who developed the discoveries of his master in a work entitled *De Motu Gravium naturaliter accelerato*.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that, notwithstanding the steps thus made towards the discovery of universal gravity, the gravity of the air was a fact as yet unknown. The history of this discovery deserves to be noticed, as it exhibits a proof of the influence which the philosophy of Aristotle had gained, even over the most enlightened minds. The engineers employed in the construction of fountains in the gardens of Cosmo de Medicis, Grand Duke of Florence, had erected a sucking-pump, by which they intended to raise the water to a considerable height above the reservoir. Finding, however, that this pump failed in raising the water beyond the height of thirty-two feet, they inquired the cause of Galileo. The ancients, it is well known, ascribed the ascent of the water in pumps to nature's supposed abhorrence of a vacuum; and the mind of Galileo had not altogether emancipated himself from that philosophy, which ascribed the phenomena of nature to the operation of occult qualities, affections, and antipathies. He pronounced, without hesitation, that the horror of a vacuum, which had hitherto appeared to be a universal law of nature, ceased at the limit of thirty-two feet. This explanation was deemed complete and satisfactory, and all acquiesced in a solution which thus preserved the sanctity of the existing doctrines. It is but justice, however, to Galileo to add, that he was himself the first to doubt both of the law and its exception, although he failed in assigning the true cause of the phenomenon.

The solution of this difficulty was reserved for Toricelli, the pupil of Galileo. He conceived the idea of varying the experiment; and having employed mercury, instead of water, as the liquid to be elevated, he found that the former liquid was sustained at a height so much less than the latter, as its specific gravity was greater. It thus appeared that both these phenomena

were

were the effects of the same cause, and this cause he soon pronounced to be—the weight of the atmosphere. The supporters of the orthodoxy of Aristotle did not yet, however, relinquish their favourite theory. And it was not until the celebrated experiment of Puy-de-dome, suggested by Pascal, that all doubts were removed. It was then, for the first time, observed that the mercury fell in the Toricellian tube during the ascent of the mountain, when, of course, the supporting column of air was diminished. We have dwelt somewhat at length on the *Toricellian experiment*, which is remarkable, not only as having shaken the authority of Aristotle, but also as having given rise to the invention of the *barometer*, an instrument of such vast importance in physical research.

The next step of importance in mechanical science was the *theory of curvilinear motion*. Galileo and his followers, until the time of Huygens, had considered but one case of curvilinear motion; namely, that which occurs in nature, when a heavy body is projected in a direction oblique to the horizon. The latter mathematician now opened a new field of investigation, and displayed the resources of a powerful mind in its cultivation. He unfolded the general theory of the motion of heavy bodies on given curves, and applied it to the cycloid, a curve whose properties, both physical and mathematical, have so long engaged the attention of the mathematical world. The remarkable property of *tautochronism*, which this curve possesses, was the discovery of Huygens. He also demonstrated the general laws of circular motion, and thus laid the foundation of the important theory of *central forces*, which was afterwards developed in all its generality by the genius of Newton. Nor were these discoveries mere barren truths; the important application of the pendulum in regulating the movement of a clock, the account of which is published in his *Horologium Oscillatorium*, was the discovery of Huygens. He also applied the principle of the *tautochronism* of the cycloid to correct the imperfection of the common pendulum, by making a flexible pendulum vibrate between two cycloidal checks. Both these inventions have been claimed by Robert Hooke, an English mechanician of considerable ingenuity, but still greater pretension, to whom horology is indebted for the application of the spiral spring in regulating the balances of the watch.

We are now led to a new era in the history of mechanical philosophy, when every feature of this science received a new character from the plastic hand of Newton.

From the time of Archimedes, the conditions of equilibrium in the various classes of machines were established by methods generally indirect, and always tedious and obscure. To Newton we owe the reduction of the problems of statics to a single principle, which,

which, although already known and employed by Galileo in determining the motion of projectiles, had not been hitherto felt in all the fecundity of its consequences. This principle was the *composition of forces*, or, to speak more properly, the composition of motions; and from it Newton, in the definitions of his *Principia*, has demonstrated the laws of equilibrium in the different classes of the mechanic powers.

The merit of this discovery has been claimed for Varignon, a French mathematician, who published, in the year 1687, a small tract, entitled *Projet d'une Nouvelle Mécanique*,* in which this principle was developed, in its application to the different simple machines. The success of this work induced the author to enter on the subject more in detail; a labour in which he was engaged for more than thirty years. The *Nouvelle Mécanique* was the result of this toil, and appeared in the year 1725, three years after the death of the author. The *Principia* of Newton, however, received the *imprimatur* of the president of the Royal Society, in July, 1686, the year preceding that in which Varignon first published on the subject; and as this principle is adopted in almost every page of that great work, a work which must have been the result of many years of labour, it is past doubt that it must have been known to its author long before.

The demonstrations, however, which were at first given of this principle, were not satisfactory. It was easy to show, that when two motions were simultaneously communicated to a body, which, separately, would carry it over the sides of a parallelogram in a given time, the body would by their compound effect describe the diagonal in the same time. Assuming, then, that these motions were the measures of the forces which produced them, the thing was done. But to this it was objected, that, in this mode of proof, a principle is assumed as the foundation of statics, which can only be established by observation; namely, the proportionality of the force to the velocity produced. Whereas, if this theorem be established without this assumption, the whole theory of equilibrium becomes the necessary consequence of certain axioms, and altogether independent of the results of experience. To this it was added, that it was an indirect course to introduce the consideration of motion into the conditions of equilibrium, where no such motion could be supposed to exist. Daniel Bernoulli, who first started these objections in the *Acta Petropolitana*, 1726, was the first, also, to give an independent demon-

* The author of the work whose title stands at the head of this article does not seem to have been aware of the existence of this memoir. In discussing the claims of Varignon to this discovery, he says, the '*Nouvelle Mécanique* did not make its appearance until the year 1725, which was after his death; and no trace of this discovery can be found in any of his other productions.'

stration of the *composition of forces*; and he has been followed by many others, anxious to simplify the proof of a theorem which lay at the basis of *mechanical science*. Amongst these we find the names of D'Alembert, La Place, Prony, Duchayla, &c.

Such was the benefit conferred by Newton on this first great division of mechanical science; that, namely, which unfolds the *doctrine of equilibrium*. But we shall find that the impulse which he has given to the progress of *dynamical science* was of still greater value. It is not our intention to enter here on the vast discoveries of Newton, in the mechanics of the heavens, the laws of the planetary movements, and the theory of universal gravitation. These applications, although they mark, perhaps, the most distinguished era in the history of the human mind, do not properly fall under our consideration in this sketch of the improvements which the science of abstract mechanics has at various times received, from its origin to the present day. But although we do not enter on those discoveries, which have been, by their grandeur, peculiarly connected with the name of Newton; yet we shall find it difficult to tread in any path of science which has not received the impress of his powerful and comprehensive genius.

The science of motion had, at this period, received considerable advances. Galileo had unfolded the laws of rectilinear motion uniformly accelerated, and had considered one case of curvilinear movement. Huygens added the theory of some very comprehensive cases of curvilinear motion. Descartes, Wallis, Wren, and others, furnished the solution of several important dynamical problems. But all these steps were made by different and independent routes; and the results themselves were not exhibited in that connexion and mutual relation which marks the maturity of a science. We must, therefore, consider it as a new era in the history of this science, when all these results were exhibited merely as the developments of certain general formulæ, whose application to the problems of mechanics was limited only by the imperfection of the analysis employed. The discovery of the *fluxional calculus* was that of an instrument of far greater power than that hitherto in use. With the history of this discovery, and the discussions to which it gave rise, our readers must be familiar.

Newton himself, although he seems to have been fully sensible of the importance of this instrument, by the use which he evidently made of it in some of the more difficult problems of mechanics; yet with the wish, as it should seem, to accommodate his discoveries in physical science to the existing state of mathematical knowledge, chose rather to exhibit them by means of a certain infinitesimal

tesimal analysis, to which he gave the name of the *doctrine of prime and ultimate ratios*, which is but an improvement on the ancient *method of exhaustions*. In this way, Newton developed the general laws of rectilinear and curvilinear movement of a body under the influence of a central force; the general theory of the motion of heavy bodies constrained to move in given curves, or upon given surfaces; the attractions of bodies composed of particles endued with forces acting according to given laws, &c. These advances in the theory of dynamics were made by uniform and general methods, of which we propose to give the reader some outline.

For the sake of simplification, mathematicians at first considered a body as divested of its mass, and limited their investigations to the hypothetical case of a *material point*, (so denominated as possessing all the properties of matter, excepting its extension,) solicited by any forces whatever. The theory of the movement of such a body was found to rest on two principles, or '*laws of motion*,' already specified, namely, the law of inertia, or the indifference of matter to rest or motion; and the proportionality of the force to the motion engendered by it: and from these two principles is derived the whole theory of the motion of a material point.

Of the *rectilinear motion* of a material point little need be said. This subject, as far as relates to the action of a constant force, was (as we have already stated) developed by Galileo. Newton generalized the theory, and, by geometrical representations afforded by the areas of curves, exhibited the laws of rectilinear movement under the influence of a force varying according to any law.

The theory of rectilinear motion being thus complete, it only remained to reduce to it the laws of *curvilinear movement*. This was effected by means of the composition and resolution of forces in the following manner:—the forces applied to a material point, compelling it to describe any curve, were all reduced to two, one of them in the direction of the tangent to the curve, and the other perpendicular to it; each of these forces may be considered, for an instant, as producing a rectilinear motion in its own direction; and, therefore, by the application of the laws of such movement, the changes of motion, in either direction, and, therefore, in absolute space, are completely discovered. In *constrained motion*, in which the body is confined to a certain line or surface, the normal force is equilibrated by the re-action of the curve or surface, and produces the pressure thereon, while the tangential force alone is engaged in altering the velocity of the body.

There remained now but one step to complete the theory of the movement of a material point. Newton, we have said, in compliance

pliance with the knowledge of the age in which he lived, exhibited the results of his discoveries under a geometrical form, although it is undoubtedly evident that his own investigations were conducted (in many instances at least) by the aid of a more powerful instrument. Thus it is that his theorems, though general in their method, are deprived of that species of generality which necessarily accompanies the language of symbols, and want that elegance which now distinguishes the analytical developments of general formulæ. Newton, however, though he left this step for an age of more extended mathematical acquirement, yet was himself the creator of the instrument by which alone it was to be accomplished. By the aid of the *fluxional* or *differential calculus*, of which he was so able a master, the celebrated Euler unfolded the whole theory of the dynamics of a material point in a manner equally remarkable for elegance and simplicity. His *Mécanique* was published in 1736. The principles there employed in reducing the theory of curvilinear to that of rectilinear movement are, in substance, the same as those adopted by Newton. ▸

It was not long, however, before a simpler and more elegant method was discovered of establishing this connexion. This method, now universally adopted in mathematical as well as mechanical science, was first employed by Maclaurin. In it the position of a point in space is determined by its perpendicular distances from three fixed planes, intersecting at right angles; or, which is the same thing, by the distances of its projections on three fixed lines (which are the intersections of these planes, two by two) measured from their intersection, which is the vertex of the solid angle. These distances are denominated the *co-ordinates* of the point, and the lines upon which they are measured the *axes of co-ordinates*. Now, if the position of the moving point, as well as the forces which solicit it, be referred to three such axes, the variations or *differentials* of its co-ordinates shall be the spaces described by it in these three directions. Wherefore, the relation between these spaces and the forces acting in the direction of the corresponding axis, being expressed according to the conditions of rectilinear movement, three similar equations are obtained by which the motion of the point is completely determined.

Thus were the dynamics of a material point reduced to a few fundamental principles, simple in themselves and obvious in their application. New principles, however, were required, when from the motions of a body of infinitely small bulk, mathematicians proceeded to consider bodies as they exist in nature, composed of innumerable particles connected together, and by their connexion and mutual action affecting each other's motions. The famous problems

problems of the *centre of percussion*, and the *centre of oscillation* of a compound pendulum, proposed by Mersenne, were the first of this nature which engaged the attention of mathematicians. Descartes, Roberval, and many others, had given solutions which were imperfect, and in many cases inexact; Huygens was the first who gave a complete and general solution of the latter problem.* This solution was attacked by many writers of the day, and ably defended by James Bernoulli. This mathematician at first attempted to reduce the problem to the principle of the lever, and, after several trials, at length arrived at a complete and elegant solution, the basis of which is the *dynamical principle* which has received the name of D'Alembert.

Hitherto various principles had been imagined, and different methods proposed for the solution of this and similar problems; methods for the most part limited, and indirect in their application. Here, however, we have arrived at the discovery of a principle, which embraces the whole scope of dynamical science;—a principle which in its evidence, generality, and the simplicity of its application, leaves nothing to desire.

Valuable, however, as this principle is in the higher branches of dynamical science, it remained almost a barren truth for many years, no one perceiving its importance or generality; until at length D'Alembert adopted it as the basis of his *Traité de Dynamique*, which he published in the year 1743, forty years after its original discovery. The principle is as follows:—‘If the motions due to the forces which act at any one instant on each of the elementary bodies which compose a system, be resolved each into two others; one, that which the body really takes, and the other, that which is lost by virtue of the mutual action of the parts of the system, these latter must be in equilibrio.’ The equations, expressing the conditions of equilibrium amongst these motions lost or destroyed, contain all the principles required for the determination of the motion of the system. Thus the problems of dynamics were reduced to simple questions of equilibrium, and the methods of investigation throughout rendered uniform and simple.

All that was now wanting to perfect the theory of mechanical science, was an easy and general method of expressing the conditions of equilibrium themselves among any number of counterbalancing forces. The base of such a method Lagrange found in the principle of *virtual velocities*; a principle whose origin, we have seen, may be traced in the writings of Galileo, but which was first enumerated, in all its generality, by John Bernoulli, so late as the year 1717. The principle is, that ‘if on any system of

* The principle upon which this solution depended was that known at present by the name of the *Conservatio Virium Vivarum*, a title given to it by John Bernoulli.

bodies, urged by forces which are in equilibrio, any very small movement be impressed, so that all the points of the system shall describe in the same time very small spaces, which are called their *virtual velocities*, the sum of the products of each force multiplied by the virtual velocity of the point to which it is applied, estimated in the direction of that force, shall be equal to nothing.' On this principle the author of the *Mécanique Analytique* has built the whole doctrine of statics; and, by combining it with the *principle of D'Alembert*, he obtained at once those fundamental equations of which the whole of dynamical science is but a development.

This splendid monument of human genius, though, it seemed to give perfection and immortality to the science of which it treats, did not, however, preclude all improvement. Like those undying records of human events, which furnish the materials from which the historian or the chronologer draws his store, but which may be scanned by the learned eye alone; so this work, in which the principles of mechanical science are laid down in all their comprehensiveness, will be found to furnish the analyst with the materials which it is his province to develop and apply to the phenomena of nature or the works of art. But it is to the initiated alone that it is granted to enter this temple of science, and to spread its treasures before the less tutored eye: to the learner it is inaccessible. While, therefore, science justly boasts of this tribute of a master-mind, it will still accept and value the humbler offerings of less aspiring genius. Many valuable works have, accordingly, since appeared, having for their object to unfold the elements of this science, amongst which those of Prony and Poisson deservedly hold the highest rank. In our islands, indeed, comparatively little has been done. Newton's immediate successors, so far from any attempt to generalize his views, or explore the untravelled regions of science, were content with the task of illustrating and applying his conclusions; and even to this day the elementary scientific works of this country exhibit the greatest imperfection and inelegance in the establishment of the general principles, accompanied with the utmost diffuseness in their applications. These applications are often nothing more than mere exercises of mathematical ingenuity. This style of writing has, we conceive, been fostered by the occasions of the universities, from which these works have, in general, proceeded. The principles of a science are few and easily exhausted,—its practical applications endless. Problems, therefore, and these most frequently relative to imaginary cases, necessarily form the greater part of the university examinations; and in the view of aiding the student at such trials, the works intended for his use are found to consist principally of such materials.

materials. Some application is, without doubt, necessary in illustration of the general principles; but we think it has been carried to excess by the writers of this country. Independently of its effect in excluding what is far more valuable, namely, an adequate and comprehensive view of general science, it has, we conceive, the most injurious effects on the student himself, by overburdening the memory with results of little or no value; and, still more, by its obvious tendency to preclude the exertion of the mental energies, while the materials upon which they should operate are thus furnished, wrought, and finished to the eye. But whilst we censure in the authors of our own country this redundancy of useless applications, we are far from approving of the naked theories of the writers of the continent.

In the able work which has suggested the foregoing remarks, Dr. Lloyd seems to have taken a judicious mean between barren theory and redundant illustration. Having mainly followed the continental writers in the exposition of principles, which he has unfolded with clearness and elegance, he has, moreover, enriched his work with several important applications, such as are fitted to afford valuable practical knowledge, as well as a useful illustration of the principles from which they are derived.

The seventh, ninth, and tenth sections of the *Statics* are particularly observable for these useful applications of the general theory. The first of these sections, in which the author treats of the conditions of equilibrium in the several *mechanic powers*, demands our undivided approbation: commencing with a clear and comprehensive view of the nature and use of mechanic instruments in general, the author proceeds to consider them in detail. This discussion, while it is carried on in a spirit of philosophical generalization, which is always pleasing to the scientific mind, never omits those practical inferences and improvements which are of importance to the mechanic. In the ninth and tenth sections, Dr. Lloyd takes up a subject scarcely inferior in importance, viz., the equilibrium of roofs, arches, and domes; the strain of materials and their strength in resisting fracture, together with the principles of frame-work as derived from these considerations.

With respect to the mode of unfolding the general theory, we have much praise to bestow for the author's judgment in selecting, and ability in devising improvements. We would instance on this head the third and fourth sections of the *Statics* especially. The first of these is devoted to an important case of parallel forces, that, namely, when two equal and parallel forces act in contrary directions, but are not directly opposed. Poinso't is the first writer who has developed the theory of these 'pairs' of forces, or, as he himself has called them, *couples*; and in his elegant
little

little treatise on statics, he has exemplified its importance by applying it to the investigation of the conditions of equilibrium of a solid body in general; an investigation to which it gives the utmost perspicuity and elegance.

‘The tendency of a pair is to give to the points of application movements in the directions of the individual forces; and, therefore, to the system to which those points belong, considered as invariable, a movement about some axis perpendicular to the plane of the forces. The energy of the pair, to produce this effect, can depend only on the magnitude of the forces, and the perpendicular distance between their directions. The product of one of the equal forces into the perpendicular distance between their directions, may be named the *moment* of the pair; and if two pairs act in the same or in parallel planes; or, which is the same thing, on the same or on parallel axes, their moments may be said to be of the same, or of contrary directions, according as they tend to turn the system in the same, or in contrary directions.’ This being premised, it is shown, that ‘a pair is in equilibrio with another pair, when the moments of the two pairs are equal and contrary.’ And, therefore, ‘that all pairs are equivalent, whose moments are equal, and of the same direction.’ It is then demonstrated that any number of pairs whose moments are of the same or contrary directions, i. e., which act in the same or in parallel planes, are compounded as forces which act in the same right line. And that two pairs, whose planes are inclined to each other at any angle, are compounded by a method exactly analogous to the composition of two forces meeting in a point. So that ‘if, on the axes of the component pairs, two portions are taken, which, measured from the angle, are proportional to their moments; and if a parallelogram is constructed, having these lines for its sides, the diagonal shall be the axis of the resulting pair; and shall also represent the magnitude of its moment.’

In applying this theory to obtain the conditions of equilibrium among any forces applied to the points of an invariable system, and in any directions, which forms the subject of the fourth section, it is observed that, whatever be these forces, they are always reducible to a *single force* and a *single pair*. It has been shown, moreover, that a single force and a single pair cannot equilibrate; wherefore, for equilibrium, it is requisite that the resulting force and the moment of the resulting pair should be separately equal to nothing; and it is readily shown that these two conditions of equilibrium are equivalent to six, namely, that ‘the sum of the forces in each of the three co-ordinate axes should be equal to cypher, and that the sum of the moments of the pairs in each of the co-ordinate planes should be equal to cypher.’ These conditions, ana-

lytically

lytically expressed, furnish the six equations of equilibrium of a solid body. This method of establishing the conditions of equilibrium, besides the advantages of perspicuity and elegance, which it unites in an eminent degree, has this further merit, that in the present mode of investigation, the problem is solved at once in all its generality; and, from this general solution, the conditions of equilibrium in particular cases, as when the applied forces are parallel, or when their directions lie in the same plane, are at once derived. Whereas, in the received mode of treating this subject, the conditions of equilibrium in the above-mentioned cases must be established, separately and independently, before we can proceed to the complete solution of the problem. Nor is it on these grounds alone, that the doctrine of *couples* or *pairs* claims to hold a place in the works on mechanical philosophy. Its uses in the higher branches of dynamical science are still more striking. Our reader will satisfy himself of this by the perusal of a short memoir by M. Poinso^t, on the theory of moments, published at the end of his *statique*. He will there see some of the most difficult subjects of dynamics unfolded with a simplicity almost un-^{hoped} for, and what will perhaps be prized as a still higher advantage, the imagination of the reader, which would accompany the steps of the process, is never baffled by the abstractedness or complexity of analytic symbols. We rejoice that an English writer has been the first to estimate the ingenious researches of M. Poinso^t, and adopt them as the foundation of a systematic treatise. We cannot but think that the time is not far distant when the parallelogram of pairs shall be deemed as important and as fundamental a theorem in mechanical science, as the well-known parallelogram of forces.

But to return to the work before us: the fifth section treats of the conditions of equilibrium, when the body, to which the forces are applied, is in part restrained by fixed obstacles, and of the pressures on the points of contact. On this subject, which is one of considerable practical importance, our author dwells more at length than the generality of the continental writers with which we are acquainted. The general theory of equilibrating forces is concluded in this section; its applications are contained in those that follow; and, finally, in the twelfth and last section of the statics, the author takes a masterly view of the three principles, which have, severally, been assumed as the foundation of this branch of mechanical science; namely, the *principle of the lever*, the *composition of forces*, and the principle of *virtual velocities*. He demonstrates the latter principle after the method of Lagrange, by means of the pulley, and illustrates its secun^dity not only in the solution of problems, but also in the establishment of the more general theorems

theorems of the science; as that relative to the conditions of equilibrium among the forces applied to a rigid system.

• In the first section of the *dynamics*, which treats of motion, independently of the forces which produce it, the general theory of motion is exemplified, in the case of motion uniformly accelerated, by its application to the laws of falling bodies; and the composition and resolution of motion illustrated by the theory of projectiles, in which a body, projected in a direction oblique to the horizon, descends at the same time in the vertical with a uniformly accelerated velocity. This latter theory is unfolded with simplicity and clearness; but we object to the position which it holds in the work: we prefer the arrangement adopted by the French writers, which introduces this subject in connexion with the theory of curvilinear motion.

In this part of the subject, especially where the composition and resolution of motion is treated of, the style is needlessly prolix and explanatory; and we should be inclined to conjecture that much of this chapter was written for oral delivery. In a public lecture, indeed, a certain degree of repetition and even verbiage is requisite, were it to serve no other purpose than to reduce the current of thought to that easy flow in which it may be conveniently followed by those who listen; but in a work which is to be the study of the closet, and especially in a scientific work, in which no step of an argument can escape the view, this is no longer necessary. But it is not as unnecessary only that we would censure such diffusiveness of style; we deem it absolutely injurious, even to that very class of readers for whose sake, principally, it seems to have been indulged. Excessive explanation not only tends to obscure the train of ideas which constitute the argument, but it moreover diverts the mind, and fixes it on something which is not an essential element of the reasoning. The student, who has been accustomed to the naked abstractedness of a geometrical demonstration, will be inclined to attach an undue importance to that which is intended merely as illustration; and thus the author's explanatory remarks become a text as difficult of comprehension, perhaps, and as much requiring the aid of oral commentary, as the subject which he means to enlighten. It is for these reasons,—reasons which, we believe, are confirmed by the experience of teaching, that we consider briefness one of the grand requisites in a scientific treatise, and that we would confine the diffuseness of commentary to the school or the lecture-room. This objection, however, relates only to the elementary parts of the treatise before us; in the concluding sections of the volume the author has most fully redeemed this fault.

• In the third section, the general theory of curvilinear motion

tion is unfolded in a very elegant manner*; and in the following section the reader is presented with a distinct consideration of that case of curvilinear motion in which the moving point is urged by a single force, tending to a fixed centre, and varying as some function of the distance from that point. The author's mode of treating this subject, which is well known under the name of *the theory of central forces*, is well worthy of the attention of the mathematical student. He commences by transforming at once the general differential equations of motion, from rectangular to polar co-ordinates; the integrals, of which are then obtained, and shown to be sufficient for the determination of the co-ordinates of the moving point at any moment of time, and of the equation of the curve described by the moveable, the law of the force being known. In the application of these equations to different laws of force, we are presented with a series of elegant and symmetrical results, which seem to flow from the uniform method of integration which has been adopted throughout. Thus the equations of the trajectory, when the force varies as the distance directly, when it varies inversely as the square of the distance, and when it follows the law compounded of the inverse square and inverse cube, are expressed in the following manner:

$$u^2 = u'^2 \sin^2 \theta + u''^2 \cos^2 \theta.$$

$$u = u' \cos^2 \frac{\theta}{2} + u'' \sin^2 \frac{\theta}{2}.$$

$$u = u' \cos^2 \gamma \cdot \frac{\theta}{2} + u'' \sin^2 \gamma \cdot \frac{\theta}{2} *$$

u being the reciprocal of the distance, in general; and u' and u'' the reciprocals of the greatest and least distances. The first and second of these expressions are shown to be the equations of the conic sections, referred in the former case to the centre, and in the latter to the focus; and they appear to us to be altogether new, and more elegant than any of those hitherto given in the treatises on analytic geometry. The section concludes with the application of the laws of the planetary movements discovered by Kepler to the investigation of the nature of the forces which animate the planetary system, and the laws according to which they vary.

We have given a more particular attention to this work, and have entered into details of analysis, which may be obscure to many and tedious to more of our readers; but we have done so, because it appears to us to mark, in an especial manner, an epoch in the scientific literature of this country. From the days of Newton, it must be admitted, almost to the present period, the progress of the severer sciences at home has not kept pace with the rapid advances which they have made upon the continent. This circumstance is not to be attributed to any want of taste for such sciences,

* To abridge, we have written θ , for $\alpha - \alpha$, which denotes the angle in the original.

or to any deficiency in that species of talent requisite for their most successful cultivation, but to a cause totally different, whose operation on the human mind is not undeserving of notice. Excessive admiration has the effect of repressing exertion, by placing its object at a height which seems to render imitation hopeless: the powers of the mind are fascinated and spell-bound, and it does but gaze and wonder. Such was the effect produced on his countrymen by the astonishing discoveries which the unrivalled genius of Newton presented to their view. Satisfied with the reflected credit of these discoveries, they seemed not to dream of further improvement; and their exertions, in the same department, were confined to the more humble task of conducting others on the way to those conclusions, many of which he appears to have seen almost intuitively. On the continent, this admiration was counteracted by national jealousy. At first, the discoveries of Newton were attacked by the supporters of the Cartesian philosophy; and after men had everywhere at length submitted to the force of truth, this hostility was succeeded by the spirit of rivalry. The truths, which men were compelled to admit, they laboured to extend; and though no one individual has ever advanced, in the paths of science, with the giant strides of a Newton, or ever proceeded to the same distance from the point of departure, yet this point was itself gradually moving forward; inasmuch that, after the lapse of a century, the state of the mathematical sciences, both pure and mixed, was on the continent considerably more forward than in England.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century, the attention of British mathematicians was roused by the improvement which the science of physical astronomy had received from other hands. They soon became sensible that they had too long reposed under the shade which the glory of Newton had flung around; and efforts were made by many to re-assert, for Great Britain, that pre-eminence in science, which the genius of *one* had long since gained for her. The ingenious and profound researches, with which the Transactions of our learned societies abound, afford the most satisfactory evidence that the mathematical and physical sciences are now cultivated in these countries with ability, of which we speak with reserve, when we say that it is not inferior to that now, or at any time, displayed in any other part of Europe.

• In these researches, however, the attention of the philosopher is necessarily confined to the investigation of single and detached spots in the wide domain of science; and the difficult task of conducting the inquirer through the intricacies of her newly explored regions, by putting him in possession of accurate and complete charts of her several districts, was, as yet, but partially and incom-

pletely accomplished. Dr. Lloyd, therefore, unites the highest claims to our gratitude, for his bold and successful effort to supply, in an important part, this deficiency. His work appears to us to be, as far as it goes, and to promise in its progress, still to be, the most considerable work of our day; it effectually rescues us from all suspicion of our inferiority of ability to pursue these high subjects by the highest means; it exhibits powers of intellect not second to the ablest of our foreign contemporaries; and it cannot, we think, fail to exalt our scientific character abroad, and to extend the influence and progress of such studies at home.

Having thus expressed our opinion of Dr. Lloyd's power of mind, and of the value of his work, we shall be excused for mentioning one or two points, in which, we think, the latter might be improved. And we do so the more readily, that we conceive that the faults, such as they are, into which he has been betrayed, have sprung from a laudable anxiety to render every part of his difficult subject as accessible to the student as possible.

We have already noticed the tendency to over-explanation particularly observable in the more elementary parts of this work: there is another fault, somewhat of a kindred nature, which we mention, in the hope that our notice of it may be of use to the author in the next edition of his work. It is the seeming anxiety to avoid the symbolical language of analysis, when it is possible to clothe a conclusion or demonstration in the more familiar signs of our ideas; namely, the language of common life. To the mathematical reader, the circumlocution into which this necessarily leads is irksome and wearying; and even to the mere learner, we conceive, it enhances the difficulties which must be encountered. There are few students who engage in the study of mechanical philosophy ignorant of the meaning and efficacy of the language of analysis; and none, who are not familiar with the symbols of geometry. To exhibit a demonstration in any other form is to spread it over too wide an extent of surface for the mind readily to collect its various parts under its view at once. It is also to deprive it of that important aid which the eye is known to afford to it in its efforts to grasp and embody the fugitive beings of abstraction.

Such are our exceptions to a work—in which, if there be somewhat to blame, there is much to admire; the style unites the perfections of philosophical precision and classical elegance, and exhibits a clearness, a simplicity and harmony which bespeak a mind that can lift itself from its subject, and view its bearings with a comprehensive glance; *mathematicam multi sciunt, mathesis pauci; aliud, est enim propositiones aliquot posse, et nonnullas ex eis elicere, aliud scientiæ ipsius naturam et indolem perspectam*

perspectam habere. There is judgment displayed in the selection of the materials which are likely to be of most value to the student; skill generally exhibited in their disposition and development; and originality in moulding them so as to harmonise with the whole. We need, therefore, scarcely add, that we shall hail the appearance of the second volume, as completing the most valuable treatise on mechanics which has yet appeared in our language.

- ART. VII.—1. *The Scotch Banker.* London. 8vo. 1828.
 2. *Observations on Paper Money, Banking, and Overtrading.* By Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. London. 8vo. 1827.
 3. *Letters on Currency.* By Daniel Hardcastle. 1828.
 4. *Corn and Currency.* By Sir James Graham, Bart. Third Edition. London. 8vo. 1828.
 5. *Considerations on the State of the Currency.* By Thomas Tooke. London. 8vo. 1826.
 6. *The Effect of the Issues of the Bank of England.* By Robert Mushet. London. 8vo. 1826.
 7. *Views on the Currency.* By T. Joplin. London. 8vo. 1828.
 8. *A Letter to Lord Grenville, on the Resumption of Cash Payments.* By Thomas Tooke, Esq., F.R.S. London. 8vo. 1829.

THE changes which have taken place, within the last thirty years, in the standard of our currency, and the invasions upon the property of individuals unavoidably resulting from these changes, have furnished a painful and costly lesson, which we trust will never be lost to the public. The distress which the community has experienced—the ruinous losses which individuals have sustained, afford a melancholy proof of the dangers and difficulties to which any tampering with the currency cannot fail to expose the country. It is, no doubt, perfectly true, that the injurious results to which we allude did not immediately appear; on the contrary, they did not begin to show themselves until the period arrived when, in the opinion of all parties, the substitution of a metallic standard for a fluctuating paper currency became indispensable: as long as the machine continued to proceed in its devious route no violent jolting was felt; but the moment its conductor attempted to turn it into its ancient track, the impediments appeared so overwhelming as very nearly to stop the vehicle. With the causes which led to the suspension of cash payments in 1797 we do not mean to meddle: the difficulties of that trying period, when the public mind had, from peculiar circumstances, become

come suddenly and violently agitated, furnish, perhaps, a satisfactory justification of the order in council which authorised a *temporary* suspension of cash payments: but the error then committed was, in not removing the restriction imposed upon the Bank, as soon as alarm had subsided, and payments in specie might have been resumed without inconvenience to the Bank or injury to the public at large.

The authors of the pamphlets placed at the head of this article manfully contend, that even our present system is erroneous: one party calls for a currency entirely metallic;—the other is equally enamoured of a paper currency. One would persuade us that the country can never be safe without a double circulation of gold and silver, to the utter exclusion of notes; while the other is thrown into actual convulsions at the sight of a sovereign.

The advocates of a paper currency not convertible into cash found their arguments on the prosperous condition of the country during the suspension of cash payments, and the distress and difficulty which succeeded the restoration of a metallic standard in 1819. It must, we apprehend, be conceded, even by the warmest supporters of a metallic standard, that the act of 1797 did, for a time, contribute to develop the resources of this country; and this effect became more especially apparent in the strenuous and successful efforts which were everywhere made to extend and improve the cultivation of the soil. We are inclined to think that, during the period which elapsed between the suspension and resumption of cash payments, agriculture made greater progress in this country than it had made during the whole course of the eighteenth century. It is certain that more waste land was inclosed and brought under tillage between 1797 and 1819 than between 1697 and 1797; and the improvement of old inclosures at least kept pace with the exertions which were made to reclaim and cultivate those neglected districts. That this flourishing condition of agriculture did in some measure spring out of the suspension of cash payments, is a circumstance for which it is not difficult to account. It is now pretty generally admitted that the measure in question gradually lowered the standard of value; that is to say, it gradually diminished the real amount of all fixed money payments. The pound sterling, which theoretically represented one hundred and twenty grains of gold, dwindled in practice into ninety-six grains, and occasionally still lower. The rise in the selling price of commodities necessarily kept pace with the diminution of the standard on which their value was calculated: every article of consumption gradually advanced in price; but this increase in price was merely nominal; there was no real addition made to the intrinsic value of commodities;

dities; the apparent difference sprung principally from the alteration in the standard by which this value was measured—with the exception of corn, which must be affected in its market price, not only by such alterations, but also by the state of supply, as connected with good and bad seasons. But although the rise of prices, arising from the alteration in the standard, was merely nominal as far as it concerned the public at large, all those who had any fixed money payments to make derived a real advantage from it. This was more especially the case with respect to the occupiers of land: by far the greatest portion of the landed property of this country was, at the period when cash payments were suspended, held under leases having terms to run. Rents were no longer paid in cash but in paper; and the paper pound note, even when it had, by the process of depreciation, become worth no more than fourteen or fifteen shillings, continued to discharge money engagements entered into on a higher standard. It is evident that the land-occupier gained, during the currency of his lease, twenty-five or thirty per cent. (according to the depreciation of the standard,) at the expense of the land-owner. It is true that the gentlemen who had granted leases were thus deprived of a considerable proportion of their just claims; but it is probable that the gain of the tenants was generally laid out in a manner which ultimately made some compensation for the temporary loss which the landlords sustained. The extra profit which the farmer derived from this source encouraged him to engage in new undertakings: it became an additional capital in his hands, which was in most cases laid out in the further improvement of his farm. The energy with which the farmers of this country prosecuted the improvement of land, during the suspension of cash payments, is well known: it has completely altered the face of the country, and made an incalculable addition to its productive capabilities; and as no agriculturist, however skilful and enterprising, can work without capital, we are very much of opinion that the gain, which the alteration of the currency enabled him to make at the expense of his landlord, became first the stimulus and then the instrument of the exertions which he subsequently made. The suspension of cash payments enabled the leaseholder to withhold, we will suppose 25*l.* out of every 100*l.* which he had contracted to pay his landlord; but the profit thus made was not foolishly squandered and spent;—some cases of improvidence, no doubt, occurred—but in the great majority of instances it was laid out in improvements, which the tenant could not carry away or exhaust before the termination of his lease, and from which the land-owner was enabled, in the end, to derive considerable benefit.

It may also be observed here, that where the owner had a mortgage

mortgage on his estate, or had any annuities to pay under wills or settlements, he was enabled to get back at least a part of what the tenant withheld from him. We will suppose that the rent of his estate amounted to 1000*l.* per annum, and that, by way of annuities or interest for mortgage, he had payments to make amounting to 250*l.* per annum. The alteration in the standard reduced his income from 1000*l.* to 750*l.* per annum; he also was enabled to reduce the amount of his annual payments from 250*l.* to 187*l.* 10*s.* When the lease expired, he was placed in a situation to make a new agreement with his tenants: his rent was then raised in proportion to the altered value of the circulating medium, and still further augmented by the improvements which an unexpected addition of capital had enabled the occupiers to make upon his land—whilst his outgoing payments to the annuitants and mortgagee were made in a depreciated currency.

Indeed we apprehend that, to this latter class of persons alone, was the measure of 1797 seriously injurious. Their annual incomes remained the same in amount: but they sustained a real reduction equivalent to the depreciation of the currency in which they were paid. The mortgagee, or annuitant, entitled to one hundred pounds, still continued annually to receive one hundred pounds; but, as each of these pounds had fallen from twenty to fifteen shillings in real value, when given in exchange for commodities, the effect was precisely the same as if he only received seventy-five pounds, worth twenty shillings a piece.

The effects of a depreciated currency, although unavoidable and certain, yet appear in such a form as to elude the observation of the mass of mankind. They are seen in a general rise in the market price of all commodities; and, upon a given average of years, this rise will always be found to correspond with the amount of depreciation which the currency of any country may have sustained. This is the circumstance which renders the bulk of mankind so slow in comprehending and detecting a depreciation in the standard of value: they are accustomed to see prices rise and fall whenever a variation happens to take place either in the supply or demand for commodities, or in the expense of producing them. To this cause, which daily experience renders familiar to them, they ascribe a rise of prices which really springs from another source, of which they have no perception. If, for instance, the quantity of gold now contained in the English pound sterling were to be reduced from one hundred and twenty to ninety-six grains, or if the weight of the sovereign remained the same, and thirty grains of alloy were substituted for an equal quantity of standard gold, the immediate and visible effect in practice would be a rise of twenty-five per cent. in the market price of all commodities: sup-

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posing mutton, when such a change took place, to sell for sixpence per pound, it would rise to eightpence; sugar from ninepence to twelpence; and wheat from sixty shillings per quarter to eighty. But the ordinary observer seldom suspects that this rise of prices is occasioned by a diminution of the standard; he conceives that mutton, sugar, and wheat have become dearer either because these commodities have become scarcer, or the demand of the consumers has been increased.

The depreciation of the currency effected by the suspension of cash payments did not commence immediately; and its progress was gradual. At length, however, the paper pound note ceased, *de facto*, to be worth more than fourteen or fifteen twentieths of the metallic pound sterling; and, if we had not returned to a metallic standard, there can be little doubt that the depreciation of the paper pound note would have proceeded still further.

The return to a metallic standard of value was then a matter of indispensable necessity: it was recommended by every principle of justice, as the only means which could save annuitants, and persons entitled to fixed money payments, from a still greater loss of property than they had already sustained. We are, indeed, convinced, that if the paper standard had been continued, it would, in practice, have had the effect of putting an end to all contracts which the interested parties intended should take effect prospectively: as long as the standard by which payments were to be measured continued liable to constant and serious fluctuation, no capitalist in his right senses would have lent his money to individuals on mortgage, or to the state on annuities; nor would any landed proprietor have been prevailed upon to grant a lease of his land. Hence it seems clear that the tendency of a paper currency, unlimited in its issue, and not convertible into cash, to fall in value, although for a short period favourable to agriculture and the other branches of national industry, would unavoidably have produced a revulsion more than equal to the benefit which had been derived from this depreciation. The influence of this revulsion would have acted, perhaps, most injuriously upon the interests of agriculture. It cannot be doubted that it would, in practice, have entirely put an end to the custom of letting farms on lease; and thus would have destroyed a system which experience proves to be the most efficient means of attracting capital to the cultivation of the soil. But although the return to a metallic standard was both just and necessary, it has been exceedingly painful in its operation. The restoration of the integrity of our currency proved, in practice, more injurious both to individuals, and to the community at large, than its previous depreciation. Its operation was instantaneous; and it fell, if not exclusively, at least more generally, upon the property of the productive classes.

It requires but little reflection to enable the reader to perceive the amazing difference which exists between the effects, upon the pecuniary engagements of society, of a gradual depreciation of the currency, and an instantaneous return from the lowest point of depreciation to a metallic standard. The depreciation of our paper currency did not commence for some years after the suspension of cash payments. It was not, we believe, until the year 1806, that gold, when paid for in bank notes, rose from three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny to four pounds per ounce. This gradual fall in the value of the pound note put it in the power of a large proportion of the community to modify their contracts according to the subsisting standard. If a landowner let his land in 1806, for instance, a pound sterling worth about nineteen shillings formed the basis of his agreement with the occupier. He increased the nominal amount of his rent in proportion to the depreciation of the currency in which it was to be paid; and supposing that no lease had been granted, even if the currency had sustained a further depreciation, the parties would have been at liberty to avoid its inconvenience by entering into a new agreement. The same reasoning will apply to the situation of persons whose capital was laid out, by way of mortgage, upon the security of landed property. When they found that the owners of the land on which their money was advanced paid the interest in a currency which had fallen and continued to fall in value, they might have called in their money, and vested it, as no doubt many of them did, in the purchase of land. This secured them against the injurious effects of a further depreciation. The only persons who sustained, from this gradual depreciation, an injury which they could neither avoid nor repair, were those who had lent money either to the public, or to private individuals, in the purchase of annuities. The injustice towards this class of persons increased gradually with the depreciation which took place in the value of the pound note, and they had no means of evading its increasing pressure. But, as the great bulk of the public debt had been contracted since the depreciation of the pound sterling, the aggregate loss of the whole of this class could not have been of very serious amount.

The effects of the substitution of a metallic for a paper standard of value fell with peculiar severity upon the occupying farmers. Many landowners, whose estates were incumbered by mortgages and annuities, it greatly embarrassed; but upon all the occupiers of land, who held under leases granted during the suspension of cash payments, it brought overwhelming distress. And when we recollect how extensively the practice of granting leases prevailed at that time in this country, we can easily conceive
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how great must have been the number of those who suffered on this account. We apprehend that, in every instance, the rents secured under leases granted during the depreciation of the currency, (or, what is the same thing, the high price of agricultural produce,) between 1808 and 1814, were, if not exorbitant, at least to the full as high as the state of the market could warrant. These rents were high, even if the depreciation of the currency had continued, and agricultural produce had, in consequence, maintained its price; but the alteration in the standard added greatly to the real amount of these rents; for, although a fall of twenty-five, or, as it frequently happened, of fifty per cent. had taken place in the market value of agricultural produce, still the landowner was legally empowered to exact the same nominal rent from the occupier. It is, however, but bare justice to add that, during the whole course of the very trying crisis through which the country has *at length*, we trust, *passed*, a great proportion of our landowners conducted themselves towards their tenants with moderation and discretion; they felt that to exact, in a metallic currency, rent, which had been contracted for in depreciated paper-money, would have been unjust in itself, and in its consequences highly impolitic and injurious: and, accordingly, a very considerable proportion of them voluntarily relaxed in their demands. As such liberality, or rather equity, was general, it may appear somewhat invidious to specify particular instances. One example, however, we must be permitted to mention, on account of the promptitude and frankness with which it was characterized. A gentleman, who represents an extensive and opulent county in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, was one of those who most strenuously opposed the alteration of the standard in 1819, on the ground that it would add an intolerable weight to all money-payments—to rents, interest of loans on bonds or mortgage, and annuities,—contracted for in a depreciated standard. He saw clearly the evils which this alteration in the standard of value would inevitably draw in its train. The opposition which he offered to the measure proving ineffectual, he acted on the emergency with a degree of consistency highly honourable to his character. He returned instantly to his country-seat, and assembling his tenants, addressed them thus:—

‘ My farms were let in a depreciated paper currency; and the rent was augmented in proportion to the depreciation which this currency had sustained. The legislature has thought proper to restore the ancient standard. I feel myself called upon to relieve your minds at once from the embarrassment and perplexity which I foresee this measure will produce: an addition of one-fourth has been made to the standards

standards by which your payments are to be measured ; on this account I will, until your present leases expire, remit you one fourth of the rent which you contracted to pay. I will receive 75*l.* worth 20*s.* each as a full discharge for 100*l.* worth 15*s.* each, which you had engaged to pay. For this act I claim not the slightest credit on the score of liberality ; you are not for one moment to consider yourselves indebted to my generosity ; I feel that I am only just.'

It may not, perhaps, prove uninteresting to contrast this instance, we will not say of generosity but of honesty, with the conduct which was pursued, under similar circumstances, by a certain noble baron, who has recently distinguished himself, and edified his peers by a display of his brilliant acquirements in 'the most exact of all the sciences.' Most of our readers may probably have it in recollection that, at one period during the prevalence of a paper currency, this scientific patrician attempted to compel his tenants to pay their rents not in paper, but in gold ; and this on the ground that he had let and leased out his farms for pounds sterling to be calculated in that metal. On that occasion, a great outcry was raised against him by the partisans of pound notes. His proceedings were held up to the world as an unprincipled and greedy attempt at extortion. We cannot admit that they were justly open to such an imputation : on the contrary, we think that, at the period in question, his lordship was not much in the wrong. He had let his land in a currency worth twenty shillings in the pound ; and in asking his tenants to pay him in gold, he demanded no more than they had bargained to pay. When the noble lord was, therefore, compelled to put up with a paper pound note, which would have procured him no more than fourteen or fifteen shillings worth of gold in the market, in lieu of the metallic pound sterling worth twenty shillings, for which he had contracted with his tenants, we cannot deny that he sustained an injury. It had the effect of forcing upon him a reduction of his rents to the amount of twenty-five per cent. ; and the occupiers of his estates were enabled to pocket, at his expense, (supposing they did not expend this saving in the improvement of their farms,) five shillings out of every twenty shillings which they had agreed to pay as rent. Having shown that the outcry raised against his lordship on the occasion alluded to, was uncalled for ; that he did not act either harshly or unjustly in requiring that his rents should be paid in the standard which prevailed when his leases were granted, we shall take the liberty of scrutinizing the conduct of the noble economist himself, when the alteration, effected in the currency in 1819, presented him with a golden opportunity of evincing to the

the world at large his consistent and enlightened attachment to the principles of his darling science.

It should be recollected that, during the suspension of cash payments in the period intervening between 1797 and 1819, the leases of the greater part, if not of the whole, of this nobleman's property must have expired. This gave him an opportunity of raising his rents in proportion to the depreciation which had taken place in the standard in which they were to be paid. It is by no means injurious to his character to assume that he availed himself of this advantage to its fullest extent. This was no more than what was due to his own interest, — it was in no respect unjust towards his tenants. We are entitled, therefore, to take it for granted, that his land was let for the number of pounds it was deemed worth in a depreciated standard. When the old metallic standard was re-established in 1819, now, we would venture to ask, did his lordship act? Did he imitate the conduct of the honourable member whom we have already mentioned? Did he act upon the principles which had impelled himself during the reign of paper to demand gold in liquidation of rent contracted for in that metal? Or, did he take advantage of the law, and wring from his tenants a metallic pound, worth twenty shillings, for every paper pound intrinsically worth only fifteen shillings, which they had covenanted to pay? These are simple questions; his lordship and his tenants are the only parties who can decisively answer them.

Considerate and indulgent as the great body of landowners showed themselves in that difficult emergency, still it cannot be concealed that some ignorant, necessitous, or unprincipled men were found among them who extorted to the letter the full amount of the rent which the legislature had put it in their power to demand. It would not, we fear, be difficult to produce many instances of this species of injustice; we shall, however, content ourselves with mentioning one case which deserves to be recorded. In an eastern county, of great agricultural celebrity, the lease of a large farm, with which we happen to be acquainted, expired about the year 1813. Owing to the depreciation of the currency, and the consequent rise in the price of produce, a perfect rage prevailed, at that period, in every district for hiring land; and in this instance, the occupier, unwilling to quit the farm on which he had been born and reared, consented to re-take it for a renewed term of fourteen years, at an extravagant advance of rent. The ink with which this lease was executed was scarcely dry, when that reaction of the currency commenced which ended in the establishment of the present standard in 1819, and the price of agricultural produce fell in consequence from twenty to forty per cent.

cent.* But notwithstanding this enormous fall in the market-value of the commodities, by the sale of which the rent was to be realized

* We are well aware that Mr. Ricardo and the bullionists ascribe this fall of prices to an excessive supply of agricultural produce; and contend that a very small proportion of it only, not more than five, or, at the utmost, ten per cent., was fairly attributable to the substitution of a metallic for a depreciated paper currency. As an answer to this theory, we shall quote a passage from a speech delivered by Mr. Attwood, on the motion brought forward by Mr. Western, in June, 1822, concerning the resumption of cash payments. He maintained, and indeed proved, that the fall of prices was not a partial depression indicating an excessive supply of any particular commodity. 'In the year 1818,' said the honourable member, 'the average price of Wheat was 84s. a quarter, and, if the present price be taken at 49s., that is a reduction on Wheat of 35s., which is equal to a fall of 45l. in every 100l., or 45l. per cent. 'The price of iron, in the year 1818, appears to have been 13l.; that price is now 8l. per ton, and is equal to a reduction of about forty per cent. 'The price of cotton, in 1818, was 1s., but it has sunk to 6d. per lb., and that is a fall of fifty per cent. on cotton. Wool, in the year 1818, sold for 2s. 1d., which now sells for 1s. 1d., and there is, therefore, in wool, a fall of nearly fifty per cent. The fall, therefore, that has taken place since 1818, in iron, in cotton, and in wool, is as great as the fall in wheat. It is forty-five per cent. on the average of the three, and that is precisely the fall in grain. These are our three great staple articles; and this fact of the great fall in price they have sustained, I recommend to the consideration of those gentlemen who tell us of an excessive production of corn, of an excessive cultivation of land. If corn has been produced in excess, if the proof of that is to be found in its fall of price, doubtless there has been an equal excess likewise in the production of these three staple articles. But I will refer to a paper containing further information upon this subject, and which, I am satisfied, will be received as exhibiting a correct estimate of the general fall in prices that has taken place in the whole of our productions and commodities. The paper to which I refer for this purpose will be found in the agricultural report of the last Session. It was delivered to the committee by Mr. Tooke, and contains a list of the principal articles of commerce and manufacture, thirty in number, selected by that gentleman, for the purpose of information respecting prices; and the prices of each commodity are given for several successive years, in the month of May in each year. The result which this table exhibits is, that since May, 1818, a great and general fall in these articles has taken place, which fall cannot, on the whole, be taken to be less than the fall in the price of agricultural produce which has accompanied it. Of these thirty articles, there are two only that have experienced no fall. These are indigo of two kinds, and their price has been supported, I understand, by circumstances of an extremely peculiar nature.* The fall which has taken place between May, 1818, and May, 1822, in the prices of the articles contained in this table, indigo excepted, is, if we take the lowest price marked in the table in each period, and take away the direct tax which exists on some of these articles, exactly forty per cent.; and, if we add to this forty per cent. five per cent. more for the difference between prices as marked in tables, and those for which commodities can really be sold in the market, when the market is depressed and falling, that will give us an average fall of forty-five per cent., which is precisely similar to the fall in grain.

'There is no truth, therefore, in the opinion that any fall in prices peculiar to agricultural produce has taken place. The fall in prices has been universal, and not particular. The leases of the tenants, the mortgages of the landowner, taxation pressing heavily on agricultural labour, but which the machinery of the manufacturer lightens, all these will render the difficulties of the agricultural community more permanent, perhaps, than those of the mercantile or manufacturing community; but they have not been more severe.

'This table shows what the general fall in price has been. Let us see, then, to what conclusion this brings us. Either the quantity of all commodities has been increased, or the quantity of money has been diminished; one of these we must of necessity admit, for the proportion is altered. And are we to believe that the general quantity of commodities has increased; that a great augmentation has suddenly taken place in the produce of all labour; that all industry has become suddenly more skilful and efficient, and the produce

realized, the landlord never abated one shilling of his demand; as every rent-day came round, he exacted, without remorse or scruple, the very last farthing set down in his 'bond.' The amount of the rent was, we believe, about 1200*l.* Having let this farm for 1200*l.*, when the pound sterling was, at the utmost, worth no more than fifteen shillings, and exacting the same number of pounds when the standard of value had been raised to twenty shillings, it is manifest that the landlord took from his tenant full 300*l.* per annum, under the letter of law, to which, upon any acknowledged principle of equitable dealing, he had no more right than he has to the pen with which we write this sentence. The lease granted in 1813 expired in 1827, and the owner was then compelled to recognise the difference between the new and the old standard. Notwithstanding the treatment he had experienced, the old tenant, with the feelings which are natural to the human heart, still clung to the hearth on which he was nurtured, and offered to re-take his farm at a rent of 900*l.* This offer was refused on the plea—it is a positive fact—on the plea, that his losses—that is to say, the 300*l.* which his landlord annually took from him beyond the rent which he had really agreed to pay, during the previous fourteen years, had been so great as to disable him from doing justice to the land. The farm was, therefore, let to a stranger for 900*l.* per annum.

We have not adduced the above case on account of any peculiarity of principle which it involves; but merely because it affords, upon a considerable scale, an exact illustration of the injustice which the alteration of the circulating medium worked in a multitude of cases of less magnitude. There can be no doubt that, viewing this change in the whole of its operation, its effect was to withdraw from land a vast capital which, during the prosperous period of agriculture, had been vested in the improvement of the soil,—transferring it from the hands of the class of productive cultivators into the pockets of moneyed and non-producing capitalists.

It is no doubt true, that the process of substituting a metallic for a paper currency did not annihilate capital—it merely made it change owners; what one man lost, his neighbour gained: it enriched the receiver of interest and annuities, while it impoverished the payer: it abstracted capital from the cultivation of the land, and caused it to flow into our towns and cities. The vast addition which has been made within the last ten years to the build-

produce of all soil more abundant? If we could believe that indeed, then we might look on our present difficulties as necessarily attending the introduction of a better state of things, as the sure precursor of an age more prosperous than this country has yet experienced. But it is impossible to entertain such a belief.

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ings of the metropolis may, we think, be ascribed, at least partially, to this cause. Persons who subsist upon fixed money payments; the creditors of the state, who have their capital vested in the public funds; widows who live upon their dowers; individuals whose property is laid out in the security of land by way of mortgage; landlords whose estates are under leases granted before the last alteration of our monetary system, and whose feelings permit them to exact, on the present standard of value, the full amount of rents contracted for on a different standard;—all these classes have been enriched by the measure: they are enabled to occupy larger houses, keep better tables, retain more servants, and feed more horses than before. Hence has arisen an incredible demand for the embellishments and luxuries of life, which the utmost exertions of the architects, the mechanics, and the cooks of the country have been scarcely able to satisfy. This increased prosperity of those whose incomes are derived from fixed money payments is not in itself, most assuredly, any object of regret. Who could have any possible objection to see the fundholder, the mortgagee, and the annuitant increasing their establishments, were it not for the conviction that the means of the cultivator to bestow labour on the land, from which their incomes are derived, have in too many instances been diminished in an exactly proportionate ratio?

Some persons affect to anticipate the most alarming effects from the final suppression of the one-pound notes. The 'Scotch Banker' maintains that nothing except the 'leather' which he has to dispose of, no measure short of re-conferring, not only upon the Bank of England, but also upon country banks, the authority to issue one-pound notes, can save the nation from the most dreadful convulsions. If the ministry do not adopt his suggestion, we are threatened not only with national bankruptcy and general panic—these are mere feathers when weighed in the scale against other evils which inevitably await us—if we do not return, and that instantly, to an inconvertible paper currency,

'In all reasonable probability it would appear that we are on the verge of a *famine*. This deadly calamity has been concealed from the public eye by the collateral circumstances attending it: it has been in some degree retarded and counteracted by those circumstances: but still it has been advancing with slow and remorseless certainty to its consummation. . . . Unless we have recourse to the paper system, we cannot keep the plough in the ground, nor prevent the whole frame of society from falling on our heads.'—*Scotch Banker*, p. 100, p. 105.

We would in kindness advise the 'Scotch Banker' to calm his fears, and confine his attention to his own ledger.

Another writer, indeed, of great notoriety, has for years been in the

the habit of asserting, in his weekly lucubrations, that this measure never can be carried into effect without reducing the price of wheat to thirty-two shillings per quarter, and the price of other commodities in the same proportion—and producing in consequence a public convulsion. A public convulsion is the *summum malum* towards which all his aspirations are directed: he has wasted the whole of a long life, and very great natural abilities, in vain attempts to excite and foment public discontent. And the anticipation, that the suppression of the one-pound note circulation must create a national commotion, is the last hope to which the hoary democrat now seems to cling: at least such is his declaration; for he has given a pledge, and renewed it weekly, that if the circulation of one-pound notes be finally withdrawn, and a public convulsion do not take place in consequence, he, Mr. William Cobbett, will consent to be roasted on a gridiron. For ourselves, we profess to entertain neither doubt nor fear upon the subject: in fact, the event, anticipated with so much glee by the democrat of Kensington as the source of political confusion, and with so much gloom by the alarmist of Lombard-street as the cause of commercial embarrassment, has already taken place. The act for the final suppression of one-pound notes has already begun to operate; and yet we have neither heard nor seen anything which seems to indicate that the measure in question has produced the slightest inconvenience—as far as we can see, it has not affected the selling price of any species of commodity.

It appears, indeed, probable, that the extinction of the small paper circulation will, in its practical operation, prove at least as advantageous to those who are engaged in banking concerns as to any other class of his Majesty's subjects. This measure will, we are inclined to think, tend to render commercial panics less disastrous, if not less frequent. Periods of popular distrust and alarm are unavoidable wherever commercial credit is widely extended; and these affect the interests of bankers more immediately, if not more deeply, than they do those of any other class of traders. At these seasons of public excitement, all banking establishments are obliged to prepare themselves for what is called a *run*: they are forced to go into the market, and provide themselves with a quantity of gold adequate to meet their engagements. On these occasions, the demand for gold receives a great and instantaneous augmentation, whilst the supply in the home-market remains the same; consequently, a great and sudden rise must take place in the exchangeable value of this commodity. By degrees, this rise in the value of gold will act on the rate of exchange, and draw from abroad a supply of that metal. This increased supply will at length bring back its value to the natural level; but this is an operation which

requires time; and the interval, even of only one week, or perhaps one day, may, during the prevalence of a panic, inflict incalculable losses on banking establishments. Popular eagerness and impatience may thus, in one morning, sweep away the profits and accumulations of years of painful toil. It appears, therefore, of vital importance to all persons engaged in banking concerns, that the home supply of the precious metals should be always kept as high as possible: if this should not altogether obviate the necessity of having recourse to a foreign importation of gold, it will at least diminish the quantity which may be wanted from abroad, and to that extent lessen the sacrifices and losses to which all debtors are subject, whenever a general panic spreads distrust throughout the commercial world.

The losses sustained by bankers, and other persons whose debts are payable on demand, during the prevalence of a public panic, must be enormous; and they fall not only on the bankers on which a run actually takes place, but, in some degree, on all parties concerned in similar establishments. Whilst they see the storm raging around them, uncertain where it may fall, they are all forced to prepare to meet it. They are obliged, whatever the sacrifice may cost them, to convert into actual cash a large portion, if not the whole, of their available securities. There is a rush of sellers into the money market: the price of government securities experiences, in consequence, a sudden and enormous decline, and the sellers sustain the most ruinous losses.

It is evident that, whenever a sudden demand arises in any country or district for a commodity, of which the supply cannot be instantly increased, a rise in its exchangeable value, proportioned to the intensity of the demand, must be the unavoidable consequence. The same principles which are true with respect to other commodities, will of course apply to the precious metals. By overlooking this circumstance, the Bullionists appear to us to have under-estimated the degree to which the restoration of a metallic standard affected the value of commodities. Mr. Ricardo and his followers contend, that the substitution of a metallic for a paper standard did not affect the price of commodities more than about ten per cent. This opinion is grounded on the fact that the market price of gold, during the suspension of cash payments, did not, on an average of years, exceed the mint price by more than ten per cent., while the price of commodities in general fell, as is well known, about fifty per cent. That eminent stock-jobber and his partisans contended that, of this general fall of fifty per cent. in the price of commodities, when exchanged for gold, ten per cent. only was ascribable to the alteration of the standard, and the remaining forty per cent.

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to other causes, such as an over-supply, or a relaxation in the usual demand. This view of the subject we consider to be entirely fallacious. We would beg to remind the Bullionists that, in order to arrive at a correct estimate of the real value of gold when the standard was altered, the difference between the mint and market price is not the sole ingredient which should be taken into the calculation. During the suspension of cash payments, there was no demand in this country for gold to be coined into money; and as this is the principal purpose for which that metal is wanted, it is evident that the cessation of this demand must have occasioned a considerable reduction in its market value. But the restoration of a metallic standard instantly changed the face of things: a new demand started up for gold, or, in other words, a new market was opened for gold as a commodity, while no addition was made to the usual supply of the metal derived from the mines of South America; and this of course occasioned a great rise in its exchangeable value, not only in this country, but throughout the whole of the European and American markets. We are, therefore, warranted in assuming that the Bullionists greatly underrated the extent to which prices were affected by the change of the standard. The price of gold was a price settled in a market where scarcely any demand existed for that metal;* and this price, which was then merely nominal, would of necessity become greatly enhanced by the new demand for gold which sprung out of the restoration of a metallic currency. If the difference between gold and paper amounted to ten per cent. while no effective demand existed for gold, it is demonstrable, on principles recognized by the bullionists themselves, that a great rise must have taken place in the exchangeable value of that metal, when a new and extensive demand for it was created.

It is no doubt true that the effect arising from this new demand, although very considerable for a time, experiences a gradual reduction; that is to say, prices which fell forty or fifty per cent. in consequence of a new demand for gold, would gradually approach their former level in proportion as the market became supplied with that metal. But they can never entirely reach that level: the cause will produce a permanent effect on the value of gold equivalent to the proportion which the quantity of that metal now circulating in this country, as current coin, bears to the quantity which circulates in the general market of the whole world. The effect upon prices, produced by the restoration of a metallic standard,

* So little was gold in demand as a commodity in this country for some years after the suspension of cash payments, that we believe no sales of bullion were effected in the market: the market price of gold during that interval cannot, therefore, be ascertained.

was thus partly temporary and partly permanent : the temporary effect arose out of the sudden demand which was created for a commodity, of which the country possessed only an inadequate supply ; the permanent effect of this measure is the combined result obtained by adding the difference which existed between the mint and market price of gold during the suspension of cash payments, to the influence which the opening of a new and extensive market must be presumed to have upon the exchangeable value of gold as a commodity.

We are fortified in this opinion by the fact, that the re-establishment of a metallic currency in this country was attended with a rise in the exchangeable value of gold, or, what is the same thing, a fall in the price of commodities, not only here, but also in other parts of the world. Our readers will recollect that considerable embarrassment was felt both on the continent and in the United States, about the period when the last change in our monetary system took place. Here, as well as elsewhere, various causes were assigned for this effect : one party maintained that it arose from a transition from war to peace—causing a diminished demand for all consumable commodities : another party ascribed it to an over-production of commodities ; maintaining that nature had been too bountiful, and man too industrious. Both these theories are now laid quietly on the shelf ; and it is conceived the rise in the exchangeable value of gold may be accounted for on more rational principles. The call for gold occasioned by the determination to restore a metallic standard in this country, re-opened a market which had for a long period presented no demand for gold ; and the supply required to to meet this new demand was taken—not from any new source opened to furnish it—but from the quantity already circulating in other countries. The quantity of the precious metals thus attracted into this country diminished to that amount the circulating medium of other states, and in the proportion of such diminution necessarily raised the exchangeable value of the remainder. It has been estimated that the gold coin circulating in this country amounts to sixty millions of pounds sterling ; and this estimate, if not actually correct, may be taken as a tolerable approximation to the truth. Now, when it is recollected that the standard of most other countries consists of silver and not of gold—and that the great bulk of their circulating medium is made up of the same metal ;—it may, perhaps, be reasonably assumed that the quantity of gold existing in this country, both in a coined and an uncoined form, bears a very considerable proportion to the whole quantity of that metal which might be found either on the continent of Europe or in the United States. A sudden demand being
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opened in so extensive a market as this country presents for a commodity which could not be produced at pleasure, and which could, therefore, be only obtained by withdrawing it from other channels, would necessarily make a considerable addition to the exchangeable value of that commodity.

Those writers on the currency who believe that the amount of the issues of the Bank of England, added to the paper circulation of the country banks, regulates the value of the pound sterling, naturally infer that it also regulates the price of wheat in the market. Sir James Graham, for instance, stoutly maintains this position. In 1822 the average market price of wheat was 43s. per quarter; the issues of the Bank of England seventeen millions;—in 1823 the price of wheat advanced to 51s., and the issues of the bank to eighteen millions;—in 1824 wheat sold for 62s., and the bank increased its issues to twenty millions: hence he infers that the increased issues of bank paper, in each of the years here stated, was the *cause* of the advance which took place in the price of wheat. The ingenious Baronet must forgive us for saying that he appears to have been misled in this matter: he has, we think, fallen into the very common error of mistaking effect for cause. We apprehend that, as long as paper is payable in cash on demand, an increased issue of Bank of England, as well as of country-bank notes, must always be the consequence, and never the cause, of a rise in the market price of wheat. Whenever wheat advances in price, the credit of the grower is extended,—bankers become more free and liberal in discounting his bills,—and by this means an increased quantity of bank paper is thrown into the general circulation. Suppose a farmer, who has in his yard twenty quarters of wheat, while the market price of that species of grain does not exceed 60s. per quarter, should apply to his banker for pecuniary accommodation, the banker knows that the wheat which he has to dispose of is worth 60*l.*, and to that amount, and that amount alone, will he consent to discount a bill for the farmer. By this transaction only 60*l.* of bank paper would be put into circulation. Let us now assume that wheat, instead of selling for 60s., is worth 80s. per quarter; the owner of the twenty quarters of wheat will then get accommodated to the amount for which the whole quantity would sell in the market, and the banker would increase his circulation from 60*l.* to 80*l.* Apply this illustration to all the transactions of the country, and it will clearly show that wherever an undebased metallic standard of value prevails, an increased issue of bank notes, and, indeed, of every species of circulating paper, is the inevitable and invariable consequence, but never the cause, of a rise of prices.

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The ingenious author of the 'Letter to Lord Grenville' has very truly observed, that there is no foundation whatever for the hackneyed charge which has been urged against the directors of the Bank of England, on the ground that, by augmenting or contracting their issues at pleasure, they have effected an arbitrary alteration in the price of commodities. This is a matter which does not depend upon mere argument: it is a fact capable of being substantiated by irrefragable evidence. We shall place before our readers a statement of the amount of Bank of England notes in circulation from the year 1810 to the year 1820; and accompany it with the annual average price of wheat during the same period. The amount of bank notes we shall give in millions, leaving out the fractions:—

Year.	Bank of England Notes in Circulation.	Average Price of Wheat per Qr.
1810	22,000,000	107
1811	23,000,000	90
1812	23,000,000	123
1813	23,500,000	117
1814	27,000,000	72
1815	26,500,000	66
1816	26,000,000	66
1817	28,500,000	106
1818	27,500,000	84
1819	25,500,000	78

A bare inspection of the above table will at once show that the fluctuation in the price of wheat was independent of the proceedings of the Bank of England. In 1812, for instance, the price of wheat averaged 123s. per quarter; and the Bank of England circulation amounted to twenty-three millions sterling. In 1815, the bank issues had increased to twenty-six millions and a half; and the price of wheat had fallen from 123s. to 66s. per quarter—which is but a trifling degree short of fifty per cent. It thus appears, that the common notion that the issues of the Bank of England regulates the price of commodities, is not only unsupported, but absolutely negated by the clearest testimony. If the imputation, frequently urged against this great establishment, were capable of being substantiated, it would become the indispensable duty of government to subject their proceedings to some direct and responsible control; for no corporate body—however enlightened or respectable its members may be in their individual capacities—ought to be intrusted with an arbitrary or discretionary power, which *might* be exercised either through ignorance, caprice, or design, in such a way as to affect the value of the property of every member of the community. Mr. Tooke, however,

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has proved, in the clearest manner, that the imputation is utterly void of foundation. It appears that even during the suspension of cash payments, when, in theory, the directors were subject to no restraint except their own sound discretion, the issues of the bank continued remarkably uniform and steady; so that even the depreciation of the currency, at that period, cannot be correctly ascribed to the proceedings of the Bank of England. There is, however, good ground to suppose that, although the bank directors acted thus steadily and uniformly, the multitude of country banks, which sprung up on all sides like mushrooms, did not follow the example of their great metropolitan parent. These ephemeral establishments inundated the country with their paper, until a very large proportion of the whole was swept away by the recoil of their indiscreet and eager speculations.

An inconceivable mass of delusion seems to prevail with respect to the functions and powers of their high mightinesses the Bank Directors. They are not unfrequently supposed to exercise some mysterious control over the exchangeable value of our circulating medium; and many persons, we have no doubt, believe that they hold periodical meetings, to discuss in what manner the establishment over which they preside can be rendered most useful to the nation. This may make a very pretty appearance in a pamphlet 'On Corn and Currency;' it may even sound well when introduced by a director, while haranguing a body of proprietors of bank stock; but we are after all strongly inclined to suspect that the affairs of that great establishment are conducted upon a very vulgar principle—that of extracting the greatest possible profit from a given amount of capital, at the least possible risk and expense. We mean nothing disrespectful or disparaging towards the most respectable body of merchants who manage the affairs of the bank, when we announce our conviction that, in regulating the ordinary routine of the establishment, they think but little of the public at large, and a great deal of the profits of bank stock. It is but seldom, we trow, that they aspire, in their directorial capacity, to the dignity of deciding upon affairs of state; they content themselves with the more humble function of turning to the best account the capital intrusted to their management. Their maxims are, never to refuse a good account when offered them, or decline discounting a bill of exchange drawn and accepted by persons to whom they think it safe to give credit. We apprehend that the Directors of the Bank of England never turn away from their doors either a customer or a bill of exchange, which may not be excluded by these restrictions. The amount of the issues of the Bank of England must, therefore, depend upon the amount of the available capital which may be placed

placed at their disposal, and of the good bills which may be offered them for discount. This capital consists of two separate and distinct funds: the payments which were made upon the original shares,—this may be called the fixed capital of the establishment; and the deposits lodged by customers who keep a check account at the bank,—this may be termed its floating capital, and varies in amount according to circumstances. When any of the minor banking houses happens, for instance, to fall to pieces, many of the best accounts for deposits, and of the best bills for discount, are transferred to the Bank of England; the deposits add to its floating capital, and thus enable it to increase its discounts, and by this means augment its issues. The principles upon which the affairs of the bank are managed appear, it is true, homely enough, but they are safe; they are well calculated to promote the interests of the proprietors of bank stock, nor can they in any respect prove injurious to the public.

A great deal of misconception also prevails with respect to what constitutes the circulating medium of this country. Many persons conceive that our circulating medium consists solely of coined money, together with bank notes of all descriptions. But such an opinion is utterly untenable. The circulating medium does not consist solely, or even principally, of coined money and bank notes. All negotiable paper, be its denomination what it may, constitutes an integral portion of our circulating medium. An exchequer or a navy bill for one hundred pounds is surely as much a circulating medium as a hundred pound bank note: so are all bills of exchange, especially at short dates, and also the checks of private persons. To conjecture what may be the amount of all or any of these ingredients of our circulating medium must at all times be utterly impracticable; but every person in the least acquainted with commercial affairs must know that they infinitely exceed the amount of coined money and bank notes at any given time be circulation.

The notes of the Bank of England, circulating at the present moment, have been estimated at twenty-six millions sterling. If we suppose that the Bank should come to the resolution of withdrawing its paper from circulation, or the public should pour it in to be exchanged for gold, it appears somewhat doubtful whether such an operation—such an utter annihilation of Bank of England notes, would permanently affect the price of commodities. The quantity of gold required to fill up the chasm which such a measure occasioned in the circulation of the country, would probably bear but a small proportion to the paper thus displaced: the deficiency would, we apprehend, be made up to a great extent by private bills of exchange, or other negotiable securities

securities. Persons now take bills of exchange to be discounted at the bank, because the credit of the bank is more current in the market than their own; and the discount charged upon these bills is the return which private parties make for this advantage. But if the bank declined to afford this species of accommodation, it would be supplied by other individuals of known wealth and responsibility. If the Bank of England, therefore, ceased to exist, or its paper ceased to circulate, the vacuum occasioned by this means in the currency of the country would be filled up principally by private bills of exchange. This latter species of paper currency would increase in proportion to the diminution in the amount of Bank paper; and very little would be added to the metallic medium actually circulating in the country. Whether the paper circulation of the Bank of England amount, therefore, to six or twenty-six millions per annum, is, we conceive, a circumstance in which the interests of the public are little concerned—as long as the notes of that establishment are convertible into specie at the will of the holder, and the bank possesses capital enough to pay off the whole of the demands upon it in a metallic standard. The amount of paper which it circulates will, no doubt, affect the profits of that establishment—the dividends annually made among the proprietors of stock: but it can neither diminish the quantity, nor deteriorate the quality, of the gold which the pound sterling contains; and, consequently, it could neither lower nor enhance the market price of commodities beyond the degree in which the new demand for a certain quantity of bullion to be coined into money in order to replace a part of the paper withdrawn from circulation, might raise the price of gold as an exchangeable commodity.

We apprehend, indeed, that the only useful and practical question which can be agitated respecting the currency of this country at the present or any future period, is the propriety of adhering to the resolution which the legislature has formed, of suppressing any future issue of one-pound notes. Upon this, like every other mooted point of political economy, much difference of opinion prevails: some persons have argued, and we believe still argue, that because the mass of the small circulation of the country consisted of one-pound local notes during what is called the prosperity of agriculture, the former was the cause of the latter; and the other party ascribes all the commercial panics which have taken place in this country to the existence of paper one-pound notes. Here we have two parties at the antipodes of each other: to the circulation of paper one-pound notes one ascribes all the commercial sunshine of the last five and thirty years; and to the same cause the other refers all the pecuniary derangements of the

the same period. That both parties cannot be right is quite certain—that both may be wrong is also possible. That commercial convulsions or panics may take place without the intervention of a bank note circulation, whether of one pound, five pounds, or of any other amount, is quite clear. The circulating medium at Hamburg consists entirely of bullion and negotiable bills of exchange; and yet it is notorious to all men that violent panics frequently rage in that emporium of commerce.

The real inconvenience of a one-pound note circulation appears to arise from their tendency to increase very greatly the *fluctuations consequent upon the panics* which must occur where credit is so extended as it is in this country. It is now experimentally proved, that a metallic currency and paper one-pound notes will not, to any extent, circulate together; the latter will gradually drive the former out of circulation: when paper one-pound notes fill up this channel of circulation, gold becomes more valuable abroad than at home; it is, therefore, exported as a commodity. A panic takes place—then the demand for gold revives—the paper notes are poured back upon the banks, and the issuers are ruined in re-purchasing the gold which their paper had displaced. There seems to exist some sort of natural antipathy between a one-pound note currency and the precious metals, so that one cannot circulate to any extent worth consideration in conjunction with the other. In whatever country one-pound notes are issued, without restriction, a very small portion only of the whole circulation will be made up of coined gold or silver. We have experienced the truth of this assertion in England; and the circulating medium of Scotland at this moment bears abundant proof of its correctness: on the other side of the Tweed the mass of the circulating medium consists of paper, eked out by a very insignificant proportion of silver and gold coin. The disappearance of the precious metals, when expelled by a paper currency, is attended with no very material ill-consequence, as long as commercial credit and confidence remain unimpaired; but the moment doubt and distrust begin to agitate the public mind, the unreal character of a paper currency becomes apparent in the general confusion and distress which it produces. All paper securities cease to be negotiable, and every man who has a claim upon his neighbour calls for gold: in the home market there is no supply, or at least but a very inadequate supply, of this metal; to meet the new and sudden demand, large importations must be made from foreign countries, into which it had been driven by one-pound notes. Even supposing that a considerable quantity of this metal should be found hoarded up at home in the chests of bankers or the stores of private individuals, still the general

general and urgent call for the metal greatly outruns this supply: the unavoidable consequence of this excess of demand over the supply which can be immediately furnished, is an instant and great rise in the exchangeable value of gold; or, what is precisely the same thing, a fall of equal amount in the market price of commodities. The public mind is thrown into an universal state of agitation and alarm; credit is suspended; the *Gazette* is crowded with the names of bankrupts and insolvents; and during the dreadful period of excitement and anxiety, a crowd of opulent and innocent families are pushed from their station in society, and thrown destitute and penniless upon the world.

It therefore appears to be the wisest and soundest policy, not only to make the standard metallic, but to make as large a portion as possible of the medium actually circulating metallic. The former will prevent any depreciation in the intrinsic value of the standard, it will keep the pound sterling always of the same weight and fineness: the latter will prevent those sudden fluctuations in the exchangeable value of gold and silver as commodities, which must always arise from any sudden increase or diminution of the demand which exist for those metals. The perfection of a currency is, that its value should be certain, uniform, and invariable; but an invariable standard of value is still, and we suspect ever will be, a desideratum in political economy. All that the contrivance and ingenuity of man seem capable of effecting is no more than an approximation to this perfection: mankind have hitherto been obliged to content themselves with selecting, as the material which is to compose the standard of value, that metal or those metals which experience has proved to be the least liable to fluctuation. The two metals which have been fixed upon for this purpose by the almost universal consent of all civilized nations are gold and silver. These possess various intrinsic qualities, which recommend them as materials for forming a circulating medium: they are less liable to have their weight diminished or their quality deteriorated, by friction, by the action of the atmosphere, or by any casualty or accident, than perhaps any other metal with which we are acquainted; they embrace a considerable value in a small space, and are, on this account, more easily and more cheaply transferred from one place to another than other commodities, which are less valuable and more bulky.

Our readers are well aware, that although more convenient and less variable, as a circulating medium, than any other commodities, still their exchangeable value with reference to other commodities may be affected by various circumstances. It is a well-known fact, that the exchangeable value of the precious metals

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has been greatly reduced since the discovery of America ; that event opened a new source of supply, which flowed plentifully into the markets of Europe ; and an ounce of gold or silver will now command a much smaller quantity of any other commodity in exchange than it would have obtained in the beginning of the sixteenth century ; and from that period down to the present time it would seem that they have experienced a gradual but constant depreciation. A supply from the American mines has been annually flowing into the European market, exceeding the usual average demand for the purposes of coinage or the arts. But this depreciation, although constant, is but gradual and slow ; considerable when we take a whole century into the estimate—of no great magnitude when we limit our calculations to the fragment of a century, to a period of five or ten years. Hence it arises that this gradual and slow fall in the exchangeable value of the precious metals produces in practice but very little injurious effect upon the pecuniary relations of society. The bulk of our contracts are of very limited duration ; very few, perhaps, extending, according to the present customs of this country, beyond a period of twenty-one years. It is, no doubt, true, even during a period of this duration, some depreciation may take place in the value of the precious metals ; and the creditor who has bargained for a fixed money payment may sustain some loss ; but the expiration of the term soon puts an end to the contract, and the parties are placed in a situation to renew it on terms modified by the amount of the fall which may have taken place in the exchangeable value of the circulating medium. This saves all parties from sustaining any serious injury ; there is no sudden alteration in the value of money, which unhinges all the relations of private life throws, the whole community into confusion, and violently transfers the property of one man into the possession of another.

In order that a country should be as free as possible from the ill effects of an alteration in the value of money, it appears indispensable that it should possess an adequate supply of the precious metals, to perform the functions of a circulating medium ; and it is manifest that a due proportion of the precious metals cannot be retained in circulation contemporaneously with the unrestricted issue of one-pound notes. It is, indeed, to the functions performed by the one-pound note that one of the precious metals is mostly limited. The suppression of notes for five pounds and upwards would probably add very little to the actual amount of our metallic circulating medium ; the place of these notes would be filled up chiefly, if not entirely, by checks and bills of exchange ; hence they may be considered, as to their effects upon the currency, merely as so many ready-made checks, or negotiable

negotiable paper securities. They diminish very considerably the trouble of transacting business; while they reduce in a very small degree only the amount of gold and silver which their suppression would throw into the general circulation of the country. But with respect to one-pound notes, the case is widely different; no checks or bills of exchange would be drawn for one pound; such a mode of transacting business would be too troublesome and expensive: the precious metals must, therefore, be used; and the quantity of gold and silver added to the whole mass of our metallic circulation must be equal to the amount of the one-pound notes actually suppressed when the act of 1826 shall have been carried fully into effect.

• Upon the whole, we are inclined to think that when the act for the suppression of the one-pound note circulation has come into full operation—and when a period of sufficient length has elapsed to allow the public to perceive its practical effect—it will appear not only an indispensable but a very beneficial supplement to the act enforcing the resumption of cash payments. The act of 1819 created a demand for specie, and the small note suppression act will have the effect of retaining in the country an uniform and never-failing supply of the precious metals, in order to meet that demand.

ART. VIII.—1. *On the Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion, in Great Britain and other parts of the World.* London. 8vo. 1828.

2. *A Comparative View of the Social Life of England and France, from the restoration of Charles the Second to the French Revolution.* By the Editor of Madame du Deffand's Letters. 2 vols. 8vo. 1828.

3. *The Family Library, No. I.* Being the first volume of the Life of Napoleon Bonaparte (to be completed in two volumes), with Engravings on Wood and Steel. London. 12mo. 1829.

IN pursuing his journey through a varied and extensive country, the traveller arrives occasionally at certain turns or elevations of the road, where he involuntarily pauses to look back on the scenes he has left, or forward on those which he is about to traverse. Similar inducements to suspend our steps, and take a view of our past experience and present prospects, occur in the journey of human life. For a certain number of years a man may glide thoughtlessly onward in a course of uninterrupted pleasure or prosperity; but he is sure to meet at intervals with some shocks or reverses which rouse him from his security, and admonish him to take a true and comprehensive survey of his real situation. A portion of that reflection, which every considerate person is thus induced

duced to bestow on himself and his own concerns, will be extended to the community to which he belongs. The condition of his country necessarily affects his own, and it becomes his duty to subject it to a severe and just examination whenever the current of public events betokens the approach of times of difficulty or danger. In such a conjuncture we are persuaded that England may at no distant day be placed; and, under this impression, we shall, on the present occasion, take an opportunity of recalling to the recollection of our readers some of the chief moral and political changes which Europe has successively undergone—and then advert to some appearances in the present state of this country, which, though they give no just cause for despondence, are deserving of the serious and unprejudiced attention of every class of its inhabitants.

We shall begin with a brief review of the events which have been the chief causes of the moral and political changes which, in modern times, have successively taken place in Europe. The first epoch, subsequent to the dark ages, which peculiarly merits our consideration, comprises the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Though various attempts have been made to revive the interest and magnify the importance once attached to the crusades, there is no reason to believe that the vast and irregular bands, who rushed from every quarter of Europe towards the Holy Land, materially promoted the improvement of any of the countries which they traversed in their course, or to which they afterwards returned. Admirably adapted as the manners and customs of the most distinguished paladins are to amuse the idle and delight the romantic, the expeditions in which they engaged were the mere ebullitions of superstitious enthusiasm and military restlessness; and, though they strongly agitated the surface of society for a time, they left its character and properties altogether unaltered. It was not until the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century that the inhabitants of this quarter of the world began to be delivered from the barbarism and ignorance in which the Roman Catholic religion and the feudal system had conspired to keep them bound. This period embraces the five following events:—the revival of learning; the invention of printing; the discovery of a passage to the East by the Cape of Good Hope; the discovery of a new world in the West; and the rise and progress of the Reformation. Singly considered, each of these topics forms a striking and important object; but, coinciding as they did in time and operation, they produced more memorable and lasting effects on the condition of mankind throughout the world, than any occurrences which have been crowded into the same space in any part of modern history.

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That it was the revival of classical learning which gave the first impulse to intellectual improvement there can be no question. Allowing a considerable share of learning to have been possessed by the priests and monks during the middle ages, it is undeniable that the mass of the people were all the while involved in the most deplorable ignorance; and the universal and unexampled eagerness for learning which was displayed soon after its revival, creates a strong presumption that, by those who were in possession either of political or ecclesiastical power, it must have been systematically discouraged and suppressed. It is true that for ages before this, the study of the civil and canon law had been prosecuted by great multitudes of young men in various parts of Europe; but their studies were confined almost entirely to glosses and commentaries, and an acquaintance with the Roman codes themselves, or with Greek and Latin authors, did not become prevalent until the period which has now been mentioned. No fact can show this more clearly than the observations addressed by Conrad, the monk of Heresbach, to his hearers, soon after the commencement of the Reformation:—‘They have invented a new language,’ said he, ‘which they call Greek. You must be carefully on your guard against it. It is the mother of all heresy. I observe, in the hands of many persons, a book written in that language, and which they call the New Testament. It is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that those who learn it become instantaneously Jews.’ The same effect which Conrad dreaded in theology from the dissemination of the New Testament, followed in other branches of learning on a renewed acquaintance with the writers of Greece and Rome. The study of them still is, and always will continue, among the best means which can be adopted for promoting the refinement of taste and enlargement of the understanding; and of the extent and importance of the influence which they exerted upon an ignorant and unpolished age, it is scarcely possible for us at the present day to form an adequate conception. When so few models of excellence existed in any living tongue, the beauty of thought and expression, and the refined and diversified observations on life and manners which characterise the best writers of antiquity, produced a change on the learned equally sudden and surprising. They found themselves introduced, as it were, into a new world, and the ardour they displayed in diffusing a knowledge of the language and spirit of the authors with whom they had become familiar, had a powerful practical effect on the views and opinions of all other orders of society.

The invention of printing soon followed, and greatly accelerated that movement in society which the revival of letters had begun.

Without

Without the aid of printing, learning never could have become accessible to the bulk of the people ; and without the demand for books which learning occasions, the art of printing itself might to this day have been classed among the useless contrivances invented by ingenious visionaries. The impatience then manifested to possess the lost treasures of antiquity, thus opportunely helped to demonstrate the value of this new medium of communication. That printing has made the rich and studious more learned than they would have been without it, may be doubtful ; but it has made books infinitely more accessible to all classes of persons in point of expense,—causes them to be more easily read and apprehended,—and enables information to be circulated with a degree of rapidity of which, in ancient times, there is no example. Like the water we drink or the air we breathe, the use of printing is so constant, that it requires an effort to recollect what the state of the world was before its introduction ; and how deeply we are indebted to it for our constant convenience and gratification. It ought not on that account, however, to be underrated. Its invention produced in learning a change as remarkable as the invention of fire-arms did in war ; and, though the most silent, it was one of the most active and energetic agents in that great moral revolution which had now begun to work its way in every part of Europe.

The discovery of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, and of the existence of the continent of America, though neither of them flowing from the revival of learning or the invention of printing, powerfully contributed to urge on the spirit of inquiry and enterprise which had arisen. The fixed attention with which we still read the story of Prince Henry retiring to the rock of Sagres, from which that illustrious patron of modern navigation continued to push the discoveries of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa for upwards of forty years,—the anxiety we feel for Diaz, during the voyage in which he first doubled the Cape of Good Hope,—the solemn interest we take in the midnight devotions of Vasco de Gama, and his companions, in the chapel at Belem, before he set sail for India,—the innumerable multitudes that thronged the shore at his departure,—the constancy with which he, and his brother, and Coello, stood night and day to the helms of their several ships, during the continuance of the mutiny,—the impression made upon him by the splendour and population of the east,—and the compassion testified for this heroic adventurer when the death of his brother and companion saddened all the glory of success,—conspire to give us a faint idea of the intense anxiety and expectation with which the completion of this daring expedition was regarded by its contemporaries.

The

The voyage on which Columbus proceeded, within a few years afterwards, to a different hemisphere, added largely to the surprising incidents which have shed such lasting lustre over this eventful æra. Of the public or private history of this intrepid and enlightened seaman, and of the progress of that meditation and research which terminated in his persuasion that land was to be found by sailing to the west, we know little beyond what is contained in the narrative of his son Ferdinand; and even that is vague and unsatisfactory on the topics on which we are now most desirous to receive instruction. Whatever particulars could be added however, could in nowise affect the glory of Columbus. His reputation rests upon the unalterable conviction he entertained that he could not fail to meet with land by stretching boldly out into the Atlantic ocean,—in the unwearied assiduity with which he applied, from court to court, for a fleet to execute his purpose,—and the extraordinary judgment and resolution he evinced in bringing it to a successful issue. The moment he caught the first glimpse of the western world, his fame was fixed for ever, and his achievement might be said to be accomplished. It was then placed beyond the reach of controversy, that another field of unknown richness and extent was opened to European enterprise in the west, in addition to that which had just been discovered in the east; and the surprising tidings, brought to Europe almost at the same moment from the opposite points of the compass, materially augmented that curiosity and activity which now began to display themselves in every quarter.

The last and most important circumstance which signalized this period was the rise and progress of the Reformation. Considerable bodies of men under the name of Lollards, Wickliffites, Waldenses, Albigenses, Hussites, and other opprobrious appellations, had, at various times and places, more or less openly expressed their disapprobation of the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome; but wherever they appeared, they had been dispersed and suppressed with unrelenting severity. Until the appearance of Luther, no serious attempt was made, or desire shown to impugn the authority or withdraw from the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. No sooner did these symptoms of separation appear, than all the strength and stratagems of those who adhered to the Popish faith were exerted to subdue the disobedient. The incessant contests which the protestants were so long obliged to maintain in support of the freedom of private judgment in matters of religion, were eminently calculated to awaken all the moral and intellectual faculties of the human mind. The catholics, finding it useless to endeavour to extirpate protes-

tantism by controversy and negotiation, at last resorted to the sword, and thus began one of the fiercest and most extended struggles that ever carried desolation over Europe. No part of history, ancient or modern, exceeds it in interest or instruction. That the views of the leaders on both sides, at all periods of its continuance, and especially towards its termination, may have partaken of a political character, is extremely probable; but that the war was felt by the great body of the combatants on both sides to be of a religious character, and that the chief object of the Romanists was to suppress, and that of the protestants to maintain the reformed faith, every recorded circumstance concurs to demonstrate. With the exception of France, whose political conduct has always been inconsistent with its religious professions, the whole disposable force of the catholics continued in array against the protestants, from the time that Charles V. took up arms, in 1546, till the treaty of Westphalia was concluded in 1648; and almost all the blood that flowed throughout Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Holland, and the Netherlands, for the preceding century, will be found to have been shed in defence of religious toleration—which that pacification first solemnly established.

The protracted troubles of Germany and Holland were not yet composed when the civil war broke out in England. This quarrel was as insignificant for the amount of the forces engaged in it, as memorable for its subject. It was a determined struggle between the king and the parliament which should control the other. Refined in his taste, and exemplary in his private character, Charles had yet imbibed notions which led him pertinaciously to maintain all the questionable as well as admitted prerogatives of the crown, instead of prudently and faithfully submitting to those limitations on his authority which the temper of the times rendered necessary. The house of commons, on the other hand, which contained a greater number of able and resolute men than have probably ever since assembled within its walls, soon manifested an intention of reducing the power of the sovereign beyond all known or reasonable bounds. The merits of the various charges and recriminations which each party advanced it would be useless to endeavour to determine; but from a perusal of the principal narratives on record of the transactions of the time, most candid inquirers will be inclined to believe that the success of the parliament only postponed, while that of the king would have endangered or defeated, the establishment of the admirable constitution which we now enjoy. The discussions concerning the respective rights of the king and the people, which began between Charles I. and his parliament, continued without interruption through-

throughout the usurpation of Cromwell, the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and ceased only with the revolution of 1688, when the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement created a new epoch in the history of Europe as well as of this country, by establishing civil liberty on as secure a foundation, as religious liberty had obtained forty years before in the peace of Westphalia.

While the principles of rational freedom were extending themselves in England, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, France was exhausting all the arts of peace and war to gratify the ambition and flatter the vanity of Louis XIV. The progress made in elegant literature, and several important branches of industry, during the seventy-two years of that reign, the scale of the military operations, the celebrity of the generals, the splendour of the court, and even the sympathy which is naturally felt for the declining age and fortunes of Louis himself, will always confer upon the period a more than ordinary degree of distinction. Yet, if we give way to reflection, it would be difficult to select in history a space of such duration, and abounding in such means and opportunities of advancing civilization, wherein so little was done for the benefit of mankind, or so few events occurred which really merit our esteem or admiration. The schemes of his best ministers as frequently obstructed as advanced the improvement of his kingdom; his faithlessness and ambition roused the jealousy and hatred of all his neighbours; and notwithstanding the adulation which was heaped upon him by the sycophants by whom he was surrounded, the unfeeling and unhappy despot sunk into the grave in 1715, while his subjects were in the lowest state of poverty and wretchedness which his schemes of aggrandisement had brought upon them. The chief circumstances, by which his name will be distinguished, are, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the extravagant notions of their own consequence and merits, which he sedulously instilled into his people upon all occasions. The first caused the expatriation of five hundred thousand of the most intelligent and orderly of the French people to England, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, into each of which places they introduced their arts and industry, to the irretrievable injury of that kingdom, which they had been so sinfully compelled to relinquish: the other has proved the source of inexpressible disasters, not to France alone, but to all the European world.

We now step over a period of nearly sixty years, distracted both by international misunderstandings and open wars, but undistinguished for any of those great movements by which the civil or political state of Europe as a whole has been altered. The chief kingdoms of Christendom had, in the course of time, undergone considerable changes. England, by the union with Scotland, and

the increasing number and value of her colonies, had added greatly to her wealth, power, and population. France had become larger and more compact by the acquisition of Alsace, Franche Comté, and Lorraine : and Prussia had been elevated into a first-rate power, by the exertions of Frederick William the Elector, Frederick William I., and Frederick II. The condition of society had, in the mean while, been generally and gradually advancing. Knowledge had become more and more diffused, and the conveniences and luxuries of life were multiplied. It was during this period that the aristocracy of Europe reached the zenith of their glory. That grave and severe deportment which the sufferings of the Réformation had communicated to the Protestants, and in part to the Roman Catholics also, had yielded to the influences of ease, wealth, and refinement. The rich were emancipated from the control and exactions of the great feudal lords above them, while they were under no apprehension of being obscured by the ranks which have since pushed up from below. To those, therefore, who were entitled or admitted to the privileges of this order of society, the present was a time of undisturbed enjoyment. Their dependents seemed to live for no other purpose but their pleasure, and yielded their superiors more cheerful and unreserved submission than they are ever likely to do again. This was the age, the manners of which Lord Chesterfield so admirably represented in his Letters, and exemplified in his own person. As every state and condition of society must do, it has passed away ; and, with all its brilliance, it ought not to be much regretted. It had little claim to kindness of heart or exemplariness of conduct, and less to any kind of intellectual exertion. Even its greatest spirits were not proof against the maxims of the time. In the admirable letters addressed by Lord Chatham to Lord Camelford, he now and then betrays an anxiety, wholly unworthy of his character and judgment, lest his nephew should engage too far or too deeply in liberal pursuits ; and Montesquieu, being informed by the Abbé Quesnel, to whom he had entrusted the education of his son, of the young man's amiable and studious disposition, is said to have exclaimed, in despair, ' C'en est fait ; il ne sera jamais qu'un homme de lettres—un original, comme moi ; et nous n'en ferons jamais autre chose.' The exclamation is in perfect harmony with the sentiments which pervaded the aristocracy of the time. Eminent proficiency in any line became almost impossible, consistently with their confined notions of what was proper for a gentleman. As every gentleman behoved to carry personal accomplishments to a certain point, he was expected to carry the cultivation of his understanding to that point also, but it was supposed to be derogatory to his rank and fortune to do more ; and as eminence is seldom attained where it

is not encouraged, there arose few individuals to transgress the prescribed bounds of mental mediocrity.

When the refinement which has just been mentioned was at its height, and when it might have been expected that the universal tone of feeling and opinion would have prevented any conspicuous disregard of justice, a transaction took place which, for its deliberate atrocity, is perhaps unparalleled. In the midst of profound peace, without the shadow of an excuse, and in direct opposition to the wishes and remonstrances of the people whose interests were chiefly at stake, the three powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, leagued together to partition Poland, and at once blotted a large and independent kingdom out of the map of Europe. To make the transaction more public and offensive, the division was three times repeated. The first took place in 1775, the second in 1793, and the last in 1796; yet, though such pains were taken to adjust it satisfactorily, it may be questioned whether one of the confederates has been essentially benefited by the spoliation. The allotment of Prussia has since been so transposed and curtailed, that there is hardly a corner now remaining. To a state possessed of so much fertile soil as Austria, the district of Galicia, which fell to her share, ought to have been no temptation; and we have yet to see whether Russia, in whose hands almost all the fragments have been now reunited, has lost or gained by so enormous an accession. Whatever the result may be, however, it can in nowise affect the character of the deed. The partition of Poland was pronounced at the time, as it has ever been since, to be one of the most flagitious and calamitous precedents recorded in history. It moved in every virtuous bosom a fierce indignation—it shocked the public sense of right and wrong, destroyed that equilibrium among the European powers to which they had been accustomed, and prepared men's minds for that system of extortion and subjugation under which, during the subsequent ascendancy of France, every member of this triumvirate so severely suffered.

While the independence of an ancient and illustrious kingdom was subverted in Europe, our revolted colonies combined to found a new state in North America. Whatever opinion may be formed of the causes or seasonableness of the separation of the United States from this country, the recognition of their independence, at the peace of 1783, creates a memorable era in the history of the old, as well as of the new continent. In ancient times, colonies—the establishments answering to what we understand by the word—were never subjected to the Metropolis. The organisation of the swarm was complete before it issued from the hive, and afterwards it was left to guide its own movements. If assistance or protection were on any emergency afforded, they were

were prompted by love and affection alone, and no pecuniary or commercial advantage was stipulated or expected. Modern nations have planted colonies in a different manner, and for a different purpose. They have been considered merely as distant estates, cultivated at the expense, and for the benefit, of the mother-country; and no strangers have been permitted to approach them, except under such regulations as she has thought fit to prescribe. As the colonies thus established grew rich and populous, they had occasionally remonstrated against some of these restrictions; but, until the American war, no separation between a colony and its parent state had ever been seriously meditated. It unfortunately happened that, at the commencement of hostilities, Great Britain did not know how strong and resolute the greater part of her North American colonies were. The religious sufferings which had compelled many of the original settlers to emigrate, increased the natural tendencies of time and distance—producing in the minds of the descendants a settled coldness towards the country of their forefathers; and as they inhabited a healthy climate and a fertile soil, they grew and prospered, till the unhappy differences which arose, showed that there is a period in the progress of nations, as of households, when obedience can no longer be enforced by the parent, and ceases to be voluntarily yielded by the offspring. The event was hailed as a triumph by most of our neighbours, and felt as a loss and mortification by us; but it is certain that neither we nor they formed an adequate estimate of its importance. The independence of the United States necessarily led to that of all the transatlantic colonies which have followed their example; and thus the circumstances of Europe have been essentially and permanently altered. The colonizing kingdoms have been deprived of a considerable portion of their wealth and strength, and their subjects have been converted into equals and rivals, with whom they must be content to cope politically and commercially in every quarter of the world.

The order of time now brings us down to the revolution which broke out in France in 1792. We are not yet removed to a sufficient distance to trace the causes or consequences of that terrible eruption. The dissemination of clever and unprincipled books—the clubs and harangues of republicans, deists and economists—the successful example of the popular movement in America—the feebleness of successive ministers and administrations—the impolitic conjunction of the nobles and clergy with the *tiers état* in one chamber, may all have contributed to accelerate the catastrophe; but the prime causes by which it was urged forward must have lain deeper, and had a far more steady and potent operation. There is
no

no instance on record of so vast a political fabric having been overturned otherwise than by the decay of the main supports. The numerous and galling restraints which everywhere obstructed internal commerce and communication; the just complaints which the personal and territorial privileges of the nobility excited;—and the boundlessly audacious extravagance of an extensive and dissolute court, will more satisfactorily account for so dreadful a convulsion. It is impossible to join Mr. Burke in the eulogiums he has bestowed on the court and aristocracy of France, in his admirable observations on the revolution. They contradict the whole mass of facts which are before the public; and of which an excellent *précis* may be found in the second work named at the head of this paper,—a work full of mature reflection, and composed in a graceful style. That Louis XVI. was one of the last kings of France whose character and government ought to have exposed him to revolutionary fury, no candid inquirer will dispute. Many excellent persons were also, no doubt, to be found among the nobility, both during his reign and that of his predecessor. But it cannot be believed that the privileged orders were generally of this description. The large proportion of the nobility who, at the commencement of the revolution, evacuated or tamely surrendered their possessions, shows how completely they had forgotten or misconceived the duties which they owed to themselves and to their station in society. Should it be alleged that they adopted this course in compliance with the wishes of the court, that circumstance would only more strongly demonstrate the infatuation under which they laboured. Notwithstanding all that has been said, it is clear as the sun at noon-day, that it was the degeneracy, corruption, and thoughtlessness of the court and government which was the chief source of all the calamities which befel the country. The profligate expensiture of the court and its retainers during the whole reign of Louis XV. and in the beginning of that of Louis XVI. was enormous; and such oppressive taxes were imposed on the people to supply insatiable demands, that the registration of the royal ordinances for the levy of them was at last declined by the parliament of Paris. The judicial authorities of which this body consisted, who had for ages been the only protection to the people against despotic power, were ordered into banishment in 1773, on account of the firmness with which the royal mandates were resisted. Taxes were then imposed by the court at its own will and pleasure. The people deplored the loss of the parliament, murmured, and occasionally refused the contributions. To allay the rising storm, the parliament was afterwards recalled; but as that venerable and patriotic assembly was still found uncompliant, an order was issued for its final abolition. It would be tedious to enu-

rate the miserable expedients to which the Chancellor Maupeou and his colleagues afterwards resorted, in order to raise money and carry on the government. All of them proved unavailing, and to the utter inability or repugnance of the subjects to meet the demands of a licentious and improvident court and administration, and the harshness of some measures to which Louis XVI. was in the early part of his reign persuaded to consent, the discontent which showed itself in France appears to have been mainly owing. But the whole of the body politic had now become indisposed. The elements of mischief were set in motion, and every incident increased the fury of the agitation, until it became evident that no human power could avert the crisis which ended in its total dissolution.

If we do not yet clearly perceive the causes of the revolution, its consequences are still more hidden from us. It was the first time a civilized people ever resolved upon the entire demolition of their religion, government, and institutions. The work of destruction was completed with the same unrelenting ferocity with which it had been projected. Scenes were daily exhibited, for years together, from which the mind recoils with abhorrence, and of which none would willingly renew the recollection. Every part of the political and social system of France has passed through the furnace; and though it is premature to decide, experience would lead us to conclude that the effect will be answerable to the length and severity of the ordeal. But it would be taking a very inadequate measure of the influence of the revolution in France, to suppose that it did not extend beyond its own territory. The tide of victory which, upon the rise of Buonaparte, continued to attend the arms of France, until it overran almost the whole of continental Europe, immeasurably extended the circle of its operation. The conquests of Napoleon were not a transient military occupation of the territories which his sword had won. They were intended to be, and had all the effects of, a complete subjugation. He changed powers and potentates, manners, laws, and institutions; and though many of his innovations passed away with him, the ancient order of things was not thereupon re-established. It would have been utterly preposterous to attempt this. The constant transference of civil and military officers from one place to another, called the whole powers of animate and inanimate nature into action; the merits and defects of existing regulations and establishments were seen and acknowledged; prejudices were dispelled; new relations were formed; larger views were presented; and both the prosperity and adversity with which mankind were visited, led them to reason more comprehensively and correctly on themselves and their concerns. When we imagine that all these objects might have been attained by less sanguinary means, we forget that great changes

changes and great sufferings are almost inseparable. We are so prone to rest contented with that to which we are accustomed, that it requires a violent concussion to loosen the hold of the habits and manners by which we have been governed. This, the conflict of arms and opinions, which raged throughout Europe from 1792 to 1815, thoroughly effected; and mankind were thus prepared to start fresh and disencumbered in the road of improvement which now lay straight before them.

Before entering into an examination of the effects which the return of peace has had upon society, it may be proper to advert, for a moment, to the political arrangements adopted by the Congresses of 1814, 1818, and 1821, in order to remove the marks of that dreadful revolutionary hurricane which had lately swept over Europe. In the course of the war, Swedish Finland, which has always been remarkable for the bravery of its inhabitants and the fertility of its soil, was annexed to Russia. Sweden was afterwards indemnified by Norway, of which Denmark was dispossessed. Both Sweden and Denmark were probably sufferers by the cessions they were obliged to make; but their remote situation, and the superior progress of the more southern kingdoms of Europe in commerce and manufactures, have stripped them of much of the political importance which they formerly enjoyed. Spain and Portugal remained, in point of territory, unaltered; but misgovernment, ignorance, and superstition, have sunk these romantic regions, so favoured by nature, to the lowest state of degradation which they can reach. Italy and Poland were ready to become the vassals of whatsoever masters they might be desired to serve. Saxony lost half its territory, which was transferred to Prussia: Hanover received considerable augmentations: and Wirtemberg, Bavaria, Baden, and several of the mediatised states of Germany, remained in possession of nearly the same rank and consequence which they held before. The five great powers were—Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and England. The two first have long had a preponderating weight, from their position and magnitude; and England, whose influence has always exceeded its geographical limits, derived great additional consideration from its wealth and intelligence, from the vast and growing importance of its colonies, and as the head of the Protestant religion. The progress of civilization had developed the gigantic strength of Russia; and the capacity of Frederick II. and his successors, seconded by the aspiring spirit of the people, raised that kingdom to the first rank among the states of Europe.

As France, during her imperial ascendancy, had removed most of the landmarks which were standing at the beginning of the revolution, it was natural to suppose that, on her humi-

humiliation, these would as far as possible be again set up. This, however, was wholly impracticable; and extreme difficulty must have been felt in adjusting the claims of the numerous parties who were interested in the proposed arrangements. At the same time, it must be confessed, that many of the exchanges and allotments of territory which were then sanctioned, appear to be singularly injudicious. The extinction of the republics of Venice and Genoa is not perhaps much to be lamented; but considering what they had been, what part they had acted, and into whose hands they were transferred, greater precaution should have been taken to sooth and dignify the days of their decline. Neither half of Saxony will easily pardon the dismemberment of that electorate; and, next to remaining an independent power, it ought to have passed entire into the hands of Prussia. To permit, under any circumstances, the further aggrandisement of Russia, was an error of a graver character; and when in 1815 Alexander backed his demands of Poland by cantoning a hundred thousand troops within the country whose fate was under discussion, he furnished the best possible evidence that his demands ought not to have been conceded. This reasoning is in no degree dictated by the turn which the Russian disputes with Turkey have lately taken. In the warmth of gratitude which the allied powers professed to feel for the signal deliverance with which they had been favoured, and at so solemn a season of restitution and redress, the Poles had surely just cause to ask why they alone should remain neglected or forgotten, and why their monarchy, in an hereditary or elective form, should not again have reared its head. If this was not suffered, Russia was still the last power to which that kingdom ought to have been added. Whatever the professions or manifestoes of Russia may be,—the partition of Poland in 1773—the cessions obtained from Turkey in 1775, by the treaty of Kainardji—the convention of 1783, by which the Czar of Cartalinie and Kahlet renounced his allegiance to Persia, and put himself under the protection of Russia—the occupation of the Crimea in the course of the same year—the occupation of Georgia in 1791—the further sacrifices made by Turkey under the treaty of Jassy in 1792—the second partition of Poland in 1793—the reunion of Courland and Semigallia in 1795—the third partition of Poland in 1796—the new acquisitions in that quarter under the treaty of Tilsit in 1807—the seizure of Swedish Finland in 1809—the additional cession of Polish territory by Austria under the treaty of Leopold in 1810,*—these occurrences gave ample warning of the designs and dispositions of the Russian

* *Traité de Mertens*, t. ii. p. 396, t. iii. p. 689, t. iii. p. 582, t. v. p. 67, t. vi. p. 476, t. ix. p. 285, t. xi. p. 436, t. xii. p. 19, 252, and t. xiii. p. 383.

empire; and to permit her, under any circumstances, to add at once to these spoils almost the whole of a populous and extensive kingdom, seems to us an act altogether unaccountable.

One mistake paves the way for another. As Russia stripped Prussia of its share of Poland, an indemnification was to be sought for Frederick William on the one side, for what Alexander had taken away on the other. It has been found in various parcels of land, running out into such singular shapes, that Prussia now bounds Russia on the east, and France on the west, while its territories are intersected by half the secondary states of Germany. The most cursory glance at any map of Europe will show the absurdity of such an arrangement. Prussia has the largest possible extent of frontier, without any barrier, natural or moral, to defend it; and as she now is, she cannot long continue. She must become either more or less formidable. It is hardly possible to doubt that Prussia waits only a favourable opportunity to make some great effort for the consolidation of her territory. She will be driven to some such desperate step for her own protection. That crown cannot otherwise preserve the rank it has now attained; and they are little acquainted with the intelligence, energy, and ambition of the Prussian people, who imagine they will be backward in adopting any measures calculated to promote their national honour and security.

The position of the newly-crected kingdom of Belgium is even more precarious. It is composed of Holland and Brabant, as nearly as possible equal to one another in wealth, population, and influence; suspicious of one another, from inveterate habit; and differing fundamentally on the subject of religion. Time may remove these sources of disunion; and whatever a paternal and enlightened system of administration can do, the present sovereign of the Netherlands, and those most able statesmen who surround his throne, will effect. But the repugnance which the people of Holland and Brabant entertain for one another, does not constitute the greatest hazard to which that kingdom is exposed. France has never lost sight of its opulence and fertility. It is wholly unable to cope with that country single-handed; neither Spain nor Austria are now interested to resist the aggressions of France in that quarter; and before any of the allies of the King of the Netherlands could march to his aid, the whole disposable French military force would be poured into the Netherlands; where the Catholic inhabitants would secretly rejoice at their arrival. In such an emergency, the fortresses with which the frontier is studded, would be of no use whatsoever. Their size and number are out of all proportion to the means of the country. Every one of the four first-rate fortresses of Namur, Charleroi,

leroi, Mons, and Bergen-op-Zoom, would require the whole Belgian army as a garrison.

Having thus finished the sketch which we proposed to give of the chief political changes which have taken place in Europe, from the end of the fifteenth century to the present period, we shall now proceed to notice some of the most striking peculiarities which the social condition of the present time exhibits. In contrasting the present state of European society with the past, one of the first circumstances which strikes us is the improvement which has taken place in its communications. There was no part of the Roman policy which so effectually promoted the good of mankind, or which has transmitted such exalted ideas of the imperial grandeur, as the number and magnificence of their roads. Though constructed principally for military purposes, they were of vast utility to the districts which they traversed, and proved the most efficacious means of promoting the comfort and civilization of the conquered peoples. As an instance of the extraordinary celerity in travelling which occasionally took place in ancient times, we are informed by Pliny, that *C. Iulius Cæsar* travelled two hundred Roman miles in a day and a night, on being despatched by Augustus to console his sick brother Germanicus. But the ordinary rate of travelling even in those days was slow in comparison of what it is at present. Cicero speaks of a messenger coming from Rome to his government of Cilicia, in Asia Minor, in forty-seven days:—*heu tam longe!* as the orator exclaims, on finding himself so far removed from the scene of his glory and exertions.—*Ep. ad Attic.* l. v., ep. 19. To convey letters from Rome to the neighbourhood of Gibraltar required, according to Pollio, forty days.—*Cic. Ep. ad Fam.* l. x., ep. 33. The elder Pliny mentions a variety of particulars, all showing how slowly persons then moved from one place to another. As the empire declined, the roads gradually fell into neglect; and, during the dark ages, their ruinous condition rendered communication difficult beyond what we can now find it easy to conceive. It is not easy to ascertain, from one period to another, what the state of the roads was, but they must have improved as trade increased. We know that the amelioration of them was slow; that the arts of constructing and directing them were for a long time understood very imperfectly; and that the first kingdom in which the condition of the great roads at all approached the present standard of excellence was Sweden—where, from its want of wealth, and remote situation, no such occurrence could reasonably have been looked for.

The new arrangement for the arrival and departure of mails which took place in England in 1793, greatly forwarded that improvement of the principal roads which had been going on through the

the eighteenth century; and, from 1793 to the present moment, the highways, cross-roads, bridges, and ferries, throughout the whole extent of this country, are decidedly superior to those which are to be seen anywhere else. There are few places where the materials for making roads are so excellent and plentiful as in England; and as good roads conduce so much to the comfort as well as profit of those who use them, it is probable this is an advantage which the inhabitants of this country will for a long period possess in greater perfection than their neighbours.

A remarkable improvement has, however, recently taken place in roads and bridges all over Europe. Materials for road-making have been found where formerly they were not believed to exist, and the skill with which they are employed is surprising. Neither clay, sand, morasses, torrents, precipices, nor any other obstacles, are deemed insurmountable. A terrace has been conducted along the whole face of the Apennines, from Nice to the Gulf of Spezzia. The finest carriage roads cross the Alps, over Mount Cenis, St. Bernard, the Simplon, St. Gothard, the Splugen, from the Lake of Como to the source of the Inn, from Trent to Brixen, and where the road from Vienna to Venice crosses them at Ponteba. An entirely new road has been formed in the kingdom of the Netherlands, from Namur to Luxembourg; another runs along the banks of the Rhine, from Mentz to Nimeguen; another, from Hamburg to Hanover, and from Hanover to Deventer. Two more are under consideration, one from Hamburg to Lubeck, and the other from Berlin to Hamburg, through sands which appear almost impassable. Another has been made from Warsaw to Kalisz, which is to be continued to Breslaw; another runs from Berlin, by Wittemberg, to Leipzig; and the whole way from Berlin, by Kustrin, Konigsberg, and Riga, to Petersburg, either does or will speedily present an admirable line of communication between the Prussian and Russian capitals. Baron Pasquier has just laid before the Chambers in France, a detailed report on the state of the roads of that country, a circumstance which of itself demonstrates the growing importance attached to internal communication in that kingdom. In short, the traveller can nowhere direct his steps without seeing bridges building, and roads opening, widening, levelling, and repairing; and it is difficult to determine what states or districts at present show most zeal and judgment in this branch of national improvement.

The progress lately made in water conveyance is still more remarkable. The first canals known in this part of the world, were those which were formed in Italy and the Low Countries, and served in several cases both to drain the ground and for the conveyance of merchandise. France followed their example, and
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by means of the canal of Languedoc, (which is now acknowledged to have failed in the objects for which it was constructed,) joined the Channel and the Mediterranean. Several others have since been completed, and others are in progress; but that country is never likely to place much dependance on its canal communications. About the middle of the last century, the commercial prosperity of this country induced it to turn its attention to canals; and from its abundance of water, and the moderate elevation of its surface, it has now pushed canal navigation beyond every other country. Austria has now got rail-roads, and it, as well as Prussia, and Sweden, possesses canals; and Russia, both within her old limits and in Poland, is zealously encouraging canals to connect her rivers, and transport the produce of the soil. The application of steam to shipping, which deserves to be ranked among the greatest discoveries, theoretical or practical, which ever were made, has, however, done more within the last twenty years to facilitate the communication between different places by water, than all the contrivances that went before it. Steam-vessels are now found permanently or occasionally plying from the bottom of the Mediterranean all round to the top of the Baltic. No place in this part of the world has derived so great advantage from the discovery of steam-vessels as England. Its situation, coal, and commerce, enable it to shoot forth these vessels in every direction; and, by means of the certainty and celerity of their passage, they have diminished its distance, and multiplied its means of access to every part of the European continent. To these accommodations in travelling must be added the variety, excellence, and cheapness, of public conveyances, and the quick and secure transmission of letters by post. The combination of these discoveries and improved arrangements has produced an ease, certainty, and rapidity of intercourse, exceeding all past experience or imagination. We are, perhaps, not far enough removed from these changes to estimate them at their proper value. Though few in number and simple in their operation, they have yet done more to change the face and multiply the comforts of society, than all the inventions which have taken place from the earliest ages to the present day.

The increase in the number of travellers, which these facilities have caused, is another of the chief peculiarities of the present period. The inhabitants of every country, but particularly of England, who travel for their improvement or gratification, have multiplied fifty or a hundred fold, and their numbers are continually augmenting. One now thinks as little of going into another kingdom, as fifty years ago he would have done of going into a neighbouring county. In time of peace, Europe may now
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be said to compose but one family: and whenever a stranger of established character or extensive information is received abroad under a hospitable roof, instead of fruitlessly endeavouring to overcome the obstacles which the want of community of manners, language, and ideas presented in former times to all easy and agreeable intercourse, he finds himself engaged at once in animated conversation with persons of congenial habits, on topics of mutual and equal interest. It is scarcely possible to estimate these advantages too highly. They break down the artificial distinctions which separate one man from another, remove misapprehension, ignorance, and prejudice, and bind together the inhabitants of different countries by endearing ties of recollection. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the simplicity of heart and the earnestness of kindness, which were among the most engaging characteristics of former days, have almost wholly disappeared. 'Ce peuple,' said Marmontel of the inhabitants of his native village, 'qui depuis s'est laissé dénaturer comme tant d'autres, était alors la bonté même,' and the observation is now-a-days far more extensively true. The warm and tender feelings which riveted each man so firmly to his kindred, friends, and neighbours, have now lost much of their former vigour. They were the securities which each man gave and received for the amiableness and integrity of his conduct; and could not be forfeited without reducing him to the condition of a stranger or an outcast. But little of any such check on irregularity now exists. The bonds of society now sit so loose, and connexions are contracted and dissolved with so much ease and indifference, that persons of almost every rank may float along the stream of life, without taking or exciting much real interest in a single human being. Attachment to place has nearly become extinct also. That rush of recollection, which made the tear start and the heart throb on revisiting the scenes of infancy or youth, is felt no more, or has degenerated into a transient and almost imperceptible agitation. All deep impressions are obliterated by perpetual change of company and abode, and their place is supplied by pliability of disposition, civility of manners, and a sort of indiscriminate and inactive good-will towards all mankind.

We neither desire to elevate past times, nor to depreciate the present. The object is simply to point out one of the most universal and essential changes in society which the age exhibits. The change itself may be unavoidable, but its consequences are inevitable also. They have long been felt, and now begin to be acknowledged and deplored in the ordinary intercourse of social, as well as in the closest relations of domestic life. We possess the external means of enjoyment to a degree which our ancestors never dreamed

dreamed of, but they are counterbalanced by much of that selfishness and that indifference which have been ranked among the most fatal destroyers of human happiness in the last stages of social luxury and national degeneracy.

Another characteristic of the present time is the extraordinary increase of education and knowledge, which has taken place within the last forty years. That a much larger proportion of the people of Europe now read and write than formerly, is indisputable. Those parts of it which are Protestant were early distinguished from those which continued Roman Catholics, in respect of education; and they have ever since retained their superiority. But, with the exception of Spain and Portugal, it is impossible not to perceive that the means and habit of reading have of late increased everywhere. The multiplication of newspapers and periodical publications; the number of booksellers' shops; and the profusion of literary institutions and circulating libraries, are infallible indications of the extraordinary spread of education and reading. What effect this change may eventually produce on society it is too soon to decide; but we cannot help expressing an apprehension, that both education and reading have been pushed too far among the lower classes, and that, among the higher, they are not taking a very desirable direction. With regard to labourers and mechanics, experience has already proved to demonstration, that the instruction which consists merely in being taught to read and write, will by no means insure that proper regulation of the mind and conduct which some enthusiastic friends of education expected from it. To render reading and writing really useful, that moral and religious discipline which parents, pastors, masters, and relatives can alone bestow, must be superadded; and yet, strangely enough, this is a branch of education which those who are most solicitous about mere reading and writing have almost totally neglected. It will also, in all likelihood, become manifest ere long, that the labouring classes will not permanently devote a large proportion of their leisure time to the acquisition of knowledge, either by means of reading or any other sort of application. Novelty and vanity may give a temporary impulse, and the curiosity which is natural to man may prolong the exertion; but in no age or country can a large proportion of those whose lot it is to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, be prevailed upon regularly to begin intellectual exertion when their daily task is ended. The body then requires repose; domestic concerns demand attention; and if the few hours which remain are applied to that which with all men ought to be the chief concern—the improvement of the heart—it would probably be found the surest means of advancing the improvement of the head also. If mechanics and labourers could be persuaded to make a study of the Bible, it
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would be found to convey more useful knowledge, for this world as well as the next, than all the volumes and lectures, which are likely to be prepared for their edification. Let it not be understood that we are hostile to the instruction of any order of society. There can be no doubt that the facilities afforded to those among the lower orders, who really have a love of learning, and the zeal which has been shown to improve them, are among the most signal peculiarities of the present day, and deserving of all commendation; but we confess we are not satisfied, that the rage for education and reading—the cheapness of books—the multitude of teachers—and the spare time created by the extension of machinery,—will produce ultimately that practical good which some philanthropists anticipate. That the present course promotes refinement, is indisputable; but whether it is to render those classes between the high and the low, which now form so large a part of the community, more able and willing to discharge the relative duties of life,—(which, after all, it is the chief business of education to teach,)—is a great deal more doubtful. Whatever opinion may be formed on this subject, the existence of an unprecedented desire of knowledge among the middling ranks cannot be called in question. It presses itself upon the notice of the traveller in the remotest districts of Europe; is discernible in the contents of the school-books of children; in the daily intercourse of life; and in the philosophical words and phrases which now form part of the language of ordinary conversation.*

Let us now examine the progress which education and reading have made among the higher orders. Books are found in every house and on every table, and are resorted to on all occasions when there is nothing else to do. But, though the stream of knowledge has become wider, it has not always become deeper, or more fructifying as it flows. It must be confessed that the present age is unfavourable to severe or persevering study. The Greeks had no other literature, than their own, enriched with the little they had gleaned from Egypt; the Romans had no other than that of Greece; and, till within the last fifty years, the learning of a well read person was confined to that of Greece and Rome, a few of the most celebrated Italian, French, and Spanish writers, and a limited selection from the works published in our own language. To these languages, German must now be added; and

* We have named at the head of our paper, *the Family Library*—a work which no one can take into his hands without perceiving that the supply of the reading market is undergoing, or about to undergo, a complete revolution; which, in the names of some of its writers, furnishes evidence that the very highest talent no longer disdains to labour for those who can buy cheap books only—and evidence, we are still more happy to see, that an attempt at least is to be made to infuse and strengthen right principles and feelings, as well as to extend mere knowledge, among those classes.

in each of them, a list of authors of celebrity might be drawn up, whose works it would require the lifetime of a laborious student to digest. In addition to this, the sciences of agriculture, natural history in all its branches, mechanics, chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, have either been created or exceedingly extended. To master all this is impossible. No perseverance can toil through such a mass, nor memory retain it. Besides this, the press teems with new systems, manuals, and abridgments, many of them excellent in their kind, and conveying knowledge more easily, simply, or compendiously than before, but certainly not exercising the powers of the mind so effectually as the original authors would do from whose works they are compiled. Feeling themselves without time or strength to embrace the vast field of knowledge now expanded before them, readers give up profound and systematic application in despair, and betake themselves to works of a subordinate character, which furnish them with what information they immediately want, or which present science or literature in a ready and familiar form. However convenient this sort of reading may be, it has little tendency to strengthen and enlarge the understanding. A person becomes a mere living dictionary, unless the acquisition of knowledge has been accompanied with that exertion of his own faculties, by which alone it can be turned to profit. It is the substitution of mere knowledge, for the power of saying and doing that which is fit, which, more than anything besides, contributes to stamp this the age of moderate men, and to render the existing state of society so unfavourable to every sort of extraordinary excellence. Every one is expected to know so much, and go so much into company, in order either to rise in the world or become known—and such encroachments are made upon every one's leisure by his family and friends—that few have the opportunity of making great acquirements, and fewer still have the power of turning these to profit. By these means, the qualifications of readers are reduced below their former standard, and they bring to the perusal of a book neither the taste nor the judgment of which authors, in former days, had the fear before their eyes. No person willingly sits down to a piece of close or continued reasoning. It is not thought necessary to be oppressed with, too many facts at once, and, unless argument is conveyed in an entertaining form, it will not be listened to at all.

We should be sorry to incur the charge of depreciating the merit of daily and periodical publications, of which so much of the literature of the present day consists. Within certain limits, and under proper management, they are eminently qualified to promote information and inquiry; but when they become excessive in number, as they now certainly are; intemperate or over-
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bearing in their language or spirit; or support one side of a cause and oppose another, merely to serve the purposes of a party or the interests of individuals, they are among the most formidable adversaries to sound judgment and literature, which the course of events has ever raised up. Yet the desultory, defective, and often erroneous and inconsistent intelligence conveyed in these publications, constitutes half the stock of knowledge of a considerable portion of the reading world throughout Europe—and novels, books of travels, and memoirs, make up the remainder. That well written novels may occasionally form a proper recreation from severe occupations, may very safely be admitted; but, at present, even very middling performances of this class enjoy a circulation, which the very best of them ought hardly to have attained; and no where more largely than in England has the spread of this idle appetite tended to interfere with the perusal of better books, and to withdraw the young of both sexes from the discharge of sacred obligations. The most popular novels either undertake to paint historical personages and occurrences, which the progress of the story, or the ignorance of the writers, often leads them to exaggerate or misrepresent; or well-known living characters are described under feigned names, in order that a sum of money may be obtained by the author for the exhibition of a friend or acquaintance, and idle curiosity be gratified by the detail of scandalous or unfounded anecdotes.

We own we are astonished that books of this sort should continue to be read with such avidity. The mind of the public cannot be more effectually abused and unsettled, than by the systematic conversion of history, private life, religion, and morality, into themes for works of fiction, and the full extent of the mischief will only be seen when it is too late. Some of the memoirs that have been lately published are highly valuable both in point of substance and composition, but the greater part of them are little superior to novels on the score of authenticity, and inferior to them in every other quality. Some of the travels which have appeared are also excellent; but by far the largest portion have been written hastily and with imperfect information, and are spun out to a length bearing no proportion to the importance of the facts communicated. It is an ungracious task to speak harshly of the taste or fashion of the day, or to find fault with the manner in which time is spent by the affluent and idle; but we are fully persuaded that it would be better for many persons never to open a book at all, than that the mind should be corrupted or enfeebled by the constant perusal of works of whatever kind which reduce it to a state of inactivity or indolent enjoyment. ‘*Nam de illis,*’ says Seneca of a similar class of persons who abounded during the latter part of the Roman empire, ‘*nemo dubitabit*

‘bitabit quin operose nihil agant, qui in literarum inutilium studiis detinentur; quæ jam apud Romanos magna manus est. Græcorum iste morbus fuit, quærere, *Quem numerum remigum Ulixis habuit? Prior scripta esset, Iliad an Odyssea? Præterea, an essent ejusdem auctoris?* Alia deinceps hujus notæ: quæ sive contineas, nihil tacitam conscientiam juvant; sive proferas, non doctior videberis sed molestior. Ecce Romanos quoque invasit inane studium supervacua discendi: alia deinceps *quæ aut ficta sunt aut mendacio similia*. Nam ut concedas omnia eos bonâ fide dicere, ut ad præstationem scribant, tamen cujus ista errores minuent? Cujus cupiditates prement? Quem fortiorem, quem justiore, quem liberaliorem facient? Dubitari se interim Fabianus noster aiebat, an satius esset nullis studiis admoneri, quam his implicari.’

A change similar to that which has taken place among readers has taken place among authors also. Most of the class are so impatient to reap the reward of their labours, or so apprehensive of being supplanted by competitors for public favour, that few are willing to bestow the time and trouble which are necessary for the composition of a standard work. Nor when such works happen to be produced, do the writers of them obtain that eminent and permanent place in public estimation which they have fairly earned. In the eyes of a refined judge, the distance between a first and a second-rate performance is equal probably to that between a second-rate one and the lowest of all; but by the mass of what is called the literary world, it is scarcely seen and less regarded. Whoever, therefore, endeavours to rival the best models of ancient or modern times, must be sustained by his own inherent love of excellence, without depending upon any other support. He must be satisfied to sink in a short time into the crowd of men who have printed books, and give place to others whom novelty, absurdity, politics, or any silly caprice of that very small, and not very wise, circle which calls itself *the world*, may have raised into unmerited celebrity. This has sensibly degraded the whole body of those who write for public amusement or instruction; and literature, instead of being the noblest and purest of all pursuits, adopted in youth and adhered to in age, for its own sake, and in the generous devotion of a love and a passion, has sunk into a trade, which hundreds take up, exactly as they would cotton-spinning or coach-building. The consequence is, that books are written not in the manner that is best fitted to enlighten and amend the public, but to flatter it; and arts are employed for this purpose, to which, in better times, it would neither have been thought creditable nor necessary to resort. When a book has attained a little ephemeral notoriety, or when the private

vate or political object has been gained, it has fully served its end ; and if any one will look over the list of books which have issued from the press within the last ten or twenty years, he will be astonished how small a portion of them deserves to be rescued from that oblivion to which they are inevitably destined. We appeal to the judgment of our readers, whether we have been guilty of any misstatement or exaggeration in these observations, and whether the present state of European literature, and especially of the English, tends not rather to reduce authors to the level of ordinary readers, than to elevate readers to the level on which authors ought to stand. There is one remedy for this growing evil which may come ; a time may arrive, when all classes of the community shall be able to read less and obliged to think more. The books read will then become more select ; the perusal of them more profitable ; and those authors who by their gifts and attainments are really qualified to improve or enlighten mankind, will be restored to that pre-eminence of which they never ought to have been dispossessed.

Another striking peculiarity of the present times is the improvement which has taken place in the outward condition of all ranks of society. Many shocking and painful disorders have almost wholly disappeared ; and others, which flesh must still be heir to, have by superior treatment been rendered less violent and dangerous. The cruelties and calamities of war have been mitigated ; the plague, except in Turkey and some other countries bordering on the Mediterranean, is almost unknown ; and famines, arising either from cold or heat, are now of much less frequent occurrence than they formerly were. While these scourges of the human race have been removed or diminished, inventions of every sort, conducing to personal enjoyment, have been multiplied or brought to perfection. In houses, dress, furniture, horses, roads, conveyances, and every thing which can minister to the ease and gratification of mind or body ; in the number and refinement of the sources of amusement ; and in all articles of domestic luxury and convenience ; the progress that has lately been made is unprecedented either for extent or rapidity. There is not a district to be found in any European state, in which the traveller is not struck with the taste and magnificence displayed in the architecture of public and private buildings, the multiplication and commodiousness of bathing and watering places, hotels, coffee-houses, and reading-rooms ; the exquisite arrangement of gardens, grounds, and villas ; and the neatness of cottages, shops, and manufactories. In England, above all, this alteration is conspicuous. In the most unfrequented corners of the country, and among all sorts and conditions of people, the comforts of life appear to be scattered

scattered with a profusion, of which in ancient or modern times there is no example. It furnishes a picture as beautiful as any which the pencil of the painter or pen of the poet can describe; and no native or foreigner can travel fifty or sixty miles along a public road, without being lost in wonder and astonishment. Towns, villages, hamlets, mansions, farm-houses, and cottages, are everywhere scattered about in the most pleasing and romantic situations; and the whole population appears to be rejoicing in unbounded fulness and repose. Would that the reality corresponded in every respect with appearances, and that these appearances were likely to last!

As a consequence of this improvement in the physical circumstances of the people, the population of Europe has increased, and is increasing, with a rapidity wholly unexampled. In a few places, such as Rome, Venice, Bologna, Genoa, Verona, Seville, Barcelona, Cadiz, Lubec, Bremen, Ghent, Bruges, Cologne, Strasburg, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, political revolutions, or the different channels which trade has taken, may have caused numbers to diminish; but these towns are exceptions to the rule, and only render more conspicuous the rate at which population generally is advancing. The capitals of Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, Brussels, Paris, Hamburg, Frankfort, Milan, Munich, Stuttgard, Stockholm, and the territories to which they belong, are all swelling in extent and numbers. New habitations everywhere strike the eye; fresh manufactories and establishments are springing up; and if one pays a second visit to almost any district of Europe a few years after the first, the multiplication of the human species becomes almost as obvious to the eye, as the inspection of statistical tables makes it to the understanding. In this respect England has, within the last thirty or forty years, outstripped all the countries of the continent. London has increased to a size which nearly rivals the populousness of Babylon, Nineveh, Rome, Peking, and Canton. Glasgow has advanced from 60 or 70,000 to 170,000; Liverpool from 50 or 60,000 to 160,000; and Edinburgh, Manchester, Paisley, Birmingham, Norwich, Brighton, Cork, Belfast, and some other places, have increased nearly in the same proportion. The population of England, Wales, and Scotland was, in

1801	10,942,646
1811	12,596,803
1821	14,391,631*

The population of Ireland was estimated in

1672, by Sir Wm. Petty, at	1,320,000
1695, by Capt. Smith	1,034,102
1712, by Thomas Dobbs, Esq.	2,099,094
1726,	2,309,106

* Parliamentary Papers for 1822, vol. xv. Preliminary Observations, p. 8.

1754, by Hearth Money Collectors	2,372,634
1785,	2,845,932
1792, by Rev. Dr. Beaufort	4,088,226
1805, by T. Newenham, Esq.	5,395,456
1814, by incomplete Census of 1812	5,937,856 *
1821, Return under the Population Act	6,801,827†

By the last census then, it appears that the population of Great Britain and Ireland together amounted to 21,193,458; and, probably, at this moment, it approaches to 25,000,000. At no period in the annals of Europe has the augmentation of its numbers made such advances; and it is still advancing with undiminished activity. Whether this rate of acceleration can be or ought to be stopped; and if it cannot, what the consequences are to be, are questions upon which it is not now necessary to enter. They are not matter of speculation, but of the deepest practical concern, and, unless we are mistaken, will more and more force themselves upon the attention of every reflecting individual in the kingdom. They are here introduced merely as links in the great chain of events which have brought about that state of society in which we now live.

The last point to which we shall here advert, is the tendency of all the changes now going on in society, to approximate the lower classes to the higher. That there is an approximation lie that eyes to see and ears to hear must admit. The only question is, to what extent it has proceeded. It is obvious in dress, manners, and acquirements; and has been greatly encouraged by the improvement which has taken place in manufactures, and by the substitution of machinery for manual labour. Most mechanical employments are now carried on with so much neatness and dexterity that they scarcely affect the external garb, person, or appearance; and all articles of dress have become so cheap, that the same sort, if not the same quality, of the material of which it is composed, is within the reach of almost all ranks and conditions. The fashion of male and female dress has also become so nearly alike all over Europe, that its air and appearance alone would be an unsafe test of the rank or country of those who wear it. Nearly as great a change has taken place in manners as in dress. Distinctions between the language and address of the various classes of society will always be perceptible to refined judges, but those wide intervals with which former times were familiar, exist no longer. There are few persons of good sense, above the lowest rank, who do not speak and act, in these days, with ease and propriety. The extraordinary intercourse which has taken place, has brought about an universal polish.

* Parliamentary Papers for 1822, vol. xv. Preliminary Observations, p. 7.

† Ib. p. 379.

Persons placed far apart in wealth and station often approach each other so nearly in air and demeanour, and so difficult is it to excel in refinement, that those who take the lead in rank and fashion, occasionally seek for distinction in an entirely opposite direction. The assimilation, now mentioned is seen every where, and is fully as remarkable in the other parts of Europe, as in England. The lower classes have also gained upon the higher with respect to the conveniences of life. Enter into any house, of which the occupier is above the condition of a common labourer, and the profusion of comforts, beyond what were known twenty or thirty years ago, almost exceeds belief. Through every step of the ascending series, scarcely any distinction exists between those who are more or less wealthy, than in the scale of their establishments. The same taste and elegance reign in their houses, furniture, and grounds,—at their tables,—and in every other part of their household arrangements. There is a wide distinction as to the size and number of the apartments in the house, and one still wider with respect to the number of servants, carriages and horses. But there the distinction ends, and never could persons of moderate means, by the help of taste and judgment, place themselves so nearly on a level with the most exalted.

The most essential point, however, in which the lower classes have advanced upon the higher, is that of personal acquirements. It is not in early life that the education of the lower orders is better than that of their superiors. There is generally great anxiety manifested, on the part of the higher orders, that the attainments of their sons and daughters should correspond with their station in society, and the wish of the parent is usually seconded by the talents and disposition of the child. It is before and after they have reached maturity, that the youth of the aristocracy begin to lose ground in the race of emulation. The sons of the nobility and great landed proprietors are no longer required to discharge various public functions which, in ruder periods, they were wont to do; while such numbers of them are everywhere to be seen, that their rank alone does not place them on that eminence which it formerly commanded. Their ardour is thus damped for honourable exertion on the one hand, while the blandishments of ease and luxury allure them on the other. As they advance in life, the management of property, the cares of a family, and the various duties of society, demand so much of their time, that it requires extraordinary skill and resolution to reserve any considerable portion of it at their own disposal. In the mean while, art and science are daily diminishing that proportion of the community which subsists by mere manual labour. Books, instruction, and travelling, are more within the reach of all, and those who must live by their own exertions,

exertions, or whose means debar them from expensive pleasures, are induced and compelled to improve themselves with unremitting assiduity. The result of this indolence on the one hand, and diligence on the other, is, that, in nine out of ten occasions, where extraordinary proficiency or information really is demanded, the higher classes are surpassed by those who were originally their inferiors, not only in birth, but in education, and perhaps also in capacity.

This procession in society has extended to attainments of every kind, and to none more visibly than matters of state and legislation. Wherever limited governments exist, all subjects connected with the good of the community are discussed with a degree of intelligence and freedom unknown at any antecedent period. It being now the general practice to print and circulate all papers and documents relating to measures of foreign or domestic policy, official men are deprived of the exclusive means of information to which they were accustomed to attach so much importance, and all classes feel themselves more competent to think and speak upon them. Votes and resolutions of legislative bodies are therefore regarded with diminished reverence; and whenever public opinion has once been strongly expressed, it is much more likely to press legislative assemblies in it than to be driven back by them. Many curious speculations and valuable facts concerning the progressive influence of *public opinion* may be found in the work named first at the head of this paper, and which is generally ascribed to the pen of Mr. Mackinnon, an intelligent member of the last house of Commons. The increased influence of this *opinion* is in part, no doubt, owing to increasing kindness and consideration shewn by those who are in authority, but we are bound to confess that we ascribe it principally to the additional attention which the mass of the people insist on being paid to their interests and views. No fact in history is more striking than the indifference with which even the lives of common men were formerly regarded; but now they, and all other classes and bodies of men, have become better acquainted with their own power and consequence, and are daily bringing forward fresh pretensions. How long this approximation of the lower classes to the higher may continue or increase, or in what it may eventually issue, are questions upon which we presume to offer no opinion. The present state of society in Europe is altogether unexampled. With a marked and growing spirit of resistance on the part of the people, there is, on the part of their rulers, a want of corresponding energy and judgment to command them. To whatever good or evil this disposition may be found to lead, it will be the business of every wise and good man, in his proper sphere and on all proper occasions, to discourage the industrious classes of society from entertaining expectations of arriving at a degree of happiness and perfection

perfection which, in this state of existence, it is impossible to reach.

Having brought to a conclusion these observations on the general state of Europe, a few shall now be added on the state and circumstances of our own country. They are not all equally favourable; and as it is generally most expedient to look at the dark side of the picture first, we shall begin with those which are the least flattering. The first of them is this, that our present greatness rests upon a foundation which, in appearance at least, is somewhat insecure. Several of the continental states are possessed of immense and compact improvable territories, which, as long as they adhere together, must secure to them preponderating power and influence; whilst, on the other hand, this country would be wholly unable to support its present rank, were it not for the spirit of its people, its institutions, trade, and manufactures, and the wealth and number of its colonies. This is so extremely obvious, that a comparison has frequently been drawn between this country and the states of the Continent, more to its disadvantage than the fact seems to warrant. No state in Europe can now be considered as purely agricultural; or, if it were, its poverty would effectually prevent it from keeping a fleet or army on foot for any length of time beyond its own territory. Neither does the power of England so absolutely depend upon its colonies, manufactures, and commerce as is frequently assumed; nor, if it were so, could these be so easily and completely wrested from us as our rivals and enemies are willing to insinuate. While, however, there is no just ground for giving ear to these predictions of our inevitable and approaching decline, it must be confessed that, considering the moderate limits of Great Britain, as compared with Russia, Prussia, France, or Austria, the preservation of the ascendancy we have acquired in the commonwealth of nations, is a subject well entitled to inspire deep and constant anxiety. No single state was ever before so eminent at the same time as an extensive agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and colonial power, and had so many jarring or inconsistent interests to reconcile. Remembering that most of our colonies must emancipate themselves in progress of time, and that some *may* be prematurely torn from us—recollecting the difficulty of promoting the benefit of one class, without interfering with that of another—looking at the gigantic growth of some of our manufactures, and the immense population depending upon them—observing the indefatigable perseverance with which trade and manufactures are encouraged in every part of the world—bearing in mind the shocks which the vicissitudes of trade, and the vast extension of our system of credit must perpetually occasion,—and the certainty with which capital will be withdrawn, whenever it can be more profitably employed elsewhere;—

where;—taking all these circumstances into view it would be the utmost infatuation to contend, that the pillars upon which the edifice of our grandeur rests, can neither be undermined, nor separated, nor enfeebled.

To impress more strongly upon the mind than can be done by general expressions, the progress which other countries are making in improvement, we shall specify a few facts which are within our own knowledge, and which, in case it were necessary, might easily be amplified. Sugar refineries have within a recent period been established to a great extent at Trieste, Petersburg, Hamburg, and Gottenburg. At Motala, near Orebro, in Sweden, there is perhaps the largest establishment in existence for all sorts of implements in steel and iron. The manufacture of muskets and fowling-pieces has lately been greatly improved in Germany, and particularly at Hirschfeld in Hanover. Admirable travelling carriages of all sorts, both in point of elegance and durability, are built at Brussels, Berlin and Vienna. The glass manufactories in France, at St. Quentin, St. Gabin, Comenry, and Premontre, in the department of the Aisne, are all in the most flourishing condition; and glass is made at Munich of so superior a quality to any known in this country, that the Bavarians have deprived us of the manufacture of telescopes in which we formerly so much excelled. The elegant iron and steel ornaments made at Berlin have now become a valuable and extending branch of commerce. The utmost attention is paid to the improvement of wool, throughout France, Austria, Saxony, Holstein, and some other parts of Denmark. The woollen manufactures established in Moravia, Saxony, and Silesia, and the Low Countries, are increasing; and in addition to those which have long been seated at Sedan, Elbœuf, and Louviers in France, they have now been introduced at Carcassone, Castres, and Lodeve, in the south, and at Bourges and Chateauroux in the centre. A determined and successful degree of anxiety to improve the breed of horses has manifested itself in Prussia, Russia, and France. The quantity of lead now raised annually, near Almeria, in Spain, is a little more than half of what is raised annually in this country, though a short time ago we nearly supplied the whole of Europe. The manufactures of iron and steel, which are flourishing in France, are prospering still more at Liege, which has become the Birmingham of the Low Countries, as Ghent is their Manchester and Glasgow. The cotton manufactures of France and Belgium, which some of our manufacturers ignorantly ridiculed at the conclusion of the peace in 1815, have increased tenfold in ten years. They are now firmly fixed at Elberfeld, near Dusseldorf, and rapidly extending themselves in the Prussian Rhenish provinces. The silk trade

trade of France, which used to be confined to Lyons, has now spread its ramifications to Avignon, Nismes, and Tours, and its annual value amounts to six millions sterling. In Switzerland the silk trade is carried to an extent of which few people in England are aware. There are in Zurich and its neighbourhood alone between twelve and thirteen thousand looms, while at Lyons they amount only to between twenty-eight and thirty thousand. It is also established at Arau, Basle, and several other places. In the Prussian Rhenish provinces, it is spreading from Mentz through all the towns and villages along the Rhine, and is carried to a great extent at Dusseldorf and Elbtfeld, but particularly at Crévelt, where it is conducted with great capital and great spirit. Indeed the quantities of silk smuggled and imported from that quarter, form a serious subject of complaint with our own manufacturers. All sorts of household furniture are now made extremely beautiful, in most large towns throughout the continent. Exhibitions of works of genius and industry are every where encouraged, especially at Petersburg, Berlin, Brussels, Paris, Munich, Stutgard, and Vienna. Societies for the collection and elucidation of northern history and antiquities have recently been established in the capitals of Denmark and Sweden. Two universities have been founded by the King of the Netherlands at Ghent and Liege; and two more by the King of Prussia, one at Bonn, and the other at Berlin, the last of which has within a few years, acquired perhaps a higher reputation than any other in the north of Europe. And last, though not least in importance, steam-engine machinery has, a few months ago, been sent out to Calcutta for spinning and weaving cotton, which will be worked by a light kind of coal at 20s. a ton, from the inexhaustible mines of the Burdwan; and thus a decided step has been taken to restore every branch of the cotton trade to the Hindoos, and to cut off from us the almost unbounded market which was opening to our view in Hindostan and the Indian Archipelago. From one end of Europe to the other, the utmost activity prevails. The ablest practical and scientific men travel on their own account, or are sent out at the expense of their respective governments; English artists are daily invited to settle abroad; and foreigners reside here until they are able to carry off completely the mysteries of their trades and professions. In this state of things our statesmen cannot keep too steadfastly in view the peculiarity of our situation, observe with too much vigilance the policy and proceedings of our neighbours, or set too strict a watch upon their own words and actions. In no other way than by extending the most enlightened and unremitting care and superintendence to every member of our empire, can they long preserve the integrity and stability of the system.

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The amount of our public debt is another of the evils under which we labour. We should have wished to enter into considerable detail respecting the increase of our own debt, as well as of that of the principal states of Europe, but the limits we have prescribed to ourselves in the present sketch will not admit of their insertion. We shall therefore confine ourselves to two or three particulars. Our debt, at the Revolution in 1688, now no more than a hundred and forty years ago, amounted only to 1,054,925*l*. It has since advanced in nearly geometrical progression; and at the conclusion of the Revolutionary war in 1815, the unredeemed and unfunded debt amounted to 789,866,124*l*.^{*} On 1st February, 1816, it amounted to 834,499,880*l*.[†] and on 1st February 1817, to 816,751,306*l*.[‡] In 1828, the unredeemed and unfunded debt still amounted to 807,744,338*l*.§ We have, therefore, during a profound peace of thirteen years, cleared off no more than between 24 and 25 millions at the utmost, which sum is scarcely equal to one half the debt we contracted during one or two single years of the preceding war. It is urged by many persons that the amount of this debt is of comparatively little consequence, because the greatest part of it is due to natives; and that though the debt has greatly increased, our wealth has extraordinarily increased also. Both these circumstances are true, and due allowance ought to be made for them. They then urge that, comparing our debt with our means, our condition is better rather than worse than that of most of our continental neighbours—that though bankruptcy has often been predicted, it has never yet happened—that, if it did happen, an equitable arrangement with the public creditors would prevent much mischief from ensuing;—but that they really cannot reconcile it to their minds that such an event is within the bounds of the most distant probability. We feel ourselves obliged to declare that we cannot adopt this soothing view of the subject. The amount of the debt is so enormous, that the mere statement of it could not fail to carry alarm to every one possessed of ordinary prudence and foresight, unless familiarity had rendered us insensible to our danger. ‘Nations,’ says Burke, in his *Thoughts on the French Revolution*, ‘are wading deeper and deeper into an ocean of boundless debt. Public debts, which at first were a security to government, by interesting many in the public tranquillity, are likely, in their excess, to be the means of their subversion. If governments provide for the debts by heavy impositions, they perish by becoming odious to the people.’

^{*} Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxx. Appendix, pages 47, 48, 51.

[†] *Ib.* vol. xxxiv. App. p. 47. [‡] *Ib.* vol. xxxvi. App. p. 47.

[§] Parliamentary paper for 1828, vol. xvi. p. 152, 153.

‘ If they do not provide for them, they will become undone by the most dangerous of all parties, I mean an extensive discontented monied interest, injured and not destroyed.’ When it is further considered that the interest of the debt now greatly exceeds the half of our whole annual income,—that it is by no means impossible that the people may become distressed by paying the taxes now imposed, or that their amount when paid may be found to diminish,—that the pressure of the debt, instead of being relieved by a fall in the value of money, may be aggravated by the continuance of the rise we have now for some years experienced,—that the debt, which has been so little reduced during so unusual a course of peace, must rapidly accumulate on the recurrence of another war:—it is impossible for any rational man not to feel great uneasiness at our financial situation.

It is the practice of those persons, who trust that the chapter of accidents will, some way or other, avert an evil from which they themselves can point out no mode of escaping, to flatter themselves that, if it should unfortunately arrive, it will prove less dreadful in reality than in prospect. It appears to us unmanly and discreditable to rely on such consolations as these: we prefer looking facts in the face. In most countries of the continent, the reduction or delay of payment of the interest of the debt would be no novelty. It can do comparatively little injury to a despotic government, and might perhaps create no commotion among its injured people; but in this country, where no such crisis has hitherto been known, and where universal and implicit faith is placed in the punctuality with which the engagements of the state will be fulfilled, bankruptcy of any sort would inflict unspeakable distress upon a large part of the community, and bring the very existence of the constitution into danger. To remove all chance of such a catastrophe, it certainly appears to be an object of paramount importance that the magnitude of our debt should be diminished. A season of peace and tranquillity like the present is by far the most favourable for such an undertaking; and if ever it should in any shape be brought under the serious consideration of the government, there is scarcely any sacrifice to which the country would not cheerfully submit, provided it were satisfied that the plan would be faithfully carried into execution. To find our finances placed on so stable a foundation as to render an inconsiderable excess or deficiency in the year’s or quarter’s revenue a subject neither of sorrow nor exultation, and to ensure the gradual, but constant and perceptible liquidation of our debt, would have the most beneficial influence on the affairs of the state, as well as on those of every description of its subjects.

A third burden, under which the country labours, is the poor-rates.

rates. Whether it be indispensably necessary, in a country far advanced in refinement, to make a legislative provision for the poor,—how far such a provision now exists, in some form or other, in almost every European state,—and in what way it might be expedient to modify the existing poor-laws, either in principle or operation,—are topics, none of which it is intended here to agitate. We have largely and recently expressed our opinions on most of them. Our present object is merely to point out the consequences to which the poor-laws, as now administered, appear to be inevitably tending. We intreat all those who are interested in the soil, who love their country, or feel for human woe, to go about from house to house, and by patient and minute examination to make themselves acquainted with the condition, feelings, habits, and conduct of the labouring population. They are far from being so fully or generally known as they ought to be. However the lower classes may in other things differ, all of them communicate their real circumstances and rules of action to their superiors with reluctance; and never, unless treated with kindness, familiarity, and understanding. In the artificial state of society in which we live, the higher classes have, generally speaking, little inclination or opportunity for the display of these qualities, and are often as ignorant of the true state of the lower, though within a very short distance of their own doors, as if they did not belong to the same community or species. What does Bedford-square know of St. Giles's, or Portman-square of Carmel-buildings? If recourse were had to the parochial clergy, who know them better than any other class of persons do, much valuable information would be obtained; and if they were to report individually or collectively on every district of the country, the public and the legislature would be better prepared than it has ever yet been, for reasoning and deciding on the subject.

Notwithstanding the partial relief which certain legislative amendments have afforded, we are firmly persuaded, that the burdens of the rich and misery of the poor, are at this hour generally and rapidly advancing. It is scarcely possible that it should be otherwise. The law of settlement now renders the majority of labourers and their families, throughout England, as completely *adstricti glebæ* as the serfs were in feudal times, with this single variation, that the labourer is astricted not to the farm but the parish. In addition to this, the injudicious and almost universal practice of giving to all, whether married, or unmarried, skillful or unskillful, the lowest rate of wages on which an unmarried ordinary labourer can subsist, and of sending to the parish all who are married, old and young, strong and feeble, as soon as they have three, or even two children, completes the mischief

mischief which the law of settlement had begun. It eradicates every vestige of gratitude, frugality, or forethought, and almost compels a man to marry as soon as he has reached maturity, by shewing him that marriage may better his condition, and cannot make it worse. To confirm this reasoning we subjoin the following brief and significant returns, which were made to parliament in 1826 and 1828 :—

		£.			£.
1748	Assessed	730,135	1818	Assessed	8,932,185
1776	"	1,720,316	1819	Expended	8,672,252
1783	Expended	2,167,748	1820	"	8,334,313
1803	"	5,302,670	1821	"	7,695,235
1812	"	8,865,838	1822	"	6,921,187
1813	"	8,511,863	1823	"	6,874,496
1814	"	7,508,853	1824	"	6,999,190
1815	Assessed	6,937,425	1825*	"	6,699,981
1816	"	8,128,418	1826	"	6,696,156
1817	"	9,320,440	1827†	"	7,803,465

It thus appears that the poor-rates have increased more than tenfold within the last eighty years, which is in a far higher ratio than the trade, wealth, or population of the country will have been found to do. Considering the present value of money, there can be no doubt that they appear by the last return to be higher than they ever were before; and with rents stationary or declining, one does not see how such an increasing drain can be long supported. We are reasoning upon facts notorious and admitted. If the premises are sound, the consequences regularly flowing from them are not the less just because they may be disagreeable. We are, therefore, constrained to infer that there must be essential errors either in the provisions or management of a system which has proved equally prejudicial to those who pay the rates and those who receive them, and which, if it does not meet with timely and effectual revision, threatens to subvert the good order of the country, and to involve landowners, farmers, and labourers in general and irretrievable ruin.

Another evil, aggravated, though certainly not engendered, by the miserable administration of our poor-laws, is our present redundancy of population. He must have been inattentive to what is visible in almost every town and hamlet throughout the kingdom, who does not perceive that population has, for at least fifteen or twenty years, been increasing at a rate for which no improvement in agriculture, or manufactures, could afford employment. For many years it failed to attract the attention it deserved, but is now brought practically home to all orders

* The whole of these returns are from the Parliamentary Papers for 1826, vol. iii. p. 67.

† These two last years are from Parliamentary Papers for 1828, v. xxi. p. 641 and 647.

of society. By what means this severe and apparently sudden calamity is come upon us, is well worthy of inquiry. The same excess of numbers which caused the hardy tribes of the north, in former times, to pour their swarms over the south, is again experienced in every part of Europe, but presses most heavily of all on England. Instead of parents delighting in the spread of their families, and rejoicing in the display of their endowments of mind and body as they grow up,—they no sooner open their eyes on the world, than in comes solicitude about the means of rearing them;—and when they approach maturity, a degree of anxiety, unknown and unnecessary in former times, is frequently experienced as to procuring for them situations wherein, by skill and diligence, they may earn an honourable support. All trades, pursuits, and professions are becoming more and more overstocked; and multitudes of persons, of all degrees and ages, are moving about, without employment, useless to themselves, and a burden to the public. It is possible that this excessive increase of population (which forms the subject of several able treatises lately published in France, and of a most elaborate work which we have just received from Germany) may at last correct itself; but it will not do so for a considerable time, nor until great privations have been suffered; and ours are likely to be the most serious and prolonged, as this is the country where the multiplication of the people has been going on with by far the greatest rapidity. In this strait, the quantity of land suffered to lie uncultivated and waste, in this island and in Ireland, appears to us most extraordinary; and not less so the small degree of public attention attracted to our colonies, which exceed in number and value those which any state in the world ever before possessed. Hitherto we have derived from them little assistance, because the poor are sure of being maintained by their parishes at home, and the rich have been brought up too indulgently to sit down willingly as settlers in a new country. Necessity, however, will overcome all repugnance. No pains should be spared to teach the labouring classes to regard the colonies as the land of promise, which it should be their highest ambition to be able to reach. Nor does this matter concern the poorer orders among us alone: in the colonies, a large proportion of the children or grandchildren of the highest families in this land must be contented to fix their abode, unless they resolve to drag on a life of dependence and indigence here. It is unfortunate that these establishments should so long have been regarded as fit only for the residence of convicts, labourers, mechanics, and desperate or needy men. The Greek colonies contained a mixture of all classes of society. Regularity and subordination were thus encouraged and preserved in all stages of their progress, and they rose to wealth and eminence

much earlier than they would otherwise have done. We ought still to follow their example, though it is vain to expect that all the colonies we have will prove so effectual a drain as we now require. Hitherto, at least, our population has been increasing at the rate of between 3 and 400,000 annually, while those removed to our colonies, including convicts and emigrants, have not exceeded the rate of 7 or 8,000 at the utmost. We may, however, expect the ratio of emigration to rise considerably above this, and we ought to use all our efforts with that view. If adequate encouragement be held out to enterprising young men of rank and connections; if young men and women, in the intermediate ranks of life, are accustomed to look to the colonies as the most certain means of obtaining a comfortable settlement; and if the poor could be persuaded that it would be better for them to purchase a passage, by binding themselves to serve as bondsmen a few years after their arrival in the colonies, than to wear out an abject and hopeless life at home—the country might be materially relieved of the useless population by which it is likely soon to be encumbered. The policy of emigration, we once more say, ought in these days to go hand in hand with that of agricultural improvement at home.

One other disadvantage remains to be noticed, and it is a most serious one: we allude to the extravagant notions and pretensions which the prosperity of the last thirty years has strengthened or engendered among us. We by no means allege that we have been betrayed into greater errors than others would have adopted in our circumstances. Theirs might, perhaps, have been still greater. We think, however, that the mistakes we have committed have been neither few nor inconsiderable; and that they continue, to this moment, prejudicial to us both individually and collectively, because the greater part of the public is not yet conscious of them. So immense a stride was made during the war in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and every class was suddenly raised so many degrees in affluence, comfort, and consideration, that an universal persuasion at last prevailed, not only that this midsummer-day of ease and contentment would always last, but that it would grow more glorious as it lengthened. All were carried away with the delusion. We began to think too highly of ourselves, and too meanly of our neighbours. When the return of peace threw open the continent to our travellers, a large proportion of those who passed over, confirmed the prejudices which were entertained against us by conducting themselves in an ignorant and overbearing manner, at the same time that they inconsiderately inferred, from a comparison of the actual state of other countries with their own, that we had a prescriptive and eternal right to a complete superiority over them all in riches,
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in trade, and in manufactures. The consequence was that, instead of imitating the praiseworthy moderation and economy which the Dutch have observed through all their changes of fortune to the present day, not only certain classes, but the whole of our community, in their several stations and degrees, departed from the simplicity, foresight, and frugality of their forefathers; and indulged in notions, with respect to dress, houses, furniture, living, education, and establishments, which no wealth could support. During the fourteen years the peace has lasted, we have not yet become reconciled to the great and permanent alteration which freedom of trade and communication has of necessity brought about in our condition. Putting foreign competition altogether out of the question, any person who took a dispassionate and comprehensive survey of the various branches of industry within the kingdom, must have been satisfied that the gigantic rate at which they had been advancing for the preceding forty years, could not, under any circumstances, have continued. One might have as well counted on fifty Waterloos in succession. If we had been in the excitement of a fever—it could not last for ever.

The good sense of the public is now beginning to correct the evil; but the notions of by far the largest part of the upper classes of society are even now a great deal too lofty. They are aiming at what they cannot attain; and, as it is hopeless to think of raising their fortune to their ideas, they are called upon to bring down their ideas to the level of their fortune. We believe this to be one of the most urgent duties which, at this day and in this country, parents can be called upon to practise themselves and inculcate on their offspring. Such a change, instead of impairing the happiness or diminishing the reputation of the people, will have a directly opposite tendency. It will strip us of that covering of stiffness, selfishness, and pride, which stifled or concealed so many of our best qualities and affections; make us more kind at home and considerate abroad; enable us, in Paley's sarcastic but significant phrase, 'to keep a conscience,' and leave us in full possession of every property which can make us useful to our friends or formidable to our enemies.

Let us now turn to a more cheerful and consoling part of the picture, and take a view of the natural and acquired advantages of the country, beginning with those which nature has so bountifully bestowed upon us. Our local position, which an ignorant person, casting his eyes on the map, would regard as one of the most secluded and unpropitious on the globe, is in reality one of the most favourable which Providence has assigned to any people. With the sea running round and indenting our shores, and facilitating that intercourse with every part of the world which at first it

seems completely to cut off; having the countries which border the Channel and the Mediterranean on the one hand, and those bathed by the North Sea and the Baltic on the other; occupying the most advanced station towards North America on the west; and enjoying almost unrivalled advantages for trading to Africa, Hindostan, and the whole Indian Archipelago,—the position that has fallen to our lot must be allowed to be more than ordinarily adapted to the acquisition of commercial and maritime ascendancy. The value and variety of the products of our soil tend powerfully to promote that activity and exertion to which our situation affords so strong an incentive. When all allowances have been made, there is, perhaps, no country in Europe, of equal extent, which is naturally so valuable.

With respect to soil, it is somewhat difficult to speak. In different parts of Europe many large tracts of ground are, undoubtedly, extremely rich. The plains of Seville and Valencia in Spain; the whole vale of Lombardy in Italy; the Touraine, and a large part of Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, and Alsace in France; the whole maritime part of the kingdom of Belgium; and a large part of Wirtemberg, Baden, Saxony, Silesia, and Upper Austria, are all of great fertility; but, speaking of whole kingdoms, it may fairly be questioned whether the arable part of our soil be not as productive as that of any continental state of the same dimensions. In the value of our minerals, we incalculably exceed any of them. We have the finest quarries of slate, freestone, and granite in great abundance and variety; and our mines of lead, tin, copper, coal, and iron, are to be classed among the surest sources of our wealth and grandeur. Tin is found nowhere else in Europe in considerable quantities except in Cornwall; and Cornwall and Wales alone furnish a very large proportion of the whole copper which is raised and consumed in Europe. It has been mentioned that the mines near Almeria, in Spain, have lately produced a great quantity of lead; but we still raise nearly twice as much, and considerably more than a half of what is used in this quarter of the world. To do full justice to the importance of our mines of coal and iron, would alone require a separate disquisition. The value of the iron mines in Spain is but little known; and whatever it may be, that country must always labour under great disadvantages, from the want of wood or coal to work them. The iron-stone of Sweden affords from 15 to 90 per cent. of ore, while ours seldom exceeds 12: yet, as in this country iron-stone and coal are often drawn from the same shaft, or the same neighbourhood, we are able, from that circumstance, and from our superior capital and machinery, to meet the Swedish merchants in the market, and actually produce more iron every year than the whole of our continental neighbours put together. The
number

number and excellence of our coalfields are still more important. The chief mines of coal fit for fuel, now known on the continent, are at St. Etienne, to the south-west of Lyons, and Creuzot, near Macon, in France; Sarrelodis, in the south-east part of the Prussian Rhenish provinces; from Cambray, by Mons, Namur, Liege, Dusseldorf, and Elberfeld, to Osnaburg; near Sulz in Silesia; near Pilsen and Tharandt in Saxony; near Lowositz in Bohemia; near Brunn in Moravia; near Gratz in Styria—and some in Dalmatia, but all unworked; and from Glewitz to Tarrowitz, in the south-east corner of Prussian Poland. But excepting the last, which, though hitherto little known, is supposed to be one of the finest coal-fields existing, our veins of coal are of greater extent and excellence than the whole of those which have hitherto been discovered on the Continent taken together; and, from the power we have of employing them to smelt iron, and impel steam-vessels on our seas and rivers, they are certainly more useful. To these blessings we must add the abundance and excellence of the fish which swarm all round our coasts, so much exceeding what is known in the Baltic or Mediterranean; the beauty and variety of our scenery; and the salubrity and temperateness of our climate. It is not sufficiently warm to enrich us with the vine and the olive; but in return we are neither scorched by heat, nor benumbed by cold, nor are we annoyed by the reptiles or insects which endanger life or render it uncomfortable. There is scarcely (according to the shrewd remark of Charles II.) any part of the world which is so favourable to all kinds of exertion, exercise, and labour, at all hours of the day and seasons of the year; while the infrequency of excessive rain, snow, or frost, and the abundance and goodness of our materials for making roads, secure to us a constancy, facility, and rapidity of communication between all parts of the empire, which no country can exceed, and scarcely any can expect to equal.

Among the acquired advantages of the country, the vast capital of its merchants, manufacturers, and people generally, occupies a conspicuous station. This enables them to buy and sell at the most proper moment; to sell at longer credit than their rivals; and to carry on traffic, both at home and abroad, to an extent which has hitherto defied all competition. But capital is not the only advantage which, as an industrious people, we enjoy. There is an adaptation of the different parts of society to one another, and an elasticity and pliability in the whole machine, which the union of wealth, thick population, experience, and confidence can alone produce. Many projects and undertakings of the greatest utility are easily accomplished in this country, which would be wholly impracticable any where else. We have a command of numerous and skilful

skilful labourers; a contractor or manufacturer in one line encourages and assists another; commodities of every sort can always be sold at some price or other; and waggons, stage-coaches, and steam-packets, afford the means of perpetual and speedy transportation. Such a combination of circumstances may undoubtedly be created more quickly than at first sight would be thought possible, but it has begun earlier and been carried further here than anywhere else in Europe, and constitutes one of the chief acquired advantages which we now enjoy. It can neither be produced nor sustained without confidence; and, notwithstanding the serious shocks which confidence has from time to time received, it may be safely asserted that this salutary feeling prevails nowhere, at this hour, so universally as in England.

It can rest upon nothing but the good moral and intellectual qualities of those classes by whom the chief concerns of every state are conducted, and from whom every nation derives its character and reputation. For honesty and rectitude in their transactions, attention to their pursuits and avocations, their conjugal fidelity, their observance of the Sabbath, and the benevolence and charitableness of their disposition, we believe that the character of all classes of society between the abjectly poor and the extremely opulent, stands perhaps higher than it does in any European state in an advanced stage of refinement. Whether as a whole people we can be said to possess any intellectual superiority over the north of Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, may be doubtful; but when all deductions have been made, one cannot but acknowledge that the intelligence which pervades the country is surprising. Let either a native or a stranger traverse it from east to west or from north to south, he shall hardly find a parish, even in the poorest and remotest districts, without meeting with individuals of engaging manners and cultivated understanding. In this respect we derive an advantage from our colonies, which none of the continental kingdoms can attain. As our colonial possessions are so many and far apart that the sun never sets upon them, those of us who remain at home have a peculiar interest in making ourselves familiar with the manners, customs, and resources of almost every nation upon earth; while those who have sojourned in our various dependencies, during the earlier period of life, and return to spend the evening of their days amongst us, revive our curiosity, correct our errors, and enlarge our information. In the capital, especially, where a large body of individuals are to be found, whose minds and manners have been improved by travel, and whose reading qualified by business and reflection, no person who has had the happiness of participating in their social intercourse ever returns to it from a foreign shore, without feeling, for a short time, a degree

a degree of national pride and exultation in the accomplishments and attainments of the men by whom he finds himself surrounded. It is every man's duty, according to his power and opportunities, to extend the virtues which have been now enumerated. They are the most valuable inheritance we can transmit to our posterity, and form at once the firmest foundation, the most efficient support, and the most precious ornament, of all other acquisitions.

Such being the view which presents itself to us of the state and circumstances of the country, we see nothing which precludes us from retaining, for many years to come, the lead we now take among the powers of Europe, as an agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial people. But we are also persuaded that we shall not be able to do this without a constant struggle, which every succeeding year will render more trying and severe. It is a complete delusion to imagine that the progress of improvement is indefinite, and that, if a country has once got the start of its neighbours, it must be its own fault if it is ever overtaken by them. Both reason and history indicate that there is a point at which improvement must cease; and that, though this point is in every particular instance uncertain, yet that improvement becomes slower as it advances, and every practicable amelioration must be adopted in order to prolong its continuance. This is now the case with England. Symptoms now and then appear, which look as if all were wearing out, and the present order of things were verging to one of those great changes to which all sublunary affairs are subject. But the power of renovation which our constitution possesses, forbids us to entertain so dark an apprehension. If we are to keep our place, however, it is indispensably necessary that every incumbrance should be removed which clogs the activity and energy of individuals or the government. Every part of the machine of society must be adapted to the increased exertion it is called upon to make. If this be so, every branch of our public and private economy;—the administration of the affairs of parishes and counties;—the state of charities, corporations, public schools, colleges, the law, the church, and the whole management of our foreign dependencies, must successively submit to examination and amendment. Wealthy as the country is, and attached to ancient institutions as it has always wisely been, it can no longer support the burden of places or proceedings which can be simplified or dispensed with. It is utterly impossible that every thing established by our ancestors should remain untouched for ever either in form or substance; and what Marmontel said of the Cardinal de Brienne, who was then at the head of affairs in France, '*que ce vieil enfant étoit étranger à son siècle,*' applies to many excellent individuals among

us. A civil revolution has taken place far more extensive than any which was ever brought about by conquerors or negotiators, and which promises to be far more permanent. The feudal system, from which so many of the laws and customs of every part of Europe are deduced, is everywhere undermined or overturned, and those vestiges of it which remain are only calculated to obstruct the changes which the current of events is forcing forward. While no branch of our institutions ought to be touched which can be safely let alone, there yet exists an imperative necessity for subjecting many of them to alteration; and it is the number and importance of the things which require to be altered, and the inconceivable difficulty of altering them, which must, for some time to come, render the duties of statesmen in this country, if they are adequately performed, peculiarly severe and unrelenting.

Ου χρεη παννυχιον ερδειν βηληφορον ανδρα
 'Οι λαοι τ' επιτετραπται και τοσσα μεμηλε. *Iliad.* ii. 25.

We entertain no desire to step beyond our proper sphere, or to erect ourselves into judges of those who are placed in authority over us; but we are mistaken if several affairs be not now assuming an aspect, which will demand more laborious investigation, than has for many years past been bestowed upon them. The ministers of this country live in such continual hurry, and are so oppressed with multiplicity of business, that much of it is either dispatched precipitately, turned over to inferior officers, or remains undone altogether. This is another of the matters which require to be looked to. When the wind is fair and the sea calm, the most indifferent hands may be trusted; but, if the breakers sound, or a gale approaches, the safety of the vessel as distinctly requires that able seamen should be sent aloft, as that a fearless pilot should have his station at the helm. When the situation of a state becomes really critical, when its affairs require to be effectually disentangled—it is neither to mere men of routine, nor to proficients in statistical calculation, and the metaphysics of political economy, that the wise will look. Such a service (should we ever demand it) can only be performed by statesmen who are free from that affectation and conceit which is one of the prevailing vices of the day; who are prepared to spend their health and strength in gaining a thorough knowledge of our difficulties; and who possess sufficient courage to apply to them those plain and decisive remedies, of which all mankind can comprehend the meaning and effect.

A variety of concurring circumstances seems to show that formidable difficulties must be encountered by us at no great distance; and it is a sense of duty alone which has induced us to avow the conviction

conviction which has been reluctantly forced upon us. Let the aristocracy of England—let all who have strong influence in this land, bethink them well what they are about. Let them beware of rash actions—and of rash words. Let them look before they leap.

We are well aware that many, for whose opinions we have great respect, declare that they see no reason to entertain the smallest uneasiness either about our state or our prospects. To these persons we reply, that, even if we err, excess of caution is an error not likely to do us much harm; if we should prove to be right, it will afford us satisfaction to have used our best endeavours to enable the country to surmount an apprehended pressure by preparing for it.

There are others, not less distinguished for talents and sagacity than for station and influence, who in private confess that they completely coincide with us in the views we have taken, but doubt the expediency of presenting them to the public, lest they should depress ourselves or prove encouraging to our enemies. One of the singularities of the time is an unwillingness to tell the truth, even when there is no ground for suppressing or perverting it. It is so frequently under or over-stated by most persons in this country who speak and write, according to the side they have espoused, or the inclinations and political principles of those by whom they are likely to be read or heard, that they at last persuade themselves there is a sort of impropriety in presenting facts in their proper colours. To those, therefore, who think that our condition should be concealed or disguised, we give this answer, that they may rest assured that our weak points are always perfectly known to our enemies, whether we ourselves be aware that they are so or not; and we may also add, that those enemies are a great deal more likely to be emboldened if our defects are overlooked or neglected, than if they are compelled to recognise, in our words and deeds, a vigorous resolution to examine and repair them. With respect to the effect which such an exposition may have upon ourselves, we firmly believe, that a general desire to learn the exact state of the national affairs would be the surest presage of their re-establishment. A scornful reluctance to set about mastering the state of facts—a presumptuous confidence in men's own security—and a disposition to deride and reject every admonition at all at variance with their desires and expectations, have hitherto been considered and handed down as among the most ^{le} ^{ew} signal forerunners of a national fall.

To guard against such a calamity—to promote, as far as in ^{vo} lies, the neglected virtues of simplicity, frugality, modesty, ^{late} moderation; and to induce those, to whose view these pages LAW

be submitted, to inquire, reflect, and form their own judgment on the topics to which they relate, is our sole purpose. We make no allusion here to passing events,—however important in themselves,—simply because these were not, nor could have been, in our thoughts, when we began the writing which we must now conclude. In them, no question, most of our readers will recognise additional cause for grave reflection as to the general condition and prospects of the British empire. We shall speak of these things hereafter, as calmly and as honestly as we have now done of others. We yield to none of our fellow-subjects in attachment to the monarch and the monarchy—or in reverence for that church whose *main* strength has ever lain in the purity of her doctrines, the devotion and zeal of her ministers, and the hearty adherence of the immense majority of those classes among whom much either of intelligent belief, or sincere affection of any kind, survives. We yield to none in love to our common country, or in desire to perpetuate its just renown. That it may long be pointed out as the abode of tranquillity, freedom, industry, and rural enjoyment—that its inhabitants may be adorned with every great and good qualification, and made the chosen instruments for the support and diffusion of truth, justice, and religion, is our fervent and unceasing supplication. Distinctions such as these will add lustre to our days of glory, and the preservation of them is the surest means we can adopt to arrest or avert the hour of our decline.

Notes.

NOTE I.—ON THE SWAN RIVER.

IN reference to the Article on Swan River Settlement, in the present Number, the following alterations have been made in the Colonial Office Circular, since our Article was printed off:—

Instead of 'Regulations for the Guidance,' &c., has been substituted, 'Information for the Use,' &c.

To par. 4 has been added, 'With respect to children of labouring people, under that age, (ten years,) it is proposed to allow forty acres for every such child above three years old, eighty acres for every such child above six years old, and one hundred and twenty for every such child above nine, and under ten years old.'

To par. 6 has been added, 'And in every grant will be contained a condition that, any time within ten years from the date thereof, the Government may resume, without compensation, any land not then actually cultivated or improved as before mentioned, may be required for roads, canals, or quays, or for the site of public buildings.'

NOTE

NOTE II.—ON CLAPPERTON'S JOURNEY INTO AFRICA.

In the Article of our last Number on 'Clapperton's Journey into Africa,' we attached blame to the conduct of Bello, Sultan of the Fellatas, towards that unfortunate traveller, from the treatment he experienced at his hands, as stated in the Journal. Since that was written, we have been favoured with the translation, from the Arabic, of the two following Letters, which did not appear, nor were noticed in the Journal by Clapperton, but were found by Mr. Salamé among some loose papers. In justice to the Sultan, we deem it right to give them the same degree of publicity as was given to our reflections on his conduct. The second letter is admirable, and does honour to his head and heart. It is difficult to conceive why so reasonable and friendly a letter should have failed to subdue the irritable temper of the traveller: this can only be accounted for by ill health, or supposing that he was ignorant of its contents. The conversation with the Gadado, indeed, (p. 237 of the Journal,) is to the same effect; but the state of his mind at that time was so disturbed and agitated, that he might have thought it not worth the trouble of having the letter explained to him.

No. 1.—*Translation of a Letter from Sultan Bello at Sackatú to Captain Clapperton, on his arrival at Kanó.*

'In the name of God, and praise be to God, &c. &c. To our intimate friend, the faithful to his promise, *Abd-Allah* Clapperton, Salutation be unto you.

'The object in sending this is to inform you that we have received, some time ago, your letter, and have learned your safe arrival in the territory of Kanó. We now, therefore, welcome you, through this epistle, with all the hospitality and honour we could possibly show you personally on this occasion; and may God cause us to meet you here in health and happiness, and bless us and you together.'

(Sealed as usual; no date.)

No. 2.—*Translation of a Letter from Sultan Bello to Captain Clapperton whilst at Sackatú.*

'In the name of God; and praise be to God, &c. &c.

'To *Abd-Allah* Clapperton, Salutation and esteem. You are now our guest, and a guest is always welcomed by us; you are the messenger of a king, and a king's messenger is always honoured by us; you come to us under our honour as an ambassador, and an ambassador is always protected by us. There is no harm in the king's ministers sending you to the Sheikh Kanemi of Bornou; nor do we see any harm in your coming when thus sent. But when you formerly came to us from Bornou, peace was then between us and the sheikh; whereas there is now war between him and ourselves: we cannot perceive any blame in our preventing warlike stores from being sent to him.

'We continue to maintain our faith with you, and ready to attend to all your wishes because we consider you as a trusty friend, and one who enjoys a high degree of esteem with us. Do not encroach upon us—we will not encroach upon you: we have right maintain, and you have also rights to be respected.—And salám be to you.'

(Sealed as usual; no date.)

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INDEX

TO THE

THIRTY-NINTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ABOU TALEB, Travels of, 96.
 Adams, (Amer. Pres.) 224, 225, 227.
 Adrian, (St.) miracle at the tomb of, 100.
 Affection, natural, strength of, in the winged tribe, 420—exertions made by them in feeding their young, 421.
 Afoura, granite formation at, 148.
 Africa. See *Clapperton*, and *Lander*.
 Air, discovery of the gravity of, 336.
 Alfred, (King) question of his having taken a general survey of England, 54.
 Allen, (Dr.) youthful anecdote by, of Dr. J. Parr, 259.
 America, effect on Europe of the discovery of, 478.
 Anastasius of Mr. T. Hope, 77.
 Anselm, (Archbishop) remonstrance of, against severe discipline in schools, 101.
 Antiquary, character of, lauded, 360.
 Ant-hills, African, their immense height, 161.
 Archimedes, his discoveries in mechanical philosophy, 432.
 Assoula and Assulah, walled towns of Africa, 149.
 Australian colonies. See *Swan River New Settlement*.
 Authors, character of those of the present day, 498.
 Badcock, (Mr.) writer of the Bampton lectures, 271.
 Badagry, African town, 145.
 Bamborough Castle, the most useful and munificent of all our eleemosynary institutions, 399.
 Bampton lectures of Dr. White, account of the, 271.
 Bank of England, delusion respecting the powers and functions of the directors, 469—if the notes of, were all withdrawn, it would probably have no permanent effect on the price of commodities, 470.
 Banks, (Sir Jos.) 175.
 Barnes, (Rich., Bp.) account of, 377.
 Barrington, (Bishop) 405.
 Barrow, (Dr. Isaac) study of, recommended to young theologians, 289.
 Bathurst, (Lord) 166.
 Bauza, African town, supposed unhealthy, 145.
 Beaumont, (Lewis, Bp.) character of, 370 371.
 Beke, (Antony, Bp.) account and character of, 368.
 Belgium, newly erected kingdom of, 489.
 Bell, (Rev. Andrew) Elements of Tuition, 99.
 Benin, 178.
 Bello, (Sultan) 163, 165, 166, 169—translation of two excellent letters from, to Capt. Clapperton, 521.
 Bennet, (Dr., Bp. of Cloyne) 256—school-fellow and friend of Dr. S. Parr, 259—deemed Parr no politician, 300.
 Bentley, (Richard) spirited sketch of, 284.
 Beroulli, (John) 442.
 Birds, pleasures derivable from, 418.
 Birmingham, dinner at, in commemoration of the taking of the Bastille, 280—second dinner prevented by the forcible appeal of Dr. Parr, in a printed address to the dissenters of that town, *ibid*.
 Blake versus Leigh, 189.
 Black-book, or Vetus Codex, 61.
 Bonon, university of, 7, 9.
 Botany, how it ought to be studied, 409.
 Boussa, where Mungo Park died, how situated, 157.
 Boy of Bilson, imposture of, detected, 383.
 Brabant, (John) tradition respecting, 389.
 Brussels, number of books printed at, 5—number of English, and cheapness of living there, 6.
 Buck, (Sir Will.) 128, note.
 Burke, (Edm.) 300, 485, 507.
 Bury, (Rich., Bp.) account of, 371.
 Butler, (Bishop) Dr. Parr an imitator of, 292—his character and talents, 402—that he died in the communion of the church of Rome proved to be slanderous, 405.
 Butler, (Dr.) preaches Dr. Parr's funeral sermon, 298.
 Butler versus Freeman, 189.
 Canada, evils arising from its house of assembly, 342, 344.
 Cannibals, supposed African race of, 174.
 Canning, (Stratford) 235, 236.
 Cape of Good Hope, grant of a representative government to, indiscreet, 342.
 Capo d'Istria, 5.

- Chancellor, salary and functions of, in the early periods of our history, 48, 49.
- Chancery, court of, what originally, 48—hand-writing and arrangement of the old rolls of, 51—jurisdiction of, depriving a father of the custody of his children, 183—instances of the first exercise of this jurisdiction in the early part of the last century, 188—instances of its exercise by lord Hardwicke, 189—by lord Thurlow, 190—acted upon by the lords commissioners of the great seal, judges Ayre, Ashhurst, and Wilson, 191—by lord Erskine, 193—by lord Eldon, *ibid.* 194—by the House of Lords, 197—reasonings showing the jurisdiction to be now established, *ibid.* 198, 199—question of the propriety and policy of admitting such a jurisdiction argued, 200—jurisprudence of the Romans favourable to the principle, 202—sentiments of Archdeacon Paley, 203—of Locke, *ibid.*—objection, that it invades the sacred relations of private life, answered, 205—argument, from the unfitness of judges to superintend the education of infants, shown to be invalid, 207—211—weakness of the plea, that the jurisdiction may be made the instrument of private revenge, 212—limited nature of the jurisdiction no sufficient objection against it, 213—the extension of it desirable, but not practicable, *ibid.*—benefits accruing from it to society, 214.
- Charlemagne, (Emp.) skull exhibited as his, 6.
- Châtelet, Madame de, 435.
- Chatham, (first Lord) his Letters to Lord Camelford, 482.
- Chesterfield, (Lord) manners of the age exemplified in his own person, 482.
- Chiadoo, its population, 148.
- Chichester, (Sir J.) 172.
- Christianus, letter on the University of London, 100.
- Clapperton, (Capt.) Journal of a second expedition into the interior of Africa, 143—origin of the expedition, and names of the persons associated in it, 144—arrives off Whidah, where one of the part-lands, and after proceeding to Youri is no more heard of, 145—the captain commences his journey from Badagry, *ibid.*—arrives at Bauza, *ibid.*—is seized with fever and ague from sleeping in the open air, *ibid.*—death of Captain Pearce and one of the servants at Janna, 146—several towns visited by Clapperton described, 148—quits Duffoo, *ibid.*—beautiful mountain between Erawa and Chaki, 149—other towns visited by the traveller, *ibid.*—quits Tshou, and arrives at Katunga 150—question of ceremonials, 151—entertainments, *ibid.*—Katunga described, 152—is not allowed to visit the Quorra or supposed Niger, 153—arrives at Kiama, *ibid.*—conduct of Yarro, the sultan, *ibid.* 154—Houssa caravans, *ibid.*—arrives at Wawa, *ibid.*—account given him of the death of Mungo Park, 155—is beset by a widow, who wanted to marry him, *ibid.* 156—lax morals of the inhabitants, 157—further statements respecting Mungo Park, *ibid.* 159—again annoyed by the widow, and his baggage detained on her account, 160—Kollu described, 161—at Zarta meets his old friend Hadji Hat Sala, 162—and at Jaza his old friend the Gadado, *ibid.*—is robbed of his journal and remark book, which occasions an hiatus in his narrative, *ibid.*—describes the lakes near Zurmie, *ibid.*—how received by the Sultan Bello, who is encamped before Coonia, 163—curious assault of this city, *ibid.* 164—arrival and stay at Soccatoo, 165—his spirits broken by the manner in which he was treated there, 166—attacked with dysentery, *ibid.*—his last instructions to his servant Lander, 167—his death, 168—particulars of his family and history, *ibid.* note—his burial, 169—African geography greatly indebted to him, 177—Additional Note, letters of Sultan Bello to, 521.
- Clerks, use of in the early periods of our history, 46.
- Colchester, (Lord) devised the record commission, 66.
- Collings, (Col.) journal of, 340.
- Collet, (John) his scheme of tuition, 113.
- Combe, (Dr.) his controversy with Parr, 283.
- Comparative view of the social life of England and France, 475.
- Constantine, brother of the Emperor Nicholas, reform supposed to be effected in his character, 14.
- Cuckoo, singular proceeding of, in dropping its eggs into the nests of other birds, 427.
- Coonia, capital of Goober, curious assault on, 163.
- Cooper, (Dr.) 245.
- Co-ordinates, 441—axes of, *ibid.*—differentials of, *ibid.*
- Copleston, (Dr.) 256.
- Coralline basis of rocks, errors respecting corrected, 411.
- Cosin, (John, Bp.) detailed account of, 390—395.
- Country. See *State and Prospects of the*.
- Cramboi, game of, introduced into a grammar school, 122.
- Crewe, (Nat. Lord, Bp.) account of, 395—
anecdote

- anecdote respecting the monument of his second wife, 398—Bamborough Castle, the produce of the forfeited estates of his brother, *ibid.*
- Criticism, Parr and Johnson, on the subject of, compared, 285.
- Cruise *versus* Orby Hunter, 191.
- Cumin, (William, Bp.) obtains the diocese of Durham by intrigue, 366.
- Crusades had little effect on the character and properties of society, 476.
- Currency, paper and metallic, pamphlets on the subject of, 451—argument of those who advocate a paper currency not convertible into cash, from the prosperity of the country during the late suspension of cash payments, examined, 452—effect of a depreciated currency, from its slowness, not comprehended by the superficial observer, 454—from the diminished value of the pound note, the return to a metallic standard indispensable, 455—the occupying farmers the greatest sufferers by this return, 456—instance of a gentleman deducting a fourth portion of his rent, from a sense of justice in this case, 457—contrary conduct in a noble economist, 458—a still more striking instance of hard conduct in a landlord, 459—persons whose fortunes are benefited by the measure, 462—alarm of the “Scotch banker” from the effects of the final suppression of the one-pound notes, 462—prophecy of Mr. W. Cobbett on the subject proved already to be false, 463—the extinction of the small paper money as beneficial to bankers as to other classes, *ibid.*—mistakes of Mr. Ricardo and the bullionists respecting the effect on the value of commodities by the return to the metallic standard, 464—mistake of Sir James Graham as to issues of the bank and paper circulation regulating the price of wheat, 467—table of the issues of bank notes, and the prices of wheat from 1810 to 1819, 468—mistake as to what constitutes the circulating medium of the country, 470—the real inconvenience of a one-pound note circulation is its tendency to increase the fluctuations consequent upon panics, 472—an adequate supply of the precious metals indispensable to perform the functions of a circulating medium, 474.
- Dagwos, large African town, 145.
- D'Alembert, 442.
- Dance, African, 148.
- Darling, (General) 318—chain of mountains called from his name, 319.
- Defand, (Madame du) comparative view of the social life of England and France, by the editor of the *Lettres* of, 475.
- De Manneville, *versus* De Manneville, 191.
- Demidoff, (Mons.) vast wealth acquired by, from the Russian gold mines, 25.
- Descartes, 435.
- Diplomacy, court, reflections on, 89.
- Dog, character of the, 417.
- Dogbane, a plant destructive to insects, 413.
- Donaldson, (Mr.) paper on the cultivation of tobacco in Australian colonies, 334.
- Doomsday, record of, 53, 54, 56—Exon doomsday, 55, note—doomsday of Edward I., 57—of North Wales, under Edward III., 58.
- Dudley, (Lord) 240.
- Duffoo, African town, 148.
- Durham, history and antiquities of the county palatine of, by Robert Surtees, Esq. 360—fitness of the author for his undertaking, 361—ancient state of Durham, *ibid.*—humble origin of its diocese, 362—the diocese divided, and Lindisfarne erected into a separate see, *ibid.*—suffering from the invasion of the Danes, the bishop and his monks bearing with them the body of the late Bishop St. Cuthbert, wander to Chester-le-street, and there lay the foundation of a new cathedral, *ibid.*—after a rest of 113 years, this wonder-working body renews its travels, and directs the course of his devotees to Dunholme to erect there a church that was to be permanent, 363—the miracle is performed, the church built, and a city grows around it, *ibid.*—the possessions of the see enlarged by presents from northern chiefs, and from King Canute, 364—state of Durham under its diocesan Egelwin, *ibid.*—union of the civil and ecclesiastical power on the accession to the see of Walcher, 365—building of the present cathedral commenced, *ibid.*—(For an account of the subsequent bishops, see their respective names.)—The inhabitants petition successfully Charles II. for the restoration of the liberties and privileges belonging to the county palatine, of which it had been deprived by the Cromwells, 390—court of wards in the diocese abolished, 401—the freeholders obtain the privilege of sending representatives to parliament for the county and city, 402—question, whether more good would have resulted from sequestering the possessions of this diocese, than is now dispensed by it, 405.
- Dyer, (Mr.) difference between schools and universities pointed out by, 127.

- East Indies, practical utility of the invasion of, by the Russians, *examined*, 35—effect of the first discovery of a passage to, by the Cape of Good Hope, 478.
- Eau de Cologne, receipt for making, 7.
- Edinburgh, hit at the young craniologists of, 6.
- Egerton, (Bishop) 405.
- Eldon, (John, Lord) his decision in the case of Percy Bysshe Shelley, 193—in the case of T. L. Wellesley, 195.
- Embleton, hamlet of, described, 375.
- Emmadoo, beautiful access to it, 148.
- Ensookosoo, 149.
- Ermanilda, (St.) supposed miracle by, 101.
- Erskine, (Thomas, Lord) 193.
- Europe, improvements that have taken place in its communications, 490—consequent increase of travellers, 492—increase of education and knowledge in, 494—education and reading, among the lower orders, pushed too far, *ibid.*—progress of education and reading among the higher orders, 495—periodical publications and other writings of, 497—authors of, 498—improvement in the outward condition of all ranks of society in, 499—increase of the population of, 500—improvement of the several continental towns in manufactures, 505.
- Evans, (Lieut.-Col. de Lacy) on the designs of Russia, 1—miseries anticipated by him, from the capital of Turkey falling into the hands of the Russian autocrat, 30—prescribes as a remedy an armed intervention, 32.
- Exchequer, what originally, 48—form and writing of the rolls of, 53.
- Eyre *versus* Countess of Shaftesbury, 188.
- Fagging, custom of, in great schools, reprehended, 142.
- Family Library, No. I. of the, 475.
- Farmer, (Dr R.) character of, 260.
- Fellatahs, 149, 150, 158, 159, 162, 180.
- Fernando Po, advantages to be expected from the English settlement at, 181—183.
- Fischer, botanical professor at Petersburg, 26.
- Fitzherbert, (Judge) 184.
- Flambard, (Ralph, Bishop) character of, 365.
- Flowers, observations on, 412.
- Fluxional calculus, discovery of, 439.
- Folkmoths, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, meaning of, 45.
- Forcé, pairs of, 444—composition of, 446—theory of central, 448.
- Fordham, (Bishop) 372.
- Foster, (Dr.) 264.
- Fox, (Rev. Mr.) 129.
- Fox, (Richard, Bishop) account of, 373.
- Fraser, (Mr.) 317, 332.
- Fredegunda, striking instance of her patriotism, 54.
- French revolution, brief account of, 484.
- Fullindughee, 175.
- Gabriel, (Dr.) 272.
- Galilee, derivation of the word, 373.
- Galileo, physical science in what respect indebted to him, 434, 435, 436.
- Gallatin, (Mr.) 228, 239.
- Geography, African, elucidations of, 177—181.
- Germany, universities of, hives of sedition and turbulence, 8.
- Gerrald, (Joseph) sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, letter of Dr. Parr to, 281.
- Ghent, university of, 4—treaty of, 184.
- Glow-worm described, 430.
- Graham, (Sir James) corn and currency, 451.
- Granville, (Dr. A. B.) journal of travels to and from Petersburg, 1—his reasons for travelling, 2—is no judge of paintings, 4—mistakes the Netherlands proper for the whole kingdom of William I., 5—in his account of Petersburg and the Russians borrows largely from Capt. Jones, 14.
- Great Britain, increase of wealth and power in, 33—colonies originating in, superior to those of any other nation, 215—the settlements of Spain and Portugal cited in proof, *ibid.*—further proof in the colonies of America, while under the dominion of the parent state, 216—commercial negotiations of, with the United States. (See *United States*.) Effect of the revival of learning on, 477—effect on, of the invention of printing, *ibid.*—its spirit of inquiry and enterprise urged on by the discovery of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope and of the existence of the continent of America, 478—effect of the rise and progress of the reformation on, 479—effect of the civil wars on, 480—revolt of the American colonies, 482—changes produced on, and on Europe, by the French revolution, 484—by the return of peace, 487—improvement in the condition of all ranks of its inhabitants, 499—foundation on which its present greatness rests, in appearance somewhat insecure, 504—its public debt, 507—its poor-rates, 509—its redundant population, 510—extravagant notions strengthened or engendered by the prosperity of the last thirty years, 512—value

- value of its local position, 513—value and variety of the products of its soil, 514—its minerals, *ibid.*—its coal-fields, *ibid.*—its fisheries, 515—capital of its merchants, *ibid.*—how its pre-eminence among the powers of Europe is to be upheld, 517.
- Great rolls, period of their commencement, 49—original intention of, 50.
- Great seal, its first attachment to statutes, 47—that of William the Conqueror described, *ibid.*
- Green, (Ellinor) punished for abuse of her minister, 382.
- Greig, (Admiral) naval anecdote of, 32.
- Hajji Baba in England, adventures of, 73—in what respect superior to all other works of the kind, 75—may be termed the oriental Gil Blas, *ibid.*—compared with Mr. Hope's Anastasius, 77—account of the work, 80—compared with the travels of Abou Taleb, 96.
- Hall, (Hon. Judge) Letters from the West, containing sketches, &c., connected with the first settlements of the western sections of the United States, 345—his Honour's motives for visiting these sections, *ibid.*—extent of his excursion, reaching only from Pittsburgh to Shawnee Town, 346—frivolous nature of his remarks, *ibid.*—has no taste for antiquities, and no talent for observation, *ibid.*—sample of his poetic power, 347—puzzles his intellects in vain to discover the derivation of the word *chute*, *ibid.*—specimens of his wit and facetiousness, *ibid.*—his gallantry, 348—his work a silly book, stuffed with boyish levities, *ibid.*—evinces his sense of justice and humanity by the manner in which he speaks of the first settlers, and lauds, as it were, their butchery of the Indians, 349—consoles them with the curious idea, that, if not *born*, they are *bred* to freedom, 350—describes Lynch's law, once the *lex loci* of the frontiers, 351—his ludicrous description of Coalhill, *ibid.*—and of Shawnee Town, 352—considers the numerous graves, and the prevalence of miasma, as no proof of the unhealthiness of the climate, 353—gives a wretched picture of those who are flocking to this pestiferous western country, while he means to depict it as a paradise, 354—says that much may be obtained with little; and then, that it is all labour, labour, labour, and the emigrant had better have stayed at home, 355—cause of his indignation at the Edinburgh Review, *ibid.*—and at the Quarterly, 356—in witty strains, vaunts the superiority of the American soldier and sailor to the English, 356—with his usual blundering, shews, unintentionally, that the vice of all democracies is neglect, indifference, and ingratitude towards those who have done them best service, 358—the fates of General Neville and General St. Clair cited as American proofs of this, *ibid.*—probable fate of our Honourable Judge, in his new western Birmingham, predicted from the value of his work, 359.
- Hamilton, (Major) 244.
- Hardcastle, (Daniel) letters on currency, 451.
- Haselrigge, (Sir Arthur, Bishop) account of, 397.
- Hatfield, (Thomas, Bishop) places built and founded by, 372.
- Hardcastle, (Dan.) Letters on Currency, 451.
- Heath, (Dr. Benjamin) chosen head master of Harrow School, in opposition to Parr, 363.
- Hedge-sparrow, manners and habits of, 418.
- Henry, (Prince) story of his retiring to the rock of Sagres, 478.
- Hertford, (Lord) refuses to place Parr in the commission of the peace, 268.
- History, local, value of, 360.
- Holland, (Lord) talked of any thing but politics with Dr. Parr, 300.
- Hoadly, (Sam., Bishop) 108.
- Homer, (Mr.) letters from Dr. Parr to, 271, 278.
- Hopkins, (Mr.) petition of, as to the custody of his wards, 188.
- Houssa caravans, 154.
- Houston, (Mr.) 146—dies at Cape Coast, 153.
- Hubert, (Archbishop of Canterbury) 54.
- Hurd, (Bishop) Dr. Parr's conduct towards, reprobated, 275.
- Hutchinson, (late Governor,) a journal by, kept with great accuracy from day to day, likely to appear, 301.
- Hutton, (Matt., Bishop) his zeal in behalf of Lady Margaret Nevill, when condemned to die, 378.
- Jackson, (Maj.-Gen., now President of the United States) account of his heretofore conduct at New Orleans, 357, note.
- Jamaica, present precarious situation of, 343.
- James, (Dr., Bishop of Calcutta) 19, 34.
- James, (Bishop of Durham) character of, 380—pretended cause of his death, *ibid.*
- Jannah, account of, and of its inhabitants, 146, 147.
- Jay, (Mr.) 219.

- Jefferson, (American President) 221.
 Ingulphus, (Abbot) 54.
 Johnson, (Colonel) 49.
 Johnson, (Dr. Samuel) high commendation of, by Dr. Parr, 278.
 Johnstone, (John, M.D.) works of Dr. S. Parr edited by, 255—account of himself in executing the task, 258—a better arrangement desirable, in case of a second edition, 296—his account of his friend's last illness, 299.
 Jones, (Captain) anecdote by, of a Russian court dinner, 28.
 Jones, (Sir W.) friend and schoelfellow of Dr. S. Parr, 259—character by, of Dr. Sumner, 262—letter to Parr, on hearing of his intention to publish a sermon, 264—another letter to the same, 'fraught with sentences of gold,' 267.
 Joplin, (T.) Views on the Currency, 451.
 Journal of a Naturalist, 406—calculated to excite curiosity, and lead to the study of natural history, *ibid.*—may be placed in the boudoir of every lady, and ought to find its way into every rural drawing-room, 407—the author is a lover of animals, and the manner in which he pleads their cause is delightful, 415—sees in every thing the ways and workings of Providence, and a portion of this enjoyment cannot fail to be communicated to those who read his work, 431.
 Judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, origin and functions of, 48.
 Karilaph, (William de, Bp. of Durham) building of the present Cathedral commenced by, 365.
 Katunga, capital of Yourriba, 150, 152.
 Kellow, (Richard, Bp.) account of, 370.
 Kirghis, (the) desert of, 36.
 Kiama, city of Borgho, 153.
 King's College, projected one, for the Metropolis, 123—desirable, that the school, to form a part of it, should be conducted on the system of Dr. Bell, *ibid.*—Young men to undergo a public examination previous to admission, 124—such institutions have in all times been wanted, 125—no danger from them of the people being educated too much, 126—desirable in other parts of England as well as in London, 127—50,000*l.* offered by a lady towards establishing one in Yorkshire, *ibid.*; note; 389—King's College not formed in imitation of the London University, but in opposition to it, 135-137—unjustly aspersed, 136—the present time favourable for such an establishment, *ibid.*—the school of the college the most important part of the design, 141—the Gresham lectureships recommended to be transferred to it, *ibid.*—benefits likely to arise from the rivalry of the two colleges, 143.
 King, (Mr.) 237, 239.
 Koosoo, African town, 149.
 Koulfu, described, 161.
 Kuzailbash, romance, commendatory mention of, 96, 98.
 Laing, (Major) letters by, shortly previous to his death, 171—documents proving his death to have been by assassination, 172, 173—further account of his death, 176.
 Land-boc, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, meaning of, 44.
 Land-tax Commissioners Act, length of when enrolled, 45.
 Lander, (Richard, servant to Capt. Clapperton) Journal from Kamo to the Sea-Coast, 143—his account of the sickness, and death and burial of his master, 160-168—describes his own feelings and desolate situation, 169—conduct of the Sultan Bello to, *ibid.*—at Damoy, is told of a race of cannibals, 174—describes the inhabitants of Fullindushee, 175—supposes the plain of Cuttup to contain nearly 500 villages, 175—is seized at Dunrora and obliged to return to the King of Zegzeg, *ibid.*—his kind reception by the old King of Wawa, *ibid.*—receives from him particulars of the death of Major Laing, 176—at Badagry had nearly been destroyed by three Portuguese slave-merchants, *ibid.*—submits to the Fetish ordeal, 177—kindly taken from Badagry by Captain Morris, and conducted to Cape Coast, *ibid.*—gives freedom to his slaves, and embarks for England, *ibid.*
 Langley, (Bp.) 372.
 Latimer, (Hugh) first encourager of education in the higher orders of society, 105.
 Learning, effect of the revival of, 477.
 Lee Roo, 74.
 Legislative Assembly, an improper grant to a colony, 342.
 Leibnitz, 435.
 Leipzig fair, 12.
 Luch's law, as once practised in the back settlements of the United States, 351.
 Lily, (William) excellence of his grammar, and method of teaching, 109.
 Lime-kiln, singular narrative of a man miserably burnt while sleeping on one, 412.
 Livonia, population of, 13.
 Locke, (John) 203.
 Lockman, (John) tale of a vizier, 99.
 Louis XIV., period of his reign characterized, 481.
 Lowth, (Bishop) gives Parr a prebend in St. Paul's, 268.

- Lloyd, (Dr. Barthol., Professor) Elementary Treatise of Mechanical Philosophy, for the use of the students of the University of Dublin, 432—commendation of the work, 444—the style in one or two instances needlessly prolix, 447—the general theory of the curvilinear motion elegantly unfolded, and his mode of treating the subject worthy the attention of the mathematical student, 448—a point or two suggested, in which the work, it is deemed, might be improved, 450—further encomium on, 451.
- Lynes, (Rev. John) Dr. Parr married to his sister, 298.
- Lyons versus Blenkin, 193.
- Madison, (Amer. Pres.) 223, 224, 225.
- Maddox, (Thomas) ascribes the origin of the Court of Chancery to the Normans, 49.
- Maitland, (Sir Tho.) 5.
- Maltby, (Dr.) 287.
- Mallet, (Sir Alex.) Account of the System of Fagging, 100.
- Marsingale, (Jane) first wife of Dr. S. Parr, 263.
- Masters in Chancery, origin of, 46, note.
- Material point, term in physical science, 440.
- Mathew, (Toby, Bp.) character of, 378—and of his wife, 379.
- Metaphysics, out of place in the pulpit, 238.
- Meyendorf, (Baron) state of the country from Orenberg to Bokhara described by, 36.
- Middleton, (Gilbert) a Northumberland gentleman and freebooter, 370.
- Migration of birds, 425, 428.
- Milton, 112.
- Mole, fur and flesh of the, 417.
- Monro, (Mr.) 221, 228.
- Montesquieu, saying of, respecting his son, 482.
- Moraviev, (Capt.) 36.
- Moreland, (Sir Thomas) 5.
- Morier, (Mr.) effect of his novels on the Persian court, 78, 79.
- Morison, (Dr.) accompanies Clapperton, 145—dies at Jannah, 146.
- Morton, (Bp.) character of, 382, 383—nearly torn to pieces by the mob, in his way to the House of Lords, 384—kindness of Sir Henry Vane to him in his poverty, 345—taken into the family of Sir Henry Yelverton, 386—his death and epitaph, *ibid.*
- Motion, curvilinear, 437—rectilinear, 440.
- Musket, (Rob.) effect of the Issues of the Bank of England, 451.
- Napoleon Buonaparte, life of, in the Family Library, No. I., 475.
- Nariskin, grand Russian huntsman, anecdote of, 28.
- Nations, review of the events of a nation salutary, like the review of a man's life, 476.—See *State and Prospects of the Country*.
- Natural history, pleasures to be derived from the study of, 407—the excursions of the naturalist a constant scene of observation and remark, 414.
- Neile, (Bp.) character of, 381.
- Netherlands, great improvements in, 5—character of the present sovereign of, 12.
- Neville, (Gen.) account of, 358.
- Newton, (Sir Isaac) problem of statics reduced by him to a single principle, 437.
- North, (Lord) 301.
- Novels, books of travels, and memoirs, character of those of the present day, 497.
- Nurse, an old picturesque one in Africa described, 164.
- Note in reference to Swan River, 520.
- Note relating to "Clapperton's Journey into Africa," in No 77, 521.
- Oak, two distinct species of, in England, 22.
- Ostend, Dr. Granville's vaunting account of, 3.
- Ouseley, (Sir W.) 35.
- Paley, (Archdeacon W.) 112.
- Parliament, many documents respecting, lost, 61—ancient election of knights and burgesses to, 62.
- Parnell, (Sir Hen.) Observations on Paper Money, Banking and Overtrading, 451.
- Parr, (Frank) 263.
- Parr, (Dr. Sam.) a severe disciplinarian, 109—collected works of, 255—his character difficult to decypher from the heterogeneous nature of his mind, *ibid.*—several works suggested to him for which he was eminently qualified, 256—his birth, parentage, and early years, 258—his school-fellows, 259—quits his father's profession, and is admitted of Emanuel College, Cambridge, 260—on the death of his father, obliged, from narrow circumstances, to quit his college, 261—becomes assistant at Harrow school to Dr. Sumner, *ibid.*—takes Deacon's orders, *ibid.*—ardency of his attachment to his cousin Frank, *ibid.*—on the death of Dr. Sumner, becomes a candidate for the head mastership of Harrow, 263—failing in this, throws up his situation of assistant, and sets up a school at Stanmore, *ibid.*—marries, *ibid.*—gives up his establishment at Stanmore, and accepts the mastership of an endowed school at Colchester, 264—his handwriting so bad, as scarcely to be decyphered, *ibid.*—after being in troubled

- troubled waters at Colchester, is elected to the school at Norwich, 266—ventures here on his first publication, and obtained his first preferment, the living of Asterby, 267—exchanges it for the perpetual curacy of Hatton, *ibid.*—obtains a prebend in St. Paul's, 268—while at Norwich, compelled from absolute necessity to sell his copy of Stephens's Greek Thesaurus, *ibid.*—his account of Hatton, where he resides, having quitted Norwich, *ibid.*—applies twice to be in the commission of the peace, and is twice disappointed, *ibid.*—his preface to a new edition of Bellen-denus characterised, 269—his own self-complacency as to the merit of this work, 270—his concern in the Bampton Lectures, 271—his republication of the Tracts by Walfurton, 274—supposed motive of his spleen to Hurd, as displayed in this work, 276—his admirable tribute to the memory of Warburton and Johnson, 277—his hopes of promotion from a regency on the illness of the King, 278—his address to the Dissenters of Birmingham, 280—his letter to Mr. Joseph Gerrald, his quondam pupil, sentenced to fourteen years transportation, 281—his controversy with Dr. Coombe, 282—his enmities hasty, but not durable, 284—his admirable character of the critic Bentley, *ibid.*—compared, as to matter and style, with Johnson, 285—one of the head dupes by what he afterwards called the 'great and impudent' forgery of the *Irlands*, 286—his Spital Sermon, 287—character of his sermons, 290—296—death of his unmarried daughter, of his wife, and of his married daughter, 297—enters a second time into the married state, 298—admits his two granddaughters into his family as his own children, *ibid.*—particulars of his illness, his conduct under it, and his death, *ibid.*, 299—neither qualified for a politician nor deemed so by his friends, 300—instances of inconsistency in him enumerated, 301—305—his love and practice of benevolence, the result of this, 306—the quality of mercy in him in one sense strained, *ibid.*—other instances of an inconsistent spirit in him, 307—his extreme fondness for church bells, 308, note—his style, 309—character of, as a scholar, 310—his Latin epitaphs, *ibid.*—his Greek attainments, 311—summary of his character, 312.
- Pascoe, African interpreter to Belzoni and to Clapperton, 146.
- Pearce, (Capt.) accompanies Clapperton, 144—his death, 146.
- Persians, character of, 75—sample of the encomiastic style of writing, 80—supposed reasonings of an envoy of, on witnessing the ceremonial of an English dinner, 83—at the sight of English furniture, 84—at the simple manners and appearance of the head directors of the India House, 85—ideas entertained by, of a court audience, 86—questions asked by him, on visiting a college library, 92—on viewing the paintings in the old palace of Holyrood, *ibid.*—fancied picture of Persian courtship, 93—sketch of a Persian cavalier, 97—Persian taste likely to be improved by the introduction of English literature, 98.
- Peters, (Hugh) 42.
- Petersburg, entrance to, from Strelina, 13—speedy passage to, from London, in a steam-boat, *ibid.*, note—average of the mortality of, 17—its buildings, 19—admiralty, 21—palace of the *État Major*, 23—Museums, 24—Hôtel des Mines, *ibid.*—botanical garden, 25—church of St. Isaac, 26.
- Periodical publications, how far useful, 496.
- Phelan (Dr.) 137.
- Pilkington (Bp.) account of, 376.
- Pillans, (James, Professor of Humanity in the University of Edinburgh) Principles of elementary teaching, 99—character of the work, 114—complains of the neglect of the parochial schools of Scotland, *ibid.*—recommends higher salaries and better teachers, 115—commends the viva voce plan of instruction practised in the Edinburgh sessional schools by Mr. Wood, 116—his own plan of instruction detailed, 117—in what respect not commendable, 119—neglects speaking of the merits of Dr. Bell, whose system he follows, 120.
- Pinkney, (Mr.) 221.
- Pitt, (William) characters of, as drawn by Dr. Parr, 301, 302.
- Poictou, (Philip of, Bp.) 367.
- Poland, partition of, 483.
- Portugal, poor state of the colonies of, 215.
- Potter, (John Phillips) letter on systems of education, 100.
- Powell *versus* Cleaver, 190.
- Priestley, (Dr.) 257.
- Printing, benefits to society from the discovery of, 478.
- Prostration, court ceremony of, in Africa, 151.
- Prynne, (William) merit of his labours, as keeper of the records in the Tower, 65.
- Public opinion, rise, progress, and present state of, in Great Britain and other parts of the world, 475—its supposed author, 503—contains many curious speculations and valuable facts, *ibid.*
- Pudsey, (Hugh, Bp.) account of, 366.

- Quorra, African river, held in mystery from its being supposed to be the Niger, 153—question of its being the Niger negatively set at rest by Denham and Clapperton, 177—question as to its identity with the Shary, examined, 178—180.
- Ram, (James) observations on the natural right of a father to the custody of his children, 183.
- Raven, singular faculty of, by which it obtains at a distance intimation of food, 422.
- Red-book of the Exchequer, 64.
- Reformation, chapels and chantries in Durham swept away by, 375, 376—beneficial results of, 479.
- Rennell, (Major) commendatory mention of, 179—his opinion as to the course of the Quorra, 180, note.
- Robin, manners and habits of the, 419.
- Rolls or records of early history: the great, or pipe rolls, 49—rolls of the Chancery, 50—rolls of the Exchequer, and courts of justice, 51—charter and patent rolls, 52—close rolls, *ibid.*, 61—rolls of France, Rome, and Almain, 53—the *liberate* rolls, *ibid.*—Norman and Gascon roll, *ibid.*—rolls of Parliament, 60—many parliamentary documents lost by neglect, 61.
- Romans, excellence of their roads, and expedition with which they travelled, 490.
- Rook, the common, erroneously described by Linnæus as a corn-gathering bird, 423.
- Rush, (Mr.) 225, 227, 229, 237.
- Russia, a few words on our relations with, 1—on the designs of, *ibid.*—traits of the present Emperor, 15—of the empress mother, 16—institutions for female education superintended or established by her, 17—state of its navy, 22—estimate of its army, 23, 24—mistaken result of its possessing Constantinople, 30—its power of aggression weakened by extension of territory, 33, 34—question of its invading India examined, 35—disastrous result of its Turkish invasion, 41—the last power to which Poland should have been added, 487.
- Saint Clair, (Gen.) account of, 358.
- Salamé, (Mr.) 159, note.
- Scholastic education, severe discipline of, in monastic institutions, 100—remonstrance of Archbishop Anselm against this, 101—the practice an abuse of power, 103—cruelty of, as described by Ravisius Textor, 104—as described by Erasmus, 106—whipping boys instituted to save the backs of courtly dunces, 107—period of the mitigation of scholastic severity, *ibid.*—why retained longest in charity schools, *ibid.*—Dr. Parr, the last learned schoolmaster, professedly an amateur of the rod, *ibid.*—system of education established in all grammar-schools by Henry VIII., 110—Lilly's Grammar, and method of teaching, *ibid.*, 123—Grammar of William Haines, 111—Eton Grammar, *ibid.*—Westminster, *ibid.*—Christ's Hospital, *ibid.*—Wesley's, *ibid.*—curious critical Latin grammar, 112—defects of the present mode of scholastic education, 113, 140—great evil of great schools, *ibid.*—system of Dr. Bell, 114, 120, 121—of Mr. Wood, master of the sessional school at Edinburgh, 116—of Professor Pillans, 117—founding of grammar-schools, one of the means of effecting the Reformation, 124—benefits arising from general education, 126, 138.
- Scotch baker, 184.
- Sea-sickness, Ludanum a remedy against, 3.
- Scotch Banker, 451.
- Secker, (Archbishop) 405.
- Sever, (Bishop) poisoned by his servant, 374.
- Shelley (Percy Bysshe) *versus* Westbrook, 193, 200, 210.
- Shiel, (Mr.) 135.
- Sierra Leone, described as a pestiferous charnel-house, 181—abandoned as a naval station, 182.
- Skirlawe, (Bishop) 372.
- Snapdragon, the great, an insect trap, 413.
- Snow, remarkable fall of, in the North of England, in 1614, 380.
- Snowdrop described, 414.
- Soccatoo, 165.
- Society, rude and civilized, contrasted, 74—authors who have availed themselves of such contrasts, *ibid.*
- Spain, poor state of the colonies of, 215.
- Sparrow, the house, a benefactor as well as plunderer, 424.
- Spital Sermon, by Dr. Parr, critical examination of, 287.
- Starling, habits and manners of the, 423.
- State and Prospects of the Country, 475—necessity and advantages of a comprehensive survey of our situation, individually and nationally, 475, 476—brief review of the causes of the moral and political changes in modern Europe, 476—revival of classical learning, 477—how first regarded, *ibid.*—invention of printing, 477, 478—discovery of a passage to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, 478—interest felt in the proceedings of Vasco de Gama, *ibid.*—voyage of Columbus, 479—the Reformation, *ibid.*—fruitless attempts of the Catholics to extirpate Protestantism, 479, 480—

480—civil wars of England, 480—extension of the principles of rational freedom in this country, 480, 481—conduct of the French and of Louis XIV. contrasted with the proceedings in England, 481—consequences of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, *ibid.*—gradual improvements in society, 482—the aristocracy of Europe at the zenith of their glory, *ibid.*—partition of Poland, 483—Independence of the United States of America, *ibid.*—period in the progress of colonies when obedience ceases to be voluntarily yielded, 484—effect of the example of the United States on the other transatlantic colonies, *ibid.*—revolution in France of 1792, *ibid.*—its causes and consequences, 484, 485—its past and future influence, 486—political arrangements at the congress of Vienna, 487—grave error in the aggrandisement of Russia, 488—ill-judged dismemberment of Saxony, *ibid.*—conduct of the Emperor Alexander, *ibid.*—designs and dispositions of Russia, historically evinced, 488, 489—demarkation of Prussia, 489—her future intentions, and intelligence, energy and ambition of her people, *ibid.*—precarious state of Belgium, *ibid.*—inefficiency of her frontier fortresses, 489, 490—Social condition of the present time, 490—improvement and vast extension of roads both in England and on the Continent, 490, 491—water conveyance, 491—increase of travelling, 492—gradual obliteration of artificial distinctions, 493—extraordinary increase of education and knowledge, 494—necessity of moral and religious discipline, 494, 495—superficial cast of modern literature, 495—periodical publications, 496—injurious effects of works of fiction, 497—triviality of Roman literature in the time of Seneca, 497, 498—estimate of modern authorship, 498—improvement in the outward condition of all ranks of society, 499—conspicuous in England, *ibid.*—increase of population, 500—of various places enumerated, *ibid.*—table of population of Great Britain and Ireland, 500, 501—its present probable amount, 501—gradual assimilation of the lower classes to the higher, *ibid.*—progressive influence of public opinion, 503—state and circumstances of our own country, 504—its eminence as an agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing power, *ibid.*—commercial improvements in foreign countries, 505, 506—National Debt, 507—importance of placing our finances on a stable foundation, 508—poor-rates and poor-laws, 508, 509—ef-

fects of the present law of settlement, 509—table of sums raised for the poor from 1748 to 1827, 510—tenfold augmentation of the poor-rates, *ibid.*—present redundancy of population, and its baneful consequences, 510, 511—colonization, 511—rate of increase of the population, 512—evils of a too lofty self-estimation, 512, 513—view of our natural and acquired advantages, 513, *et seq.*—mineral products, 514—capital, 515—commercial rectitude, 516—intellectual eminence, *ibid.*—necessity of examination and amendment in every branch of our public and private economy, to maintain our present national position, 517—evils of concealment or disguise, 519—concluding supplication, 520.

Statutes of the Realm, chronological Index to, by the Record Commission, 41—their present enormous length, 42—our limited monarchy the result of this, *ibid.*—no judicial records among the Anglo-Saxons, 44—land-boc and folkmoets of that period explained, *ibid.*—house of rolls mentioned in Scripture, the earliest repository of statutes mentioned in history, 45—English statutes and charters, by whom signed originally, 46—period of the great seal being first attached to statutes, 47—Doomsday statute, 55—*Libet Feudorum*, 57—*Inquintunc post mortem*, 58—statutes formerly discussed before being brought into parliament, 63—chasms in the records of our statutes, 64—merit of Prynne in cleansing and arranging those in the Tower, 65—benefit arising from the Record Commission, 66—a central depository, containing all legislative proceedings of courts of justice, recommended, *ibid.*—evils arising from the want of a new registration of the different records, 67—73.

Stamford, (Judge) commendation of, by Lord Bacon, 184.

Stevinus, a Flemish engineer, improved the science of mechanical philosophy, 433.

Stirling, (Captain). See *Swan River New Colony*.

Stork, the only bird whose parental affection is repaid by filial piety, 426.

Sumner, (Dr.) head master of Harrow School, 261—dies of apoplexy, 262—character of, *ibid.*

Superstitions of the North, unedited poem on the, ascribed to Mr. R. Surtees, 368.

Surtees, (Robert) History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham. See *Durham*.

Swallow and summer wheat, inhumanity of

- of the sportsman in essaying his skill on these harmless tribes, 425.
- Swan River, new colony on, regulations for the guidance of those who may propose to settle there, 315—hopeful appearances as to this settlement, 317—favourable account of the country by Captain Stirling, lieutenant-governor, by whom it was completely explored, 318—general structure and aspect of the country from Cape Leuwin to Cape Naturaliste, 319—coal not found, because not sought after, 320—abundance of pure and fresh water, *ibid.*—the coast, as to navigation, safe and easy, 321—sketch, in form of a map, of the settlement, 323—extensive salt marshes, deemed favourable to the growth of cotton, 324—the hills covered with a variety of plants, *ibid.*—land on the banks of the river superior to any in New South Wales, 325—animal productions, *ibid.*—natives described, *ibid.*—birds, 326—fishes, *ibid.*—Buache, an island in this quarter, admirably adapted for a fishing town, *ibid.*—a cow, two ewes in lamb, and three goats left on this island by Captain Stirling, and a garden planted and railed out, 327—mineralogical productions, *ib.*—mineral springs, 328—superior advantage of this over its sister colony, in having no convicts, or other description of prisoners transported to it, 329—in geographical position, its superiority to New South Wales incalculable, *ibid.*—its merit in a commercial point of view, 331—its possession desirable from the injury we might derive from it, if possessed by an enemy, 332—a cordon of such settlements round the whole habitable portion of Australia, recommended, *ibid.*—probability of the Australian colonies, with the aid of the mother country, rising, in proportion to their population, to an inequality with the United States, 333—exportable articles, that might be cultivated in them to advantage, *ibid.*—benefits to be derived from the cultivation of tobacco, 334—advice to those about to take their flight to this new settlement, 337—question of colonization considered, 339—at what state of population and prosperity colonies might assume independence, 341—a legislative assembly an improper grant to a colony, exemplified from the conduct of Canada and Jamaica, 342—Note, alterations and additions to Colonial Office Circular, 520.
- Systema Naturæ of Linnaeus defended, 408.
- Talbot, (Bishop) account of, 402.
- Tazewell, (Hon. J. W.) Review of the Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain, respecting the commerce of the two countries, 215—character of the work, 216, 219.
- Textor (Ravens), barbarity of school discipline in his time, 104.
- Teynham (Lady) versus Barrett, case of, 188, 197.
- Thurlow, (Ed. Lord) 190, 199, 267.
- Tobacco, benefits that would arise from cultivating it in the Australian colonies, 334.
- Tomtit, parish rewards for the destruction of this bird difficult to account for, 420—its manners and habits, *ibid.*
- Tooke, (John Horne) 7.
- Tooke, (Thomas) Considerations on the State of the Currency, 451—Letter to Lord Grenville, on the Resumption of Cash Payments, *ibid.*
- Townshend, (Lord John) 302.
- Trafford, (Lady Jane) presents Dr. Parr with the living of Asterby, 269.
- Tunstall, (Cutburt, Bp.) account of, 374.
- Turkish Spy, 72.
- Tusser, (Thomas) his complaint of school discipline, 113.
- Twining, (Thomas) 264.
- United States, character of while under the dominion of Great Britain, 216—progress of improvement since their independence, *ibid.*—feelings of the two countries towards each other after the peace, 217—laws enacted by the States prejudicial to British interests, 218—impose a higher duty on foreign ships than on their own, 219—commercial treaty between the States and Great Britain, *ibid.*—article in it respecting the West Indies, not ratified by the American president, 220—peaceful and statesman-like demeanour of Washington, *ibid.*—the treaty renewed, but rejected by President Jefferson, 221—embargo laid by the States on all their own vessels, and a law passed forbidding all intercourse with either Great Britain or France, *ibid.*—evils resulting to the States from these measures, *ibid.*—war between the two countries, 222—new treaty negotiated and ratified, 223—conduct of Great Britain respecting the colonial trade defended, *ibid.*—new propositions as to the colonial trade, discussed by the American minister and Lord Castlereagh, 224—cavalier conduct of the American government, as to these propositions, 225—the propositions rejected by them, 227—Congress pass a law closing the ports of America to all British ships from the West Indies, 227—further

- further negotiations between the two countries, 228, 230—the ports of the United States closed against British vessels coming *by sea*, 237—injurious effect of this law to the states, *ibid.*—the ports opened again in consequence of a liberal enactment on the part of Great Britain, 236—acts of the British Parliament in 1825 regarding the colonial trade, 238—British order in council closing the ports of the West Indies against American vessels, 239—further negotiation, on what ground refused by Great Britain, *ibid.*—the loss of the West India trade to the Americans owing to the mismanagement of their own government, 240—American tariff. See *Tariff*. State of parties in the United States, 241—248—first settlements of the western sections. See *Hall*, (*Hon. Judge*.)
- University of London, merit of the institution due to Mr. Thomas Campbell, 125, 127—name of university given to it, inappropriate and a rogant, *ibid.*—difference between a school and a university pointed out, *ibid.*—difference between a university and a college, 128, note—the omission of all religious instruction in this university reprehended, 129—statement of the council of the university on the omission, 131—this statement animadverted on, *ibid.* 132, 133, 134.
- Universities of Germany characterised, 8. Uses, statute of, 69.
- Varignon, (French mathematician) his *Projet d'une Nouvelle Mécanique*, 438.
- Velocities, virtual, 442.
- Warburton, (Bishop) Tracts by, republished by Dr. Parr, 274.
- Wards and liveries, court of, its institution and abolition, 186.
- Warrick, (Lord) refuses to place Parr in the commission of the peace, 268.
- Washington, (President) character of, as a statesman, 229.
- Waterland, (Dr.) 295.
- Watt, (James) 123.
- Wawa, its population, 156—account of the old king of, 175.
- Weimar, table d'hôte at, described, 10.
- Wellesley, (Tylney Long) case of, as to custody of his children, 194—refused by the Lord Chancellor, 196—the refusal confirmed by the House of Lords, *ibid.*—legality of the decision vindicated, 197—210.
- West Indies, commerce with. See *United States*.
- Wheler, (Sir George) account of, 399.
- White, (Rev. Gilbert) his *Natural History of Selborne*, 406, 409, 427.
- White, (Professor). See *Bampton Lectures*.
- Whitfield *versus* Sales, 193, 197.
- Whipping-boys, 107.
- Wilson, (General) 21.
- Winds and weather, supposed prognostications of, by birds and animals, 422.
- Wolsey, (Cardinal) preface to Lily's Grammar ascribed to him, 109.
- Writing, letter on the wretched scrawl of Dr. Parr's hand, 265.
- Yaboo, 149.
- Yellow colour predominant throughout the vegetable world, 413.
- Zaria, capital of Zegzeg, 162.
- Zurnie, 162.

END OF THE THIRTY-NINTH VOLUME.

